











# THE INDIAN WORLD

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Vol. XIV ]

JULY—1911

[ No. 76

## SELECTIONS

(From the Times)

### INDIA AND THE COLOUR QUESTION

In an interesting appendix to his book on "Ancient and Modern Imperialism," Lord Cromer draws attention to the marked extent which colour antipathies play in the modern as compared with the ancient world. He observes that modern peoples have enslaved only the dark-coloured races, while ancient empires were indiscriminate in the sources whence they drew their slaves; and he is inclined to find the origin of the sense of white superiority, which is so strong a force in modern world-politics, in the recrudescence of slavery in the 15th century, which established in men's minds a connexion between darkness of skin and race inferiority. Certainly, so far as concerns those regions of the world where antipathy of race is strongest, an evident connexion with the system of negro slavery will be readily admitted. The Southern States of the American Union are now directly paying for the horrors of the slave trade in the troublesome problems provided by their black population; and the Bantu races of South Africa, though not of pure negro stock, yet have a common origin with the American negro in the swamps and forests of Central Africa, and the taint of servitude in a modified form is theirs as well. They were only "black cattle" in the eyes of the Dutch settlers, and to this day they remain the hewers of wood and drawers of water—or the equivalent thereof in a timberless and droughty land.

#### THE DESPISED NEGRO

In Asia, again, between indigenous race and race, even where these differ in complexion, there exists no colour antipathy; but the negro is still despised by the Persian and Hindu as intensely as by the European. In their thoughts he is still the *kabshi*, the barbaric Ethiopian who has been enslaved by the great conquerors of the past and doomed to degrading offices about the palace, just as he is depicted in the "Arabian Nights." The Arabs, alone, as they carried Islam into Northern Africa, seem to have developed a tolerance for the black peoples which certainly admitted of intermarriage. Possibly this was due to the deterioration of the invaders, and possibly to some uplifting of the conquered people under the influence of the new creed. But we know that the pure Asiatic still holds the Sudanese mixed races in disdain, and that the Chinese, who intermarry freely with the various races of Malaya, would not resort to

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Kaffir women during his exile in South Africa. Asiatic, as well as European, finds the negro antipathetic ; and both have reasons for looking on him as a slave.

### **THE ANTIPATHY TO ASIATICS**

But the theory of the slave taint is obviously inapplicable to the latest recrudescence of the colour question, for this concerns peoples who have not been enslaved by Europe. South Africa, Canada, the United States, and Australia have all within recent years manifested an aversion for the peoples of Asia, which is going to provide one of the difficult problems of the century. Under modern conditions antipathy cannot possibly go further than the policy of absolute exclusion which these States have enunciated, and which they are apparently prepared to make good by war if need be. There needs must be an overwhelming impulse of some kind behind this determination, which at first sight has so little to excuse it on grounds of humanity and justice, and is so much at variance with the traditional tolerance and catholicism of the English name. In South Africa, it may be argued, and blunders of method on the part of the Transvaal Government have made the argument plausible, that the cause of the Hindu and the Chinese has never had fair hearing. Their case was hopelessly prejudiced from the beginning by the South African's antipathy to the Kaffir, and by his ignorance which confounded all alien races in one common dislike. Undoubtedly in this there is a measure of truth, but a glance at Canada and Australia will show how far it is from being the whole truth. Unlike South Africa, which has all her native problems yet to solve, Canada and Australia disposed of the North American Indians and the Australian blacks far too easily for them to have inherited from the struggle any abiding antipathy to alien races in general. Yet in their determination to hold their doors against the peoples of Asia all three Dominions are equally resolute.

### **A COMPREHENSIVE AVERSION**

For this aversion, therefore, we have to look for some common cause, applicable to the Asiatic as well as to the black. It will not be one concerned with the peculiar failings alleged against the negro in Ohio, or the Chinese on the Pacific Coast ; nor will it be based on the measurable difference of attainments between the aliens and our own people. For no one can deny that the Indian coolie has attained a higher civilization than the Basuto, and is possessed of qualities of industry, thrift, and peacefulness which are ordinarily welcomed in a European State. As for the Japanese, it is idle for new half-grown countries like Australia and Canada to pretend to despise the achievements of a race who have made themselves a Great Power, and shown so many of the higher qualities. If the new democracies overseas have much to teach the Kaffir, they have at least something to learn from Hindus and Japanese.

It seems, then, that the underlying cause of race aversion is a most comprehensive as well as a most compelling one. The root impulse, indeed, is readily recognized, for it is the simple emotion of fear ; it is only in expressing the complexity of the things feared that the difficulty lies. Let us put ourselves in the place of one of the newer peoples. Numerically few in themselves, with large lands needing development, their crying need was labour. They found it

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in the indigenous native races, or, failing these, they drew it from abroad. In either case the coloured helot lived on less than white men's wages and at a lower standard than he. The first result was that white men refused to labour at the same class of work, and the "poor white" came into existence. Soon the labourer, black or yellow, begins to be discontented with the conventions which make him a mere drudge. Contact with white races, while it does him no good in various ways, at least spurs his ambitions. He seeks to rise in the social scale by becoming an artisan, a shopkeeper, a cultivator. Unless checked by restrictive legislation, he soon becomes all three, in each case underselling the white man by reason of his thrift and cheaper living and ousting him from his place. Those who have seen whole streets of Indian shops in some country towns in Natal and the Transvaal know how real such a danger is. From these consequences the European seeks no escape save by repression. If it were only a question of economic competition, however, he might acquiesce in the Dominions' attitude, but we should hardly be enthusiasts for it. But in truth it is far more. There enters into the question a variety of social and moral and political issues. What the Dominions honestly feel is that the whole question of their national future is at stake.

Contact with civilization has always debauched the black man by teaching him new vices. The Asiatic is not intoxicated in the same way by his new surroundings, for he remembers a civilization of his own; but enfranchisement from the ties of home and custom, and it must be confessed the enhanced sense of his own value which he imbibes from contact with less reputable whites, tend to make him an unattractive member of the community. But it is the distant rather than the immediate prospect that appals. If the black alien is allowed free way, he will undoubtedly develop a sort of civilization which will be an inferior copy of the one he sees around him; and as he progresses in wealth and intelligence and the white man is continuously being displaced in the economic struggle, there will come a day when the black will demand inter-marriage with the white, and eventually a further day when by constitutional or violent means he will achieve his purpose. To all white men in the Dominions such a prospect seems racial suicide. Integrity of race comes before everything, for in that is summarized all that makes life worth living to the European. Better stagnation and hard times, and better, if need be, a ruthless war of extermination than the slow betrayal of European traditions and morality by a mixture of blood.

### THE DESIRE FOR SEGREGATION

These are the thoughts that are bending South Africans to turn more and more to the idea of segregation as being the only escape from the evils of assimilation by the Bantu races; and similar to these are the arguments that lead Canadians and Australians to the resolve that the expanding millions of Asia shall never swamp their territories with a brown or yellow blood. The only difference is that the horror of race mixture is not as instant as is in South Africa, where the Kaffir is in a great majority and where crimes or violence are frequent. What the Australian and Canadian chiefly fears is the economic dislocation which Asiatic competition brings; the gradual squeezing out of the white man from the regions open

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to immigration; a gradual deterioration of the national character through contact with the social and moral ideas of Asia; and certainly as regards the Chinese and Japanese the political dangers which would ensue from the settlement in their midst of hundreds of thousands of subjects of a foreign Power.

As regards China and Japan, the matter hangs for the moment in unstable equilibrium. China is not yet in a position to contest the question of her subjects, free right of entry. Japan is our ally and does not acquiesce in the exclusion of her subjects. But for the time being an uneasy compromise has been reached by which she undertakes voluntarily to restrict their emigration. A firmer settlement will be required ere long, and it will tax the world's statesmanship to attain it peacefully. As regards India, however, it can hardly be said that there has been a settlement at all. After a long period of disputes and misunderstandings, Indians have been excluded from the Dominions; but this has been done in such a way as to leave feelings of bitterness both in India and England, and some uncertainty as to whether the end has really been reached.

### INDIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS COLOUR

Sentiment is nowhere stronger than in Asia, and in estimating the reaction of the colour problem on India it is important to consider how the Indian himself regards questions of colour difference. Hundreds of thousands of Europeans are living in India, and it might be supposed that contact with them had given rise to colour antipathy in India itself. But this is not the case. Between Europeans and Indians there is, indeed, a sense of great discrepancies of thought and feeling, rendering each a riddle to the other and immeasurably impeding the understanding and sympathy which must preclude any close intercourse. These differences are greatest in the domain of social and domestic life, and peculiarly great as regards the position of women. They are strong enough to present a formidable obstacle to intermarriage and to create a prejudice against those of mixed race. But there is nothing in the Englishman's feeling for the Asiatic resembling his aversion for the negro. Community of race with the Aryan, similarity of religion with the Moslem, respect for the vanished empires and monuments and literatures of the East may account for this. No reasoning person who thinks of the Ramayana or the Taj Mahal can fall into the crude error of regarding the peoples who produced them as on a level with the black races who have given nothing to the world.

Nor does the Indian readily connect differences of complexion with racial or social superiority. Probably this was not always so. It is possible that India has had colour problems as vexed as any that now perplex the world, and that caste was a deliberate invention of a fair-skinned invading race to prevent its contamination with darker blood. But centuries of conquests and disorder have broken up the old gradations, and though caste endures, purity of blood does not. You may see small, dark, round-headed Brahmans and fair pariahs: and these anomalies are respected by a certain conventional delicacy in the use of adjectives for colour. "Wheat coloured" is a complimentary attribute; "fair-skinned" is, curiously enough, appropriated to the British soldier; and *kala* (black), which conveys a sense of the degraded or terrible, would not be applied in ordinary language to a dark-skinned Hindu, but

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only to a negro. The brown man admires fairness of complexion ; but he feels it unsafe to him to make it any longer an index of racial superiority. On the other hand, he intensely resents being mistaken for what he regards as black. Nor, in spite of the way in which the "damned nigger" attitude of a few Europeans has been exploited, can it be fairly said that such offence is often given. If Europeans are unpopular with Indians, it is not for any sense of colour difference, but because they are felt to be intellectually and morally strangers.

### EUROPEANS IN INDIA

But the dominant reason why there is no colour question in India is climate. The Indian sun, which makes it a place where no white man may make a home or rear up sons to succeed him, has saved it from being the battle-ground of two competing societies and civilizations. When two peoples sharply divided by race and religion are settled side by side in the same streets of the same cities, when their children attend the same schools and play and fight together, when the religious usages of each are performed in hearing and often in sight of the other, when the two intermingle freely and have constant dealings in business and litigation, obviously there are infinite opportunities of friction. Yet, as has occurred with Hindus and Mahomedans in India, if both are numerically strong enough for neither to exclude the other, and if both are of the same civilization, the mere material advantages of peace and quiet may do much to hide if not to compose the discord. But when one race, numerically weak, thinks itself superior and sees itself in danger of such economic competition from the other as will compel it to abandon its own higher standard and to admit the other to intercourse that may lead to admixture of blood, then all the prejudices and passions of race are shaken from sleep by a self-interest that is neither entirely noble nor entirely sordid, but wholly imperious ; and to them are added, by way of extra exacerbation, the many subsidiary irritations and annoyances arising from mere contact with neighbours of different customs and practices from ourselves.

From such causes of colour conflict India is free. The European usually lives in his own surroundings at a distance from the native city ; he has his own churches, clubs, schools, and in large cities to a large extent his own shops. So far as possible he has preserved small portions of his own civilization in every station in India. By so doing he may have been a loser as regards knowledge of the people, but he has saved himself from the discomforts and annoyances incidental to closer contact. More than all, he does not feel himself competing with the native of India, nor, save for the minority of advanced political opinions, does the Indian look on him as a competitor. There is grumbling when wealthy Indians acquire houses in European civil stations ; there is heart-burning among the small community of English families domiciled in India as subordinate posts in the public service are more and more closed to them. But most Englishmen regard themselves as having no tenure in India other than that which they derive from doing work which there is no one else to do ; and they can survey the Indian's progress in the arts of commerce and administration without any of the bitterness which they would feel if they felt that their own civilization or their livelihood was threatened.

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## INDIA AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The feeling of the Hindus of caste towards the out-caste classes is a closer approach to race antipathy as we know it. But there is no race problem in an active form, since immemorial custom has rigidly segregated the depressed communities, and they have shown few signs yet of any endeavour to extricate themselves from their seclusion. Regarding the rest of the world, India has hitherto been supremely uninterested. Temperament and geography alike have made her a recluse. Within historical times she has sent forth no armies or navies, no missionaries, and no explorers. Mountains, forests, and seas have barred the free migration of her people ; and having long ceased to be nomads, they have come to look with suspicion upon the man who wanders. Respectability of life in the Indian's eyes is best secured by abiding at home. If a man goes elsewhere he goes to better himself, and the chances are that he does so in disreputable ways. When he returns there is no great curiosity to hear about his experiences in exile ; the traditional view is that doubtless the narrator is making out the best account he can of places probably inferior and experiences probably undesirable. A tale of successes is discounted ; a tale of hardship finds little sympathy. Even of regions with which she has long had traffic, such as the Hejaz, Afghanistan, Ceylon, and Mauritius, India has known and cared but little ; and of the greater outer world she has had no vision whatever.

Economic pressure, facilities of transportation, and the spread of education have done much in the last few decades to break down this reserve. Indian labour has found its way in increasing volume to Mauritius and British Guiana and Uganda and Natal. The Boer War took many Indians of intelligence superior to the labourer's to South Africa. Hindu students have begun to find their way to technical colleges in the United States and Japan ; Indian gentlemen of position have begun to travel either for the purposes of Royal ceremonials or to find and to confer with political sympathizers. India has awoke from her lethargy towards the rest of the world to find herself engaged in colour conflict with new European democracies in two Continents.

## THE STRUGGLE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Of the struggle in British Columbia a brief mention will suffice. The pioneer Indian settlers there were Sikhs discharged from a Hong-kong regiment, who found the high wages of Vancouver so much to their liking that they sent for relatives and friends from India until the community grew to a few thousands. They were received not unsympathetically at first and helped through the rigours of their first winter. Many of them found congenial work in the lumber trade, and a few took to commerce, and all prospered. But a simultaneous incursion of Chinese and Japanese immigrants in large number aroused the resentment of the labour organizations and these both in Canada and the United States were relentless in stirring feeling against all Asiatics. The charges of uncleanness and vice were, as regards the Indian, certainly exaggerated. The Hindus in British Columbia have departed largely from caste restrictions in the matter of food and drink, but are not either an insanitary or an immoral community. Nor because of the climate was there ever

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much real danger of their effecting such a lodgment as to prove a danger to the white. But the labour organizations carried the day, and after discreditable riots had occurred in the neighbouring State of Washington, it was decided to terminate Indian immigration into Canada.

This was done by the device of prohibiting the landing of immigrants who have not journeyed directly from the land of their birth with a ticket purchased there. An attempt was also made to induce the settled Hindus to transport themselves at the State expenses to Central America, but it fell through in the moment of success. The chief political importance of the small settlement in British Columbia lies in the fact that some of its members are in touch with anarchist Hindu leaders in the United States ; and that through this channel, money and inflammatory literature and misleading information find a way back, particularly to the Punjab, where they have contributed to recent disquiet. It is denied that arms also have been imported. Even within recent months a Sikh journal published in Vancouver has been proscribed in British India as seeking to promote disaffection. But broadly speaking, Vancouver is no longer a serious storm centre. There can be no doubt that Canada is too well defended by nature for even the hardy peoples of the Punjab to be really anxious to invade her.

### THE DIFFICULT CASE OF NATAL

It is quite otherwise with South Africa, which, particularly Natal, has a climate where the Indian can thrive. It is in Natal that the colour question as it affects India really arises in its most acute form. Of recent years the dramatic struggle in the Transvaal has attracted more attention ; but, as we shall see, it turns immediately on a minor issue—the means of identifying a few thousand Indians lawfully settled in the country. Potential danger there may be, but no immediate danger. In Natal the issue is far wider. It is simply whether the country can be preserved for white civilization.

It is nearly 40 years since Natal, finding that her multitudes of Kaffirs would not make efficient labourers, embarked on her fateful policy of importing indentured labour from India. The coolies were indentured for five years, with the option of re-engaging for two years more. Their wages were low, according to Indian ones, to bring the Indian labourer in his thousands. By 1897 there were nearly as many Indians as white men, only some half being still under indenture ; and the free Indians had encroached upon the white man's sphere in every walk of life—particularly in retail trade in the small towns. To realize how seriously white civilization was menaced, one must remember that the black race also outnumbered the European race in Natal by ten to one. In 1897 Natal awoke to her danger and passed the notorious " Natal Act," which prohibits the landing of any immigrant not qualified to write out a passage of fifty words dictated to him in a European language. The difficulty of preventing Natal Indians from passing over the boundary into the Transvaal has contributed greatly to the feeling against the Indian in the latter Colony ; and this feeling, reflected in Natal, has led to a steadily growing movement in favour of refusing trading licenses, of deporting coolies at the end of their indentures, and even of prohibiting indentured recruitment.

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Often this feeling found expression in offensive ways that seemed to ignore the undoubted services that Indian labour had rendered. On the other hand, the numbers and wealth of the Natal Indians have been a source of great strength to their brethren in the Transvaal, and have encouraged them to demands which would not otherwise have been made. The growth of feeling against the Asiatic in both Colonies has culminated in the Natal Government's decision to allow no settlement in the country after the expiry of indentures ; to which the Government of India, holding to the view which they have always maintained that British Indian subjects should be entitled to full citizenship anywhere within the Empire, have replied by declaring their intention to cut off the supply of the indentured labour. Honours are easy ; but it remains to be seen how Natal will get along in future without fresh Indian coolies, and, what is even more difficult, how she will deal with the large numbers already settled in her borders.

### THE TRANSVAAL COMPLICATIONS

The narrative of the struggle in the Transvaal must be told very briefly. As long ago as 1885 the Kruger Government passed a law requiring Asiatic immigrants into the Transvaal to register themselves and pay a registration tax of £3. The law was not well administered and complaints were numerous, and owing to the strained relations between the Republic and the Home Government these were actually made a cause of offence against the latter. After the war the Crown Colony Government found itself confronted with much the same problem as its Republican predecessor. But feeling no doubt as to the measures demanded by public opinion, it decided to give permits of admission to only those Indians who had been resident before the war. Very soon the permit system broke down. Prospects in the Transvaal were attractive enough to stimulate the forgery of certificates and the procuring of false evidence of identification to an alarming rate. The Government decided that more effective means of identification were required and instituted finger-print impressions. All Indians were required to register by this system. A storm of opposition broke out. It was objected first that compulsory registration was a needless imputation on the honour of lawful residents ; secondly, that it was a device for their wanton exclusion ; thirdly, that the use of finger-prints degraded them to the level of " Kaffirs and criminals." The registration law was passed ; and the Secretary of State disallowed it. The Imperial Government could not over-rule the wishes of the new Colony, but responsible Government was on the eve of coming into existence in the Transvaal, and so his Majesty's Ministers took the coward's course of waiting to be pressed a little harder. The first act of the new Parliament was to apply the invited pressure, and the Registration Act became law. But the delay and vacillation of the Home Government, and finally their recorded protests that the position of Asiatics lawfully resident in the Transvaal was unsatisfactory, threw fuel on the fire of agitation.

There was no attempt on the part of the Indian leaders to fight the question on the main issue of unrestricted immigration. They took the bad line of concentrating their wrath on the registration provisions. These were, indeed, open to serious objec-

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tion. The rules, which were made in haste and without expert advice, insisted on ten finger prints. With expert recorders so many would not have been necessary ; it was clumsy and impolitic to insist on them, seeing that in India so many prints were required only from convicted offenders. Mr. Gandhi and his friends made the most of this point, preaching to ignorant and illiterate followers that the Transvaal Government was making them, like Kaffirs, criminals, and dogs, and bound them by oath not to register. These leaders have only themselves to thank if unbiassed opinion suspected them of being chiefly concerned to defeat the registration system in order to keep a gate open for illicit entry. On the other hand, the Government were at no pains to amend the procedure or to adapt themselves to Indian susceptibilities. After delays, which seemed to the Indians to portend concession, they put the law in motion. The Indians had not registered and the leaders were arrested, glorying in their martyrdom. A few weeks of prison, however, weakened Mr. Gandhi's resolution, and he arranged a private treaty with the Colonial Secretary. The Indians were to register voluntarily and not within the Act, and thereby save their honour. What concession Mr. Smuts promised is uncertain ; it is known only that Mr. Gandhi declares that he promised a repeal of the offensive Act. Apparently, the main battle was over, and the Government had secured its object.

### THE TACTICS OF THE INDIANS

But some of the Punjabi and Bombay leaders, less supple than Mr. Gandhi, declined to be bound by his undertaking the register "voluntarily." He had raised the storm, they said ; let him allay it if he could. Two of them assaulted Mr. Gandhi as he went to register. This did not deter most of the Indians from registering in a sullen, dilatory fashion. But the process was hardly complete when the dispute broke out afresh over the repeal of the Registration Act which Mr. Smuts refused. The Indians burned their certificates in a bonfire and defied the law. Forgotten claims were revived, and new ones invented. From the details of the registration system the controversy passed to the admission of a certain number annually of schoolmasters and priests ; and the right of travel of distinguished Indians. Whatever the justice of these proposals, they were not put forward on their merits at all, but only as a happy means of embarrassing a Government whose patience had been sorely tried by the astute tactics with which it had been opposed, and which had long since been worried past the point at which reasonable concessions were to be expected. Again, the Transvaal Government put the law into force in a wooden, impassive manner. The chief result was to disclose that the bad draftsmanship of the Acts offered new opportunities of evading them ; while a shriek went up of the indignities and hardships undergone by the martyrs who went to goal. The Johannesburg gaol is notoriously cramped, and prison discipline is bound to conflict with the leisurely observance of minute caste ceremonials by political prisoners who are also adepts in the arts of passive resistance. It is probable that there was some measure of reason in the complaints, which a little judicious tolerance would have redressed. But the Transvaal Government remained inert ; and the Indians successfully made it appear that cruelty

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and insult were its deliberate policy. For it is not the broad fact of exclusion, but it is the highly coloured tales of petty oppression, of parity of treatment with Kaffir, of municipal and railway discriminations, of alleged indignities on arrest and deprivations and hardships in gaol that first really touched the public imagination in India.

It is greatly to be regretted that not one of the three Governments concerned have realized their responsibility to end this mischief. Every one knows how the Indian's story of wrong gains by repetition, till a threat becomes a savage beating, and one homicide a massacre. There have been correspondence and inquiries in plenty, but there has been no attempt to allay or to appease public feeling by an authoritative statement by the Imperial Government of facts and policy. During the period antecedent to Union the question was suffered to fall into abeyance. It was felt that there was more hope of a larger settlement from a Government which was responsible not merely for the Transvaal but for Natal. The Union Government has now been in office for a year, and is preparing to deal with the Asiatic question. Surely it is time that the larger settlement was made—not in the privacy of Minister's rooms or of semi-official comment on official despatches, but openly to the world, that the Empire may right itself in such an important matter.

### PUBLIC FEELING IN INDIA

"The continued ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa" is the text that inspired Mr. Gokhale's speech when he moved a resolution in favour of prohibiting indentured labour for Natal; and the phrase would be unhesitatingly accepted by the great mass of Indian and even English opinion in India. There is no doubt of the sincerity and gravity of the feeling; and the fact that the Imperial and Indian Governments have shown somewhat ineffective sympathy with it has lent it strength. Indians feel that if there is no official reply to the stories of insult and humiliation these evils must be true. "That the Indian has not received the just treatment to which he is entitled as a subject of the British Crown, and that disabilities and indignities are heaped upon him because he is an Indian, are broad facts that are not and cannot be disputed." This is the emphatic verdict of a recent writer on India who will not be readily suspected of undue sympathy with Indian national aspirations. All Indian opinion would be with him—indeed, most English opinion. None the less, the new democracies abroad would be equally emphatic in condemning Mr. Chirol's *dictum*; and men of moderate and reasonable judgment are to be found among them too. Where such opinions so conflicting are honestly and resolutely held, truth cannot lie wholly on one side. We must not let an appeal to rights and justice and such abstractions conclude the matter for us without some attempt to give these definite meaning. This is all the more necessary since, with the Indian community at large, the controversy has passed now into the field of pure abstractions. Individuals were excited by the misfortunes of other individuals whom they knew. But in the hands of the politicians the demand is one for the right of Indians to full political citizenship on equal terms with any other subjects of the King-Emperor—a speciously just

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and reasonable claim which is sure to command the sympathy of loose thinkers.

There is no question of the day on which it is so necessary to rid ourselves of false prepossessions. Doubtless it is a fine ideal that the British Indian subjects of the King should be British citizens in the fullest sense, free to go where they will within the Empire, and to find their living as they will with no more restrictions than any Englishman. Doubtless it is unpleasant to remember that the Kruger Government's discrimination against British Asiatics was counted into it for an offence that helped to necessitate war. Doubtless it is capable of being represented as a monstrous injustice that Sikhs and Pathans who served the British cause in South Africa should be denied asylum there by the very Government that some of them died to set up. Doubtless again, it is a perturbing realisation for the millions of India that the Government which they have believed all-powerful is powerless to save them from the exclusive legislation of the Dominions. But when we come to think the matter out we shall discover more important considerations than any of these ; and we shall find that the bitterest criticism that the Imperial Government deserves is only the blame of being so slow to realize what were the really governing factors of a new and difficult problem.

### THE RIGHTS OF BRITISH INDIANS

For what are the rights and the justice that we are bound in honour to secure to Indian British subjects ? The widest rights and the most even justice before the law that we can imagine, subject only to one condition, that equality of treatment must be qualified exactly in so far as it is necessary for the maintenance of our rule, and no further. The Raj must be preserved or it can confer no benefits ; consistently with its preservation its benefits shou'd be the widest. But no one talks of injustice or disabilities because the very conditions of our rule in India necessitate in practice a wide disparity of treatment between Europeans and Asiatics. In India the law purports to regard both equally, yet even the law discriminates in such matters as trial for offences and appointments to high office. Rules and regulations discriminate still further, for instance in respect of the grant of arms, or the differential rates of pay fixed for posts open to both races. Administrative practice tacitly distinguishes most of all. No one pretends that in its provision of hill stations, cantonments, and civil stations, railways, official houses, and medical and spiritual ministrations, the Indian Governments does not take thought more generously for its European than for its Indian subjects. It recognizes that in all these respects the former's needs are the greater but it endeavours to prevent the disparity from exceeding the *minimum* required for efficiency. Granted the major premises that Englishmen are needed in India, the Government is not only justified but wise in making reasonable provision for their physical, mental, and moral welfare.

But, it will be said, there is all the difference in the world between the small preferences shown to Englishmen in India for climatic reasons, and a policy which denies to Indians the very right to exist at all within the Dominions where they could thrive and prosper. The latter is a flagrant violation of the solemn pro-

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mises of imperial justice to all creeds and races made by Lord Canning in the Queen's name after the Mutiny. In answer to this, let us admit at once that the pledge of 1858 was made without a thought for oversea nations hardly born and certainly without any vision of a future in which they might have a say in its fulfilment. But no promise can in equity be held to extend to new conditions which those who made it could not possibly foresee, particularly when it involves others who were no party to the promise. Proclamations meant for India were not meant to bind the Dominions; it is unfair that they should, and it is madness to imagine that they ever will. We must get back to the essential conditions of the problem to be in sight of its only real solution

### THE ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS

Those essential conditions may be summarized as racial, geographical, and historical. These conditions have created that indeterminable difference between white and brown, discussed already, which leads the white man to the conviction that his civilization is imperilled if brown men share it on an equal footing. Geography has decreed that South Africa should be a battle-ground by making it a country where, but for artificial restrictions, the two races can expand and thrive side by side; and the long history of British colonial development has settled that the Dominions shall be supreme in their house even to the extent of closing the doors to whom they will.

Now it is possible to take the view that South Africans are wrong in their conviction that an Asiatic immigration carries the terrible consequences imputed to it; but it is not possible to maintain that there exists any power to constrain them and that a serious attempt to do so would not end the Empire altogether. Some idealists will call this a humiliating and impotent conclusion. To these we can only say that since a British Empire of the new kind in prospect, lacking the ideal equality of full common citizenship, may yet in this complex and material world be a greater force for good than no British Empire at all, but only a small commercial island on the coast of Europe, it may still be statesmanship to admit the lesser evil for the greater good. But if, as every one thinks who has encountered in real life the problem of the Asiatic in the Dominions, and seen the insidious mischief to white civilization which his presence works, South Africa and Canada and Australia are absolutely right in their determination not to have him, then let us face that difficult fact with such candour and resolution as we may and cease at last from speaking with two voices.

### AN ILLUSTRATION FROM ENGLAND

The newspapers report that "anti-Chinese disturbances broke out at Birkenhead in consequence of alleged insults offered to white women. A mob of 3,000 persons on Sunday night smashed the windows of many Chinese houses." One can imagine Mr. Smuts wiring to the Colonial Office—*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*. Race instinct, it seems, is asserting itself in Cheshire as plainly as on the Rand, and if it were possible to imagine Indian labourers invading Lancashire mills or Norfolk agriculture, how long would the talk of "equal justice" and "indignities and disabilities" avail to

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stay the tide which would rise and sweep them back? Justice to our own comes first, and we should not in justice to the Dominions deny them (even if we could) that right to defend their civilization which we should be the first to assert at home. The Dominions are still unfilled; they have not been won for England or the white race so long as the brown races can submerge them.

Surely it is time that the Imperial Government showed itself capable of taking an Imperial survey, and instead of displaying a hypocritical sympathy with natural but mistaken aspirations that it has no intention whatever of really supporting, set itself to redress the soreness that it has tacitly done so much to cause. The Indian still understands and respects an order meant to be final. Once they realize that the decision is against them they will acquiesce. Conservatism and the home-staying instinct are strong still; nor is India so over-populated that in self-preservation she must pour her people abroad; nor has administration done more than a fraction of what it may do to increase her capacity. And once the Dominions feel that the Home Government is not privately against them, the door will be opened to those subsidiary measures of alleviation which common sense has long demanded, but which prejudice, suspicion and exasperation have refused. There is no reason even now why the Union should not borrow a competent officer to advise the Government on Indian prejudices and peculiarities, instead of relying on the quite inadequate counsels which it has hitherto commanded; why the identification of Indians lawfully resident abroad should not be completed inoffensively; why a certain limited supply of educated teachers and *mautvis* should not be admitted; and why Ruling Chiefs and notables should not visit the Dominions as travellers without let or hindrance. That this has not been done hitherto is attributable chiefly to the devious and elusive tactics of Mr. Gandhi and his friends, who succeeded—as they desired and hoped to succeed—in thoroughly arousing the devil in the Transvaal Government and people; but in a large measure, too, to weak sentimentality of the Indian and Imperial Governments. The former has at least this excuse, that it had many other troubles on its hands, and it was rather an agreeable change to be able for once to run with the hounds rather than be hunted as the hare. But for his Majesty's Ministers it is difficult indeed to find apology. Their vacillation and short-sightedness have shown how they are qualified to handle the really complex problems of a changing Empire. The moral of the problem is that it is time we found a better organ to handle inter-Imperial affairs.

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### THE NEW SPIRIT OF INTERCOURSE

Thirty-five years is the span of official life in India, so far as the Civil Service is concerned and the few who escape the limitation do so by virtue of having risen to high office as provincial rulers or members of the various Executive Councils. So, for purposes of comparison, this period of time will well serve when considering the social changes that have taken place; it covers the life of a generation.

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Those changes have been very marked. They began slowly, for the strong conservative instinct of the East was against the summary breaking down of customs and prejudices ; but there has been a quickening of the process in the new century, and now there is almost too rapid movement. European and Indian alike have shared in the transformation ; and it is unquestionable that the expansion of political ideas has brought in its train developments that could not have been foreseen only a few years ago. But the great moving impulse has come from the improvement in communication with Europe, coupled with the adoption in India itself of the modern appliances of civilization. Bombay is now less than a fortnight's journey from London, and the voyage to and from England has long ceased to be an important incident in the life of those who have sought a career in India. There is no longer the old necessity to serve for eight or nine years and then take the well-earned furlough. Leave for 90 or even 60 days has become an institution in the Services, and the "sun-dried bureaucrat" whom the travelling member of Parliament meets on the outward voyage may have been familiar with the shady side of Pall-mall every third or fourth year of his service. He is concerned, in his humble way, with home affairs ; and his interests may be divided between his district or his secretariat in India and the cool corridors of the India Office or the luxurious retreats of Clubland. He does not feel a stranger in his own country ; its politics affect him and Imperial business claims his attention ; his periods of exile grow shorter and shorter, and the unhappy separations from wife and family are fewer and of less concern than formerly. The blessing of "combined leave," that gracious gift from Government to its impecunious servants, has descended upon him, bringing with it a renewal of health and energy, and lightening his burden of financial and domestic cares. He is not cut off from his own kindred for indefinite periods ; he need no more consider himself even an Anglo-Indian, for the very title has been transferred officially to the mixed domiciled community of European and Asiatic descent.

### THE PALANQUIN AND THE TAXI-CAB

As with the servants of Government so with the merchants and traders ; they are in close touch with home, and the yearly voyage of the senior partners is a mere matter of routine. The effect of this constant journeying to and fro, whether by the civil and military officers of the State or by those who were once held to be "interlopers" is seen on every side ; the old order has changed and the old landmarks of social life in India are fast disappearing. There are remote tracts still where the primitive conditions of existence continue, but the railway moves ever nearer to those and the land-locked spaces are rare, except where great jungles remain to be opened out. The presidency towns, the provincial capitals, the big cantonments, are all easily accessible to the dwellers in the outlying districts, and the amenities of life can be enjoyed in spite of the drawbacks of a climate that has its insidious dangers in most months of the year. It was said, in connexion with the experiences of a Viceroy years ago : "The social life of India, to one used to the cosmopolitan society of the great capitals of Europe, had a flavour of provincialism." That flavour is still there, but it is very faint, for the great towns of to-day are very different from those of 35 years

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ago. The rows of palanquins which could be seen within a stone's throw of Government House in Calcutta have long since vanished. Electric tramcars pass in rapid succession along the streets, and motors and taxi-cabs speed through the traffic. Bombay has similarly advanced, and it has certainly a cosmopolitan society peculiarly its own. The luxuries of civilization have spread Eastwards, and as the *punkah* and the oil-lamp disappear before the electric fan and the glowing bulb of light, so do the old social conditions sink back into obscurity.

### MODERN SIMLA

The Simla of "Ali Baba" and Rudyard Kipling lies deep below the modern summer capital with its piles of offices, its Viceroyal Lodge, its luxurious Club and its ever-multiplying hotels. Society, it is true, still plays as well as works; but life is taken more seriously and the men of leisure are a microscopic minority. The softening influence of womanly tact and fascination are exercised in the natural order of things, but they are never in the ascendant. "Simla is a mere bivouac; the house is very small and very uncomfortable, but the climate is tolerably fresh and bracing." So wrote Lord Lytton from Peterhoff to Mr. John Morley in the spring of 1876. The bivouac has become a permanent encampment, linked with the plains by a railway, and holding within its confine an official population that is ever expanding Peterhoff; the "very small and very uncomfortable" house has been dwarfed by the lodge which Lord Dufferin built; the Snowdon of Sir Donald Stewart's and Lord Roberts's days was transformed by Lord Kitchener into a comfortable home; the Lieutenant-Governor has "renovated" Barnes Court; new roads have been built; and country houses at Mashobra and Mahasu are "desirable residences." The Viceroy may bivouac at Naldira, above the golf links; in Simla his surroundings are those befitting his position. His Excellency must read with amazement the humorous description which one of his predecessors gave of the cramped space of Peterhoff. To quote Lord Lytton again:—"I cannot be for one second alone. I sit in the privatest corner of any private room, and if I look through the window, there are two sentinels standing guard over me. If I open the door, there are the *jemadars* crouching at the threshold. If I go up or down stairs, an A.D.C. and three unpronounceable beings in white and red nightgowns with dark faces rush after me. If I steal out of the house by the back door I look round and find myself stealthily followed by a tail of fifteen persons." Things are better ordered in these days, and there is a scope for State functions and Viceregal hospitality which was denied in bygone days. Simla, like Calcutta, has moved with the times; the *dandi* has vanished with the palanquin; and the motor-car climbs the hill from Kalka—though it has to resign its place to the rickshaw when it has come to its journey's end.

### EFFECT OF TRAVEL OF INDIANS

In this brief sketch of the changes that have come in a generation, the effect of closer contact between East and West, due to the greater facilities of travel, must be noted. In India itself the extension of the railway systems has done much to break down the barriers which separated race from race, and left the purely Indians

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communities almost unknown to each other. There is much more intermingling now ; and, in particular, the isolation of the Ruling Chiefs, who rarely moved from their own territories, has passed away. They exchange hospitality freely ; and many of them have been honoured guests in Government House, Calcutta and in Viceregal Lodge, Simla. Viceregal hospitality, too, is exercised on a broader basis, and Indian gentlemen and ladies are familiar figures in all social functions. In the presidencies and the provinces similar conditions obtain, and the exclusiveness that once was the rule is disappearing. If the European has put himself more *en rapport* with home interests and affairs, much more has the Indian sought with eagerness to become acquainted with the West. Even the most orthodox Hindus have ventured upon the long voyages which take them far beyond the circle of their normal existence, while the travelled Mahomedan and Parsi is met in Bombay and elsewhere in numbers that show how free intercommunication now is. One sees the results of residence in Europe in many ways—some not altogether satisfactory, as impatience and resentment are sometimes bred in the minds of the younger men when they have to take up their life's work in India. But the inborn conservatism of Oriental races saves the men of mature years from losing their mental balance ; they preserve a saving sense of proportion, and benefit from their experience of Western life and customs. They have fewer illusions than the younger generation ; and they can weigh advantages and disadvantages without juggling with the weights.

### THE CALCUTTA CLUB

The question of the influx of Indian students into England, and their ultimate return to India, is not one that can be dealt with in an article of this kind. It is a problem that may take years to solve, and it has complexities that seem to increase rather than lessen. Perhaps in the more generous intercourse that has sprung up in the clubs founded recently at Bombay and Calcutta, in which European and Indian meet on a common level of membership, a better understanding may be reached. Certainly as regards the "Calcutta Club" much has been accomplished. The gatherings there, which the Viceroy and his immediate predecessor have honoured with their presence, have been so successful that the club has sprung into prominence in a few short years. The members of the enlarged Legislative Councils meet in friendly association ; differences are forgotten : and as hosts to society at large the members are models of courtesy and hospitality. Anglo-Indian and Indian society are "on terms" at last, and the old asperities of social life are being smoothed down. The Indian politician of the best stamps, with a deeper sense of his responsibilities as a citizen, is shaking off his reserve, and he is being met frankly by those whom he formerly regarded as outside his social sphere. The *purdah* has been partially lifted, and it will never be dropped again.

### " MIXED " MARRIAGES

In one way more frequent contact with the West has not been productive of good results. Certain *mesalliances* which Indian Chiefs have formed have been repugnant to the feelings of their subjects, and orthodox Hindu and Mahomedan opinion undoubtedly condemns such "marriages." At one period it seemed as if the ex-

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ample of one Chief would be followed by several others, young and rather irresponsible rulers of Native States, but the veiled displeasure of Government checked to a great extent the tendency that have become manifest. Public opinion in the Native States as a whole, rather than official action, must be relied upon in a matter of this kind, and the influence exercised by the Court at home can also be applied as a corrective. In ordinary society, in such large towns as Calcutta and Bombay, the relations between English and Indian ladies of position are now far more cordial than a few years ago, and when the *purdah* does not intervene the *rapprochement* is evident in social functions where the two communities can meet on almost common ground. There is still much to be accomplished, it is true, as the great differences in customs and conventions cannot be immediately reconciled, but a spirit of mutual concession should surely but slowly assist to solve a once difficult problem. The charge of exclusiveness so often levelled against Anglo-Indian Society cannot now be fully sustained, and though some barriers still remain they are weakening every day. A more tolerant and generous feeling is springing up, and its effect cannot fail to be seen in the course of time. Jealousies and misunderstandings among the gentler sex should give way to a truer appreciation of each other's higher qualities, and thus prevent an attitude of detachment being taken up on either side. If, occasionally, efforts are made in Indian (as distinct from European) Society to create new and exclusive circles, such movements are to be deprecated, and it is to be hoped that they will not be generally countenanced. It would, indeed, be regrettable if inner circles of this kind were to be formed at a period of social transition like the present.

### SPORTS AND PASTIMES

It may not, perhaps, be realized how important a part sports and pastimes play in the social life of India. Polo and cricket have done much to excite healthy emulation between Europeans and Indians, and the mixed teams that are constantly playing make for *camaraderie* and good feeling. But cricket has declined as polo has spread from the great cantonments to the Native States, and there are now comparatively few visiting elevens with their annual tours during the cold weather. At uncertain intervals a spurt is given to cricket, and English professionals still come out to coach the players whom this or that Chief wishes to put in the field, but on only too many stations interest in the game has flagged. If Lord Hawke would captain another team for India, following upon the visit of Indian cricketers to England this summer, we might see a revival in the fortunes of the game. There are still many keen players who would eagerly welcome the coming of a good English eleven. Foot-ball, which owes its popularity to Sir Mortimer Durand, who started tournament play (Association) at Simla in the eighties, has also served to bring Europeans and Indians together in friendly rivalry. The games on the Calcutta Maidan are watched by enormous crowds, and the rough-and-tumble of the Rugby "scrums" thoroughly enjoyed. Hockey is also played with much spirit, and Indian regimental teams have greatly distinguished themselves on occasions. Lawn tennis, which was in its infancy in the later '70's, has a firm hold as a healthy outdoor game well suited to the Indian climate, but it has now a formidable rival

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in golf. Certainly one of the most striking developments of late has been the growth of the Royal Game. Links have been made in scores of stations ; and Calcutta especially has given itself over to the fascinations of golf. It has its annual tournament for the Championship of India ; and the links on the Maidan, at Tollygunge, and in Barrackpore Park give splendid chances for play of every grade. The present Viceroy is an ardent golfer, and he rarely misses his afternoon's round. In Simla players have to seek their game 16 miles from their office desks, but there are week-ends to be enjoyed on the hill-side at Naldira, even though the greens are on precipitous slopes. In far-away Gulmarg, visitors to Kashmir play golf the whole summer through amid beautiful surroundings, and this little station has now quite a reputation of its own to sustain. Golfers have discovered that the game to which they are devoted can flourish from the rolling downs of Otacamund to the very confines of Kashmir under the shadow of the snowy peaks. The enthusiasm with which racing is followed in India is exemplified by the numerous meetings held at Calcutta and Bombay, and Indian owners figure very prominently on the Turf. If the smaller stations have suffered, there is the compensation that large prizes are open to all at the two centres of racing, and that help is given freely to country meetings by the Calcutta Turf Club. The spirit of sport brings the two communities together ; and as there is no royal road to success the competition is on equal terms.

## **THE FINANCES OF INDIA**

### **HOW THEY ARE MANAGED**

(By Sir William Meyer, K.C.I.E.)

The fundamental fact to be borne in mind in dealing with Indian finance is that the Budgets and accounts published by the Government of India include also the transactions of the Local Governments and that the revenues enjoyed by the latter are mainly derived from sources which they share with the Central Government. Taking the position arrived at by a revision of the financial settlements with the Provinces announced in the present year's Budget, we find that, generally speaking, what are termed the "divided" heads, under which the Provinces get not less than one half the receipts, are land revenue, excise, stamps, income-tax, and the incomings from the larger irrigation works. The Provincial Governments now get the whole of the receipts under forests and registration, and the takings of the spending departments which they manage, such as ordinary public works, police, education, medical, courts, and goals. The Government of India, on the other hand, get the whole of the revenue accruing from the export of opium (the taxation on opium consumed within the country comes under the head of Excise), salt, customs, mint, railways, posts and telegraphs, military receipts, and tributes from Native States.

The revenues of the Government of India are styled Imperial revenues, and those of the Local Governments, Provincial. As regards expenditure, the Government of India are mainly responsible for outlay relating to defence, railways, posts and telegraphs,

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interest on debt, and home charges; and the Provinces for charges connected with land revenue and general administration, forests, police, courts and gaols, education and medical, while charges for irrigation and ordinary public works are common to both Imperial and Provincial, but with the Provincial element largely predominating. The Central and Local Governments share also in expenditure on famine relief when necessary.

### THE PROVINCIAL SETTLEMENTS

Each Province has a financial settlement with the Government of India which regulates the scope of its revenue and expenditure. These settlements, which were formerly subject to revision every five years, have since 1904 been of a more permanent character, and the element of permanency is now to be further increased, so that the Provincial Government will obtain the full benefit of administrative economies, or improvement in the revenues in which they are interested. A further reform in this connexion, announced in connexion with the Budget for 1911-12, is the conversion of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions of revenue formerly accruing in the shape of fixed assignments by the Government of India into shares of expanding revenue, so that practically the whole of the Provincial revenues are now of a growing character. The revenues of the eight major Provinces now amount collectively to about 26 million pounds, or approximately one-third of the total revenue shown in the Government of India's Budget. The Provinces are not, however, in any way independent in respect of their finance. Their Budgets have to receive the approval of the Government of India, and a Province cannot meet excess of expenditure over current revenue by drawing on the balances to its credit (the result of past savings or special grants from the Central Government) without the sanction of that Government. Further, apart from this general control, add the competence of the Central Government to prescribe general lines of policy which may affect Provincial finances, the Local Governments are bound by the provisions of Government of India codes, such as the Civil Service Regulations, and the Civil Account Code, which prescribe *inter alia* a large number of specific restrictions on expenditure. Thus, to take a single instance, a Local Government cannot create an appointment carrying a pay of more than £200 per annum, or raise the pay of such a post already in existence, without the sanction both of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The present policy, however, which is supported by the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission of 1907-1909, is to relax these detailed restrictions in considerable measure.

Local Governments, again, have no borrowing powers, since their resources are closely bound up with those of the Government of India, with whom the control of the debt rests, nor can they impose additional taxation or make fundamental change in an existing revenue system without the sanction of the Government of India. Lastly, the Accounts and Audit department is an Imperial agency, independent of the Local Governments.

### INFLUENCE OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

The powers and resources of the Provincial Governments have been materially increased during the last generation and are

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likely to be still further added to, not merely by reason of the growing complexity of the operations of Government, which requires relief of the central authority by well-considered delegations, but owing to the fact that the Legislative Councils as now constituted, with their non-official majorities and large elective element, can impose a check on the local bureaucracies which had formerly to be exercised from outside by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. There is as yet no separate Legislative Council for the Central Provinces ; but in the other major Provinces a select committee of the Legislative Council, in which the non-official element is well represented, scrutinizes and makes suggestions on the Provincial Budget in its preliminary stages, and with special reference to the allocation of such new expenditure as the Province is in a position to afford. Later on, again, the Provincial Budget as approved by the Government of India is discussed by the Provincial Legislative Council as a whole; and that body is competent to submit resolutions proposing 'the deflection of expenditure from one head to another or in regard to the financial position and the employment of funds generally. Such resolutions are, however, not necessarily binding on the Local Government. It can act on them or submit them to the Government of India when reference to that authority would be required or not according to its discretion. Similar resolutions can be moved in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, where, however, there is still an official majority, in respect of the Budget of India as a whole, and with special reference to any alterations in taxation or other new departures which it may contain ; and as the animated debates which have taken place in these Councils during the last year have shown, the non-official members are fully alive to their present position.

The new Councils are not, however, likely to work in the direction of economy. The members are ready to render lip-service to that austere but ungenial deity, but they reserve their real devotion for special and sometimes novel shrines of the goddess of spending. Mr. Gokhale—to cite the most distinguished of the non-official members of the Indian Legislature—while denouncing military expenditure and calling attention to the large growth of civil administrative charges, is quite ready to postpone the redemption of non-productive debt or to propose a policy of free and eventually compulsory education, which would run away with millions ; and members of the local Legislatures are already pressing for additional provincial outlay in the direction of increase of salaries to subordinate officials, larger State aid to local bodies, and so on. The majority of the local Governments, again, are more eager for increase of administrative efficiency and local development than for economy, and though the financial settlements effected with them in 1904 and the succeeding years were much more liberal than those they had previously had, several provinces had in a few years outstripped their resources. When a Provincial Government finds itself in such a pass it promptly proceeds to ask for additional assistance, temporary or permanent, from the Government of India and is naturally supported by the public opinion of the province. To accede to such demands save in very exceptional circumstances would, however, be impossible without destroying the increased

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sense of responsibility which development in the direction of local autonomy requires from the local Governments and their Legislatures. It seems necessary, therefore—and this policy is hinted at in the latest Government of India Budget—that these authorities should be made to realize more completely their position as guardians of the public purse by receiving, as suggested by the Decentralization Commission, the power to levy local taxation subject to the approval of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Orators who now speak of the over-taxation of the ryot, and in the next breath suggest fresh objects of expenditure, would then have to realize that they cannot indulge in such a policy without adding to the public burdens.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Just as the provincial finances are under the control of the Government of India and in some matters of the Secretary of State also, so are those of the Government of India under the control of the Secretary of State in Council. The latter has the direct management of what are termed the home charges—viz., the large amounts, now aggregating more than 18 millions per annum—which have to be disbursed in England for military purposes, stores and machinery, interest on debt, and furlough and pension allowances. The India Office deals also with the raising and application of sterling loans, and with contracts with railway companies in respect of such matters as the management of State-owned lines. Further, as regards the revenues raised and expended in India, the Secretary of State has full control vested in him by the Government of India Act of 1858, and the independent financial powers of the Government of India are strictly limited. The Secretary of State's sanction, for example, is required to any reduction or increase of taxation or other measure which would materially affect the Indian revenues, to loans, to any new departure of importance in fiscal policy including a material revision of a provincial settlement, to outlay of an unusual character, and to the construction of railways and large public works. There are also a number of specific restrictions in such matters as the granting of pensions and the creation of pay or new appointments, while no important alterations may be made in the Civil Service Regulations or other important financial codes without the Secretary of State's approval. Lord Morley has by common consent drawn the leading strings in which the India Office can thus hold the Governor-General in Council tighter in many respects than most of his predecessors; but it must be remembered *per contra* that he has materially relaxed them in a matter which was productive of more references than all the rest put together—viz., in respect of the pecuniary conditions of specific posts. The Government of India can now, generally speaking, create fresh appointments on their own authority up to an individual cost of £400 a year and raise the pay of an existing post up to £600, while in respect of lump increase in subordinate establishments they have power up to £3,333 per annum.

In the field of the relations between Simla and Whitehall the development of the new reforms scheme, with the largely increased powers it has given to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, must, however, as Mr. Valentine Chirol has forcibly indicated in his valuable work on "Indian Unrest," tend to further financial auto-

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nomy on the part of the Government of India. As Mr. Chirol has truly observed, there is no matter on which all classes of Indian politicians are in such general agreement as the seeking of increased revenues as these become necessary by raising the Customs tariff without similar internal taxation; and it will become more and more difficult as time goes on to compel the Government of India to champion opposite courses thrust on them from home, as they had to do, for instance, in 1894 in respect of Excise duties on locally produced cotton goods. Necessarily, too, such difficulty will be greatly increased if England adopts a policy of Tariff Reform and thus deters herself from pleading that when she forbids India to impose more than a light tariff for revenue purposes she is acting on what experience has shown her to be the true interest of the dependent country. Inevitably, then, the pressure of Indian public opinion and of the growing industries of the country, as voiced in the Legislative Councils, must be in the direction of greater financial discretion, and of tariffs which will be directed against Great Britain along with the rest of the outside world.

### REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

We now come to the consideration of the financial administration of the Government of India, which, as already explained, includes that of the Provincial Governments, and of its practical results. The following abstract shows the revenue and expenditure charged against revenue of each year of the last decade, the figures for 1910-11 being as yet only approximately accurate (revised estimates they are technically styled) and those for 1911-12 the Budget Estimates lately presented to the Legislative Council. The figures are in millions of pounds to one place of decimals :—

			Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surplus.
1902-3	...	...	65.3	62.2	3.1
1903-4	...	...	71.0	68.0	3.0
1904-5	..	...	71.1	67.7	3.4
1905-6	...	...	70.8	68.7	2.1
1906-7	...	...	73.1	71.5	1.6
1907-8	...	...	71.9	70.7	0.3
1908-9	...	...	69.8	73.5	3.7*
1909-10	...	...	74.6	74.0	0.6
1910-11	...	...	80.3	76.9	3.4
1911-12	...	...	78.0	77.2	0.8†

\* Deficit.      † Estimated.

### RECEIPTS: TAXATION PROPER

In considering these large figures the first thing to be borne in mind is that less than one-third of the revenues are derived from taxation proper, which, in the last year of our series, is estimated to produce 24.1 millions, distributed thus :—Excise, 7.2; Customs, 6.2; stamps, 4.8; salt, 3.3; income-tax, registration, and cesses, 2.6.

The Excise receipts are derived from duties and vend fees on liquors, opium, and intoxicating drugs consumed in the country (the duty on imported liquors appears, however, under customs). The Customs revenue is produced by a general revenue tariff of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, with exemption, or lesser rates, for food grains, machinery, railway materials, and iron and steel products.

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Cotton twists and yarn, again, are free, while the tax on woven cottons is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., counter-balanced by a like Excise on the products of Indian mills. Liquors, arms, and raw tobacco and silver are subject to special and high rates of taxation. The Customs revenue also includes a duty on exported rice, which accrues principally from Burma.

The stamp revenues are derived from judicial and court fee stamps in connexion with proceedings in the courts and from duties on various commercial and other documents.

The salt tax consists of a duty equivalent to rs. 4d. on each maund (about 82lb.) of salt imported or locally produced. Ten years ago this rate was, generally speaking, 3s. 4d. per maund; it has been brought to its present level by successive reductions in 1903, 1905, and 1907. The present incidence is less than 4d. per lb., and much lower than the Government takings from salt in some other countries—*e.g.*, Germany, Austria, France, and Italy.

The income-tax, which since 1903 has been levied on incomes in excess of Rs. 1,000 (£67) a year, instead of on those exceeding Rs. 500, as formerly, does not apply to receipts from agriculture, and is raised at 5 pies per rupee (about 6d. in the pound) on incomes above Rs. 2,000, and at a somewhat lower rate on incomes below that level.

### LAND REVENUE AND FORESTS

Of the non-taxation factors the most important is the land revenue, which represents the State's ultimate share in the ownership of land, and intercepts profits which would otherwise go to private landholders. The State demand was permanently fixed over a century ago in the greater part of the two Bengals, and in portions of Madras and the United Provinces. Elsewhere it is periodically revised by land settlements, the usual period of which is about 30 years, and is supposed, generally speaking, to amount to one-half the net agricultural profits. Recent settlements have, however, as a rule shown progressive liberality in going below this figure. The incidence of the land revenue may be taken, on a rough average, at about 11d. per acre in the permanently settled tracts, which now represents about one-fifth of the rental, and at 2s. per acre in the temporarily settled areas. Along with land revenue may be classed forests, the receipts from which are derived from grazing fees and the sale of timber and other products of the State forests, and are partially balanced by the expenditure on the development of these. The receipts from land revenue and forests taken together amounted to 19·7 millions in 1902-03 and are estimated as 23·3 millions in 1911-12. The increase is due to the extension of cultivation, a rise in prices which, while hurting the professional classes, has materially benefited the agriculturists and the development of the Government forest property.

### RAILWAYS AND IRRIGATION

The State owns most of the railways in India, working some direct as State lines, and leasing others out to companies, who obtain as a rule a guarantee of a certain return of their capital while sharing the surplus profits with the Government. The receipt side of the Government of India's Budget shows the net receipts from State lines—*i.e.*, gross receipts less working expenses—and the expendi-

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ture side the interest charges on the railway portion of the debt, while payments to and from companies figure under expenditure or receipts as the case may be. The railway transactions were for a long period a source of net loss to the Government of India, and were denounced accordingly by the National Congress school of critics, but from 1899-1900 onwards they have yielded a surplus, save in 1908-9, when widespread agricultural distress and bad trade produced a considerable deficit. In 1902-3 the railway receipts and expenditure were 10'3 and 10'1 millions respectively; in the Budget for 1911-12 the corresponding figures are 14'0 and 12'1. Irrigation works in India are mainly State properties, and now produce a revenue of about 3'8 millions, largely balanced by expenditure on maintenance, construction of minor works, and interest on the irrigation debt.

### OPIUM AND OTHER RECEIPTS

The opium revenue accrues from the opium exported from India, mainly to China, and is derived from direct Government monopoly in the Gangetic Valley and from taxation levied at Bombay on Malwa opium, the product mainly of Native States in Rajputana and Central India. The opium revenue (4'5 millions in 1902-3 and estimated at 4'3 millions in 1911-12, with counterbalancing charges for production and supervision of 1'6 and 1'2 millions respectively) is now a diminishing factor since, with effect from 1908, it has been agreed that the Indian export to China should be reduced in amount by one-tenth per annum, *pari passu* with the efforts of the Chinese Government to obtain a gradual extinction of the home-grown article, and though this arrangement has hitherto had formal force only up to the current year, it is now likely to be much accelerated. As yet, however, the ultimate effect of this policy on the Indian revenues, which will be to extinguish a source which was producing, when the reduction policy commenced, a net revenue of about 3½ millions per annum, has been obscured by the fact that the reduced export to China has been counterbalanced by a large increase in the price of what is still sent, while on the other hand the gradual reduction of poppy cultivation in India is diminishing working expenses. Thus, in 1910-11 the opium receipts amounted to no less than 7'5 millions (against a Budget estimate of 4'7), with an expenditure of 1'2 only, while the much smaller revenue estimated for 1911-12 will probably be considerably exceeded in fact. These additional receipts are, however, only temporary windfalls, and the Government of India are wisely devoting them to special non-recurring expenditure and to the reduction of debt.

Post office, telegraphs, and mints at present yield a revenue of about 3'4 millions, which is almost counterbalanced by corresponding charges. Receipts in connexion with the military department are about 1'2 million, and an almost equal amount is derived from interest on the loans made by the Government to Native States, local bodies, and agriculturists, advances to railway companies, on the invested portion of the paper currency reserve (the amount held by the Government against the note circulation), and on temporary investments of the Secretary of State's balances. Other miscellaneous receipts aggregate in all about three millions.

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### EXPENDITURE

The total expenditure was 62·2 millions in 1902-3, and is estimated at 77·2 millions in the Budget for 1911-12. The main heads are as follows, the figures in brackets showing the amount classified under each in the two years in question:—Charges for collection of taxes (2·4, 2·9); land revenue and forests (3·6, 5·0); opium (1·6, 1·2); interest on ordinary debt and other obligations (1·8, 2·1); Post Office, telegraphs, and mints (2·6, 3·2); police (2·7, 4·6); Courts and gaols (2·9, 3·8); education (0·8, 2·3); medical and sanitation (0·7, 1·3); other administrative charges (3·1, 4·9); Civil pensions and leave allowances and miscellaneous charges (4·6, 4·9); famine relief and insurance (1·0, 1·0); railways (10·1, 12·1); irrigation (2·6, 3·4); ordinary public works (3·1, 5·5); military (18·8, 20·8).

It should be noted that the total of the expenditure provided for 1911-12 comes to 78·9 millions, but 1·7 of this is met by drawings from the provincial balances, which were increased to this end in 1910-11 by special grants from the Government of India for education, sanitation, and other special expenditure. The year's expenditure further includes an outlay of about one million in connexion with the coming Royal visit. Taking the principal increases during the last decade—that under land revenue and forests is due to strengthening and improvement of the condition of the district establishments, to the taking over by Government of the charges of various agencies which were formerly met by special cesses now abolished, and to the development of forests. The police administration has undergone thorough reform, in pursuance of the recommendations of a Commission appointed to this end by Lord Curzon. The courts and gaols establishments have been improved, and a considerably larger amount is now spent by the State on education and medical and sanitary operations, while there has also been increased expenditure in the development of agriculture and veterinary and scientific operations. The railway and irrigation expenditure has grown with the expansion of these systems, and a larger sum is now spent on ordinary public works, which includes outlay on roads, bridges, and buildings, including school-houses and hospitals.

The increase under military charges, against the gross incidence of which should be set off receipts amounting to about 1·2 million, is due mainly to the extensive reforms introduced by Lord Kitchener, which have made the Indian Army a vastly better instrument for war. The high-water mark of this expenditure was reached in 1905-6, when the military charges totalled 21·9 millions. Since then the outside political situation has admitted of some shutting down of fresh outlay, while Lord Kitchener's counterbalancing economies have produced their result. The increase includes, it may be noted, a material betterment in the pay conditions of the native soldier which the increased cost of living called for, and pay concessions to the European troops, which were in the main dictated by the arrangements of the Home Government in regard to the British Army as a whole. Comparing the 21 millions *circa* which India now pays for her defence out of a revenue of 78 millions with the fact that in the United Kingdom the cost of defence, including the interest on past war loans, is considerably more than half the State income (the

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Indian debt, as will presently be shown, is now no burden on the tax-payer), it may be safely said that the burden of armaments which India has to bear through a constant subject of criticism by what may be termed the Moderate Opposition in that country, is a relatively light one, and that it would be far heavier had the country to stand alone. As it is, India pays nothing normally for her naval defence, a matter which may require further consideration hereafter, save a contribution of £100,000 per annum to the Home Government, while the maintenance of an Army of about 235,000 men, of whom 75,000 only are British, for internal security and defence against external aggression, cannot be reckoned in the least excessive for a country which now contains over 300 million people. Nor does the fact that Indian troops are occasionally drawn upon by the Home Government for service out of India show, as is often alleged, that the Indian establishment is unduly large. The fact that it can spare men as an exceptional measure in an Imperial crisis does not in the least affect the normal balance of safety. The real grievance here was that in former years the War Office endeavoured, with some measure of success, to saddle India with a part of the cost of troops thus employed outside her borders, but of late years the burden of such expenditure has been completely met by the Home Government.

The only other head that requires notice is famine relief and insurance, under which the Government of India are bound to allot a sum of not less than one million yearly, which in times of serious famine would, of course, be considerably exceeded. The difference between the actual famine outlay, if any, and this total is devoted to the construction of protective irrigation works or railways and to avoiding fresh debt by application to productive public works financed from capital.

### **GENERAL GROWTH OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE**

Reverting now to the total figures of revenue and expenditure already given, it will be observed that there was a steady increase of revenue to the extent of nearly eight millions between 1902-3 and 1906-7. Save in respect of Excise, where there has been a continuous increase of the local duties, which vary in different parts of the country, with a view to restricting the consumption of liquors and drugs rather than with any primary desire for revenue, and a slight increase for similar reasons in the duty on imported spirits, there was, however, no increase of taxation during this period. On the contrary, it was marked by successive reduction of the salt duty, by the larger exemption from income-tax already referred to, and by the abolition of a number of special cesses. The increase was due mainly to the advancing prosperity of the country as evidenced by growing receipts under railways, Excise and land revenue; and although the progress of expenditure, the chief features of which have been already referred to, was also large during this period, each year closed with a substantial surplus. In an interesting debate which recently took place in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, Mr. Gokhale maintained that the increase in charges had been in excess of the development of the country's resources: and it must be admitted that Sir Edward Baker, whose tenure of office as Finance Minister (1905-8) was cast for the most part in years of plenty, acted on the assumption that the net revenue from railways

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which at one time exceeded two millions, was not likely to fall below this figure, and that he was not sufficiently mindful of the way in which the revenue of India may be suddenly depleted by bad season and poor trade. In 1907, too, it was known that the reduction of the opium revenue, already referred to, was bound to come; nevertheless in that year Sir Edward was a party to a further reduction of 8 annas per maund on the salt tax, bringing up the total remissions of taxation which had been carried out since 1903 to about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions per annum. The year 1907-8, which was one of poor seasons, and closed with a surplus of only £340,000, indicated a turn of the tide, and in 1908-9 there was a deficit of 3.7 millions, the first since 1897-8, due to continued bad crops and depression of trade. Railway receipts dropped from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 millions, while, by what can only be termed an extraordinary lack of supervision by the railway authorities, the expenditure under this head was the highest that had yet been attained. The position improved in 1909-10, the receipts of which, owing to betterment under land revenues and railways, rose to 7.6 millions, but a simultaneous growth of expenditure, though of less amount, reduced the surplus to £600,000.

In introducing the Budget for 1910-11 the present Finance Minister, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, felt the position so precarious, with reference to the future disappearance of the opium revenue and the demonstrated uncertainty of the net railway receipts, that he obtained the imposition of fresh taxation to the extent of over a million by enhancing the duties on imported liquors and petroleum, raising the stamp duties on certain instruments, and putting special duties on imported tobacco and silver. It was objected by certain non-official critics in the Legislative Council that this increased taxation was not really necessary, the Finance Minister having under-estimated the receipt from opium and the revised estimates for the year have in fact shown that opium has (for reasons already indicated) produced some three millions more than the Budget had anticipated while net railway receipts have been nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  million better. Having regard, however, to the windfall character and eventual disappearance of the opium receipts, to the uncertainty of large railway surpluses and to the necessary expansion of expenditure in certain directions, notably under education and sanitation, Sir Guy may be congratulated on his courage in putting the resources of the Government of India on a more stable basis, and on only assenting to some reduction in the tobacco duties for the current year. The fact that the Government of India's estimates are usually cast in a cautious spirit, and that good times may cause the estimated surplus to be largely exceeded, has often subjected Indian financiers to the charge of inaccurate estimating, but in a country whose resources depend so largely on the seasons and where the field of taxation is very limited, the fault is on the right side. The people would not understand constant changes in taxation, and it should therefore be a fundamental maxim not to reduce imposts until it is reasonably certain that there is a safe recurring surplus or receipts over expenditure.

### FINANCES OF LOCAL BODIES

Outside the Government of India's accounts are the transaction of district and sub-district boards and municipalities. These bodies

have now an aggregate income of about six millions, excluding debt and deposit transactions. These sources of revenue are entirely distinct from those of the Government, and are mostly derived from a cess on land, supplemented, since 1905, by a proportionate grant from the Government, in the case of the rural boards and by rates on houses and land, taxes on professions and trades, tolls and octrois in municipalities. The three latter sources, however, are not common to all parts of the country. These bodies have borrowing powers, subject to the control of the local Governments, and their expenditure is mainly on roads and streets, medical relief and sanitation, primary education, and lighting and markets in the case of towns.

### CAPITAL TRANSACTIONS

It may reasonably be asked what the Government of India have done with the collectively large surpluses of recent years. Apart from some strengthening of the cash balances in India and England, which have to be large owing to the fact that the Government of India are obliged for the most part to act as their own bankers and to have funds in hand to meet the obligations arising at a vast number of local treasuries, as well as for unforeseen emergencies, the answer is to be found in the fact that the Government of India have embarked on a large and continuous outlay on capital railway expenditure and on the construction of productive irrigation works—i.e., schemes which, after meeting all charges, are calculated to produce an appreciable profit. Taking the estimates for 1911-12, the programme of capital railway expenditure amounts to 9·5 millions, and that of productive irrigation to 1·3. This outlay is normally financed (a) from the revenue surplus, (b) by money available from the famine insurance grant, (c) by the surplus receipts from savings banks and other deposits over outgoings, (d) by capital raised by guaranteed or assisted railway companies, and (e) by State borrowing in England and India. The Indian loans which are so frequently issued, and which to some minds might convey the impression that the Government of India are exceeding their resources, are incurred, save when there may be an exceptional year of large deficit, solely for productive purposes. The portion of the capital railway and irrigation expenditure which is met from current revenues is adjusted by a counter-transfer from the ordinary or non-productive to the public works or productive portion of the total debt, and the interest on the public works portion is debited to railways and irrigation. The effect of this system, the results of which show how profitable a policy of borrowing may be if well applied, will be seen from the following figures. In 1888 the total debt of India amounted to 149½ millions (73 ordinary and 76½ public works) and the interest charges thereon to 6·2 millions. The net receipts from railways and major irrigation works, however, exceeded the outgoings by 1·4 million, so that the net burden of debt was 4·8. In March last the total debt amounted to 274·8 millions (141·4 ordinary and 133·4 public works), and the total interest charges to 8·2 millions; but the railways and major irrigation works had given a surplus of takings over outgoings of 8·9 millions, and were thus able not merely to defray the whole interest on the debt, but to yield £700,000 besides; so that at the present moment the

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apparently growing Indian debt imposes no burden whatever on the Indian taxpayer.

### **CURRENCY POLICY**

Another matter with which the investor should be more fully acquainted is the complete success of the closure of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver in 1893, which reached its full economic results at the close of the last century, in dissipating the fluctuations in the exchange value of the rupee which had disorganized Indian finance and distracted trade for many years previously. The subsequent and successful policy of the Indian Government has been to divorce the rupee from its much lower bullion value, and give it an artificial exchange value of rs. 4d. by undertaking fresh coinage only to the extent to which this appears to be demanded by trade requirements as indicated by the Secretary of State's Council drawings and by the imports of gold into India. To avoid the risk of such fresh coinage being found eventually redundant, the profits thereon are credited to a special gold standard reserve fund, the greater part of which is invested in sterling securities and is thus automatically increased by the interest accruing. The fund is intended as a reserve in support of exchange, should the normal rate of rs. 4d. per rupee be threatened, and it was called upon in 1907-9, when a heavy drop in the Indian exports, and the appreciation of gold consequent on a financial crisis in America and other outside factors told on the exchange position. The rupee fell in exchange value, and this was met by stopping the Secretary of State's drawings on India, and replacing these by a reverse issue of sterling bills drawn by the Government of India on London in exchange for rupee at a rate which was practically that of rs. 4d., until the skies cleared again and exchange assumed its normal features.

In the meantime the Secretary of State had to draw from the gold standard reserve to meet the home charges and the Government of India's special bills, the equivalent of his drawings being set aside in rupees in India. The gold holdings of the reserve, which had been about 14 millions, were thus reduced by more than eight million pounds, but the restoration of normal exchange conditions and prosperity has since enabled these amounts to be made good, with a further increase of two millions to the fund. Exception has been taken to the Secretary of State's policy of keeping this gold reserve in England and of investing the bulk of it, and it is held by such critics that a large part of the reserve should be in actual gold and kept in Calcutta or Bombay. Economically it is of course, more advantageous to have the gold in London where it would be needed in connexion with the stoppage of the Secretary of State's Council drawings, and to let it breed interest while not required; but a drop in exchange is often the effect of panic, which might be dissipated by a prompt display of gold, and to this extent, and as a matter of sentiment which may react on business, it would be well to promote public confidence in India by keeping a considerable portion of the standard reserve fund in gold there. Another matter in which the India Office has been criticized, and, as the present writer thinks justifiably, is as regards a decision come to in 1907 to apply half the future profits on silver coinage to railway construction, instead of adding the whole to the gold

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standard reserve. This policy has since, however, been modified to the extent that it will not be applied till the total gold holdings of the Government of India including those in the currency reserve fund against notes in circulation, exceed 25 millions. These are, however, minor matters as compared with the fact that it has been demonstrated by the sharp test of experience that the artificial value of the rupee can be maintained through a considerable period of adverse exchange.

### THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S DRAWINGS

The Secretary of State's Council drawings are closely connected with the Indian currency policy. To put the matter in a simple form, and eliminating adjustments necessary on account of capital receipts and outlay, it may be said that the Secretary of State has to draw bills on India against the home charges of the Indian Government, which amount now to over 18 millions per annum. On the other hand, India's trade in normal circumstances shows a large balance of exports over imports, thus requiring the eventual liquidation of debt from the outside world. Balancing one of these factors against the other, the Secretary of State sells for gold drafts in rupees on the Indian treasuries, the actual gold value being determined by the competition of the market. In normal circumstances, however, it cannot be much more than rs. 4d. per rupee, as otherwise it would pay debtors to India to remit gold there, while if the tenders were materially less than this figure the Secretary of State's offers of bills would be cut down and eventually stopped. The trade of India in good years shows, however, a larger export balance than can be wholly defrayed by the Secretary of State's counterbills for revenue purposes. If, however, this balance were entirely left for private transmission to India in the shape of gold, such gold would eventually accumulate to an embarrassing extent in the Government coffers, since practical demand for it as a medium of exchange in India is as yet but small, and a considerable quantity of it would eventually have to be sent back to England to purchase silver for fresh rupee coinage.

To obviate this, the Secretary of State, on a trade demand, sells bills in excess of his actual requirements. Thus, in 1906-7, while the net home charges amounted to little more than 8 millions, the Secretary of State's Council sales came to over 33 millions. Such excess drawings are sometimes, but very erroneously, supposed to involve an additional drain from India for the benefit of the London market, whereas they are merely a convenient method of shortening a circle of transactions which would otherwise take place; and India gets the full benefit of such surplus remittances in the shape of additional rupees coined from silver thereby purchased, by facilitating the conversion of silver profits on coinage accruing to the gold standard reserve into gold in London, or by building up a balance at the India Office which will reduce the amount of the next sterling loan. The actual net remittances of India to England, of which so much has been heard as "the drain," is the amount, now about 18¼ millions of the home charges, *plus* about 2¾ millions representing net private remittances to England. A large proportion of the home charges goes to defray the interest on the sterling debt, which constitutes the greater part of India's debt liabilities; and it has

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already been shown how, financially, this is now no burden on the people of India ; while, economically, it represents the result of an immense amount of prosperity, agricultural and industrial, developed by the railways and irrigation systems. It is, moreover, quite open to the people of India to hold more of the debt in their own hands ; the Government of India always borrow as much as they can in rupees, and it is the relatively small market for loans bearing a low rate of interest in India that compels them to raise money in London.

The balance of the home charges for the most part represents purchase of stores which can not be procured, or so cheaply procured, in India, and payments to civil and military officers on leave ; or pension—a cheap return for the protection, good administration, and prosperity which India has secured from the British connexion. The private remittances, again, are largely due to the investment of capital in India by persons now resident in Europe. In short, thanks to the excellent investment of her borrowings by an "alien Government," India is in a much better position as regards payments to Europe than most countries whose economic development is recent and who owe their prosperity largely to the influx of Western capital. We should probably, in fact, hear very little of "the drain" were it not that the circumstances of Indian Administration cause her debts to England to be advertised by the Secretary of State's drawings, and that the scope of these is not correctly apprehended.

### **CONCLUSION**

This sketch has necessarily been confined to a few years only, but a larger retrospect of Indian finance would bring out still more clearly the general progress of the country, the value of whose seaborne trade now exceeds 250 millions, the steady development of its agricultural resources—set back though these must occasionally be by failures of the monsoon rains—and the growth of new and flourishing industries.

The "Indian unrest" of which so much has been heard of late years, is, taken in the wide sense, a healthy symptom that the country is, under British inspiration, shaking off Oriental apathy and enlarging its sphere of wants and aspirations. Too much attention has been given to the fact that on the political side this movement has in certain quarters degenerated into sedition, and even into anarchical crime. With a firm and wise administration, these will, however, be but back eddies. The stream of real importance is that which is flowing in the direction of financial and economic development, and this development can be materially furthered, with much advantage to the individual investors as well as to the Imperial connexion, by a more plentiful supply of British capital.

## **THE RECENT CENSUS OF INDIA**

### **ITS RESULTS EXPLAINED**

In one of his Parliamentary speeches as Secretary for India, Lord Morley dwelt on the importance of a right understanding by the British democracy of the problems of Indian government, in all

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their complexity and all their enormous magnitude. The basis of this right understanding must be exact knowledge of the population, not only as a whole, but in its manifold ethnographic, communal, and geographic divisions ; and this can be obtained only by a full and careful periodic enumeration such as was carried out on March 10 last. The British democracy and the Indian peoples are not alone concerned in watching the Indian Census. No student of affairs, whether he belongs to the British Empire or not, can regard with indifference the greatest aggregate and uniform enumeration ever undertaken. The persons counted on a single night two-and-a-half months ago in India and in Ceylon (where the same date is chosen for the Census on account of the constant interchange of coolie families with Southern India) constitute rather more than one-fifth of the human race, and considerably exceed in number the combined populations of America, Africa, and Australia.

### **FORMER ENUMERATIONS**

The Indian Census is so great a triumph of bureaucratic organization that it is difficult to realize that experience of the operation or a uniform plan as to date, schedule, and tabulation only goes back 30 years. Until 1881 the several provinces did the counting of the people in their own way and at their own time, and the operation did not extend to the bulk of the Native States. The first regular Census on the modern system was carried out on February 17, 1881 : the second on February 16, 1891 ; and the third on March 1, 1901. The general reports on the first and second enumerations written by Sir William Plowden and Sir J. Athelstane Baines, the respective Commissioners, are of great statistical interest. The operations 10 years ago were in charge of a distinguished ethnologist, Sir Herbert Risley, now Secretary of the Judicial and Public Department, India Office. The general report, with his chapter on " Cast, Tribe and Race " and contributions to other chapters, and Dr. George Grierson's chapter on " Languages " is of unequalled value in the whole range of Census literature.

### **THE FOURTH CENSUS**

The date of the last numbering of the people, March 10, 10 years and nine days after the previous enumeration, was chosen partly with reference to the age of the moon, so that the enumerators might be able to go about their work by moonlight, and partly with the object of avoiding religious festivals and fairs, and the dates regarded as auspicious for marriage ceremonies and for bathing in the sacred rivers. In respect to the vast area covered by the operations there was much less extension of the count than by the two previous occasions. In 1891 Upper Burma, then recently acquired, Kashmir, and Sikkim were included for the first time ; and 10 years later the additional area comprised the greater part of the Baluchistan agency, the Bhil country in Rajputana, the settlements of the wild Nicobarese and Andamanese, and certain outlying tracts along both the North-West and North-East borders. In some of these areas, however, no detailed enumeration was possible, and the population was estimated with reference to the ascertained number of houses or the returns of the tribal headman. On the last occasion the operations included the whole of Baluchistan (except Kharan) the whole of the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier Province

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and some remote tracts in Burma which had not previously been dealt with. In a few tracts where the previous count had not been simultaneous, a synchronous Census was effected, and in a few others an actual enumeration took the place of an estimate. This was the case in respect to the various tribes of the Nicobars, with the exception of the Shom Pen, irreclaimable savages dwelling in the interior of the Great Nicobar Island. By a fortunate coincidence, however, the Shom Pen themselves supplied the material on which it was possible to base a fairly reliable estimate of their number. Just before the Census party reached the island the tribe sent to the Nicobarese dwelling near the coast a message announcing their intention of attacking them. In a spirit of boastful threatening, they sent with the message two tally-sticks on which notches were cut to indicate the number of fighting men in each of their settlements, the different settlements being marked off by lateral notches.

### THE ENUMERATING AGENCY

The schedules distributed in this country at the beginning of April were usually filled in by the head of the family either on the previous day or the morning after Census night. But this procedure is not practicable in India, where ten years ago 278 millions of the 294 millions enumerated could not read or write even in their own vernaculars. It was necessary therefore for the schedules to be usually filled in by the enumerators, and this was done provisionally well beforehand ; in fact, for the most part during February. Each enumerator was in charge of a block containing from 30 to 50 houses. Above the block came the circle, comprising ten or 15 blocks, or about 500 houses under a supervisor, who had to carefully check the work of the enumerators. The circles, again, were grouped according to tahsils, taluks, or other administrative subdivisions, into charges under charge superintendents. The latter were in turn responsible to the provincial superintendents, and these to the Census Commissioner, Mr. E. A. Gait. On March 10 between 7 P.M. and midnight, the enumerators again went round their blocks, and brought the entries previously made into accordance with the facts at that time, by striking out the names of people who had died or gone away, and entering the necessary particulars for fresh arrivals and newly-born infants. On the following morning the enumerators of all the blocks in a circle met the supervisor, who, after testing the figures they gave, prepared from them a summary for his circle : this he transmitted to his charge superintendent, who reported to higher authority.

### PUBLIC CO-OPERATION

The total strength of the Census staff was about two million, as against 1½ million in 1901, and this agency was for the most part voluntary and honorary. The literate section of the community is so small, comparatively speaking, that the law gives power to compel the co-operation of suitable persons under penalty of a fine : but, as on former occasions, service was most willingly rendered in all parts of the Dependency. It may be pointed out that so large a measure of cheerful unpaid co-operation would not have been securable had the doctrine of passive resistance to authority sedulously inculcated by some of the enemies of British rule taken any

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real hold of the literate classes. Owing to the serious recrudescence of plague thousands of the voluntary enumerators were exposed to infection ; in parts of Northern India heavy rain fell while the final Census was being taken ; and in the Himalayan districts and Kashmir great snowdrifts had to be encountered. The physical discomforts and privation incidental to such operations among the wild and jungle tribes, in remote mountainous tracts, or in malarious swamps were cheerfully borne. Happily risks of physical violence at the hands of semi-civilized tribesmen diminish with each enumeration. When first brought within the Census net, some of the jungle tribes had shown a spirit of recalcitrance, owing to the spread among them of extraordinary rumours as to the overt purposes of the Sirkar. Thus in 1881 troops had to be employed in one district to overawe the Sonthals, and their use in a neighbouring district was avoided only by the tact of the Collector, Mr. (now Sir) Herbert Risley, in obtaining from the headmen, by a Socratic process of questioning, an admission that the Government could not be expected to send into the district enough rice to meet the exigencies of the next famine unless they knew how many Sonthals there were to be fed. The headmen saw that after all there was a legitimate reason for the count, and gave their co-operation.

### RAPIDITY OF RESULTS

As is recognized in the Government resolution on the main results of the Census, the "diligent co-operation" of "a large number of individuals belonging to all classes of society" is a main element in enabling India to hold the world's record for the speed with which the results are published. The total population of the country was announced in 1891 by Sir Athelstane Baines within five weeks of the counting, and the provisional total differed from the corrected final figure by only  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This record was much improved upon ten years ago, when Sir Herbert Risley published the preliminary results, by provinces, districts, and principal towns, exactly a fortnight after the counting, the difference from the final compilation being only '03 per cent. This year there has been still further advance. The main figures were officially published by Mr. Gait on March 20, or the tenth day after the night of enumeration. Moreover, in the brief interval between the two dates the newspapers had published figures for many towns and districts, and even for some States and provinces, the first batch of such figures being given on the second day after the schedules were finally made up. Ordinary comparisons between India and this country are misleading ; but in this purely administrative matter it is impossible not to contrast the unapproached rapidity of Indian work with our own leisureliness. Although here the population is homogeneous and literate, distances are small compared with those of India, and the whole problem is altogether simpler ; the most that is hoped, apparently, is that the preliminary totals for England and Wales will be published before the Coronation. One reason for India's pride of place in this matter from the international standpoint is that ten years ago Dr. George von Mayr's slip, or card, system was introduced, with adaptations to Indian requirements. Both then and on the last occasion slips of different colours were used for the different religions, and sex and civil con-

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dition were indicated by the shape of, or symbols printed on, the slips. The system is inexpensive and much less complicated than the old tabulation method, the work is more easily tested, and the time spent on the compilation of statistics is greatly reduced.

### THE GENERAL RESULT

The total population of India recorded on March 10 was 315,001,099, as compared with 294,361,056 ten years ago, 287,314,671 in 1891, and 253,896,330 at the first general Census in 1881. The new figures are provisional and liable to correction, but as on the two former occasions, the difference between the early and final figures is likely to be slight. It will not affect, unless in a minute degree, the following table of variation per cent. in the Indian population since 1881 :—

		1881 to 1891.	1891 to 1901.	1901 to 1911.
Provinces	... ..	11'2	4'7	5'4
Native States	... ..	20'3	— 5'1	12'9
Total—India	...	13'2	2'4	7'0

Indian statistics are full of pitfalls, and these percentages, like many others, cannot be taken at their face value. Regard must be had to the greater accuracy of each succeeding enumeration and to the inclusion of new areas each time. Except in a few outlying tracts, the omissions from the record by 1901 were so few that there was little room for improvement. The population of the areas included for the first time this year is under 1¾ millions. The official computation is that, after allowing for these artificial changes, the rate of growth of population in the Indian Empire during the last 30 years has been as follows :—

		1881 to 1891.	1891 to 1901.	1901 to 1911.
India	... ..	9'8	1'5	6'4

The rate of increase in the last decennium has thus been little more than two-thirds that of the first period. The small progress made in the middle period was chiefly due to the widespread and disastrous famines of 1897 and 1900, which not only caused as heavy fall in the birth-rate, but also, with their sequelæ—cholera, fever, and other epidemics—were responsible for a mortality of about five millions in excess of the normal, occurring chiefly in the Native States. Consequently the conditions after the 1901 Census were favourable to the rapid growth of population. The famines had chiefly carried off “bad lives,” old people, and young children, do that there was reason to expect, on the one hand, an abnormally low death-rate, and, on the other hand, after several years of impaired fertility, an unusually high birth-rate. This favourable start of the decennial period was reinforced by the fairly prosperous state of agriculture. There were a few local famines, but no visitation comparable to those of 1897 and 1900, and, generally speaking, at least average crops were secured. The prosperity, and therefore the health and fecundity of the people, was assisted by steady progress in industrial development, railway construction, and irrigation.

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## PLAGUE AND MALARIA

On the other hand, a serious counterbalancing factor had risen. At the time of the 1901 Census plague had been responsible since its first appearance in Bombay City nearly five years earlier for half a million deaths, according to the official figures. The upward curve was maintained until the end of 1907, and the quick decline of mortality in the next two years was followed by a rapid rise in 1910 which went on in the first three months of the present year. The recorded mortality from plague in the decade was nearly  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions; but the probability that the toll of human lives from this cause was substantially greater is indicated by the swollen figures of deaths reported from malaria, in the Punjab and the United Provinces, where more than half the entire mortality registered from plague in India occurred. The tendency of village officers to attribute any fatal disease of which high temperature is an accompaniment to "fever" is well known, and it is probable that many of the two million deaths so entered in the United Provinces in 1908 were really forerunners of the great plague wave of the past cold weather. In the Punjab, as in the United Provinces, the malarial mortality was highest in the years immediately preceding the worst plague seasons. The result of the double scourge, together with the famine of 1908 in the United Provinces, is that Upper India has sustained a substantial decrease of population. In the Punjab the decrease is 1·8 per cent. in British districts and 4·8 per cent. in the Native States. In the United Provinces the decrease is just 1 per cent.

## PROPORTION OF THE SEXES

In both Provinces the number of males is almost exactly the same as ten years ago, the small difference being in fact on the side of augmentation. The decrease has taken place entirely among the females, who have been the chief sufferers from the unhealthy conditions of the decade. This disproportion in the toll taken by plague and malaria has, of course, affected the figures for the whole Indian Empire. The proportion of females to males, which had been rising steadily since 1881, has now fallen to what it then was—namely, 954 per mile. In India, as in Europe, there is a slight excess of males at birth, but whereas in Europe the proportion is afterwards reversed, owing partly to the greater vitality of female children, and partly to the heavier mortality among males engaged in arduous or dangerous occupations, this is not the case in India. Among the conditions unfavourable to female life are the neglect of infant girls by certain classes, early marriage and child-bearing, unskilful midwifery, and the hard manual labour of women of the lower classes.

## THE NATIVE STATES

While the increased population for India as a whole is 7 per cent., the advance in the States and Agencies is 19·9 per cent., the increase being, in round figures, from 63 millions to 71 millions. This relatively greater advance is due to the fact that the decade was one of recovery from the 1897 and 1900 famines, when many of the States suffered far more than British territory, and when there was considerable migration from them into British districts. Consequently, in the previous decennium the States sustained a

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decrease of 5·1 per cent., while in British territory there was an advance of 4·7 per cent. Combining the two last decennial periods the increase in areas under native rule is from 66 millions to 71 millions, while in British districts it is from 221 millions to 224 millions. The increase of the four most important States in the last 10 years in percentages are :—Hyderabad, 20·0 ; Mysore, 4·8 ; Baroda, 4·0 ; and Kashmir, 8·7.

### PROVINCIAL VARIATIONS

The largest provincial increase of the decennium is in the Central Provinces and Berar (16·3), where there has been most satisfactory recovery from the famines of the previous decade and great development of trade and organised industries. Burma follows closely with an increase of 14·9, due to the continued advance of the fertile but formerly very sparsely populated country under British administration. Eastern Bengal and Assam, which has been left almost untouched by the plague endemic and is steadily prospering under "partition," takes third place with an advance of 11·4 per cent. Although affected by extensive emigration of labour to Ceylon, Burma and the Malay States, Madras reports an increase of 8·3, largely a result of almost entire freedom from bad seasons and from plague. The sister Presidency of Bombay, though far less fortunate in this latter respect, recorded an advance of 6 per cent. on the whole, apart from plague in Behar, the decade was a healthy one in Bengal, the increase there is only 3·8 per cent. In the still sparsely peopled North-West Frontier Province the growth was slightly in excess of that for India as a whole, being 7·5 per cent. It is worthy of note that the Agencies and tribal area beyond our north-west administrative border, nearly all included for the first time in the enumeration, are estimated to have a population of 1,622,078.

### THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS

Calcutta and Bombay contest each other's claim to be "the second city of the British Empire." The Indian administrative capital registers a population of 1,216,514, but this includes the suburbs and Howrah, the town of some 180,000 inhabitants on the opposite bank of the Hooghly. The population of "Calcutta proper" is 890,493, and Bombay with its total of 972,892 claims the pre-eminence, arguing that it would be as reasonable to merge Birkenhead in Liverpool or Salford in Manchester for Census purposes, as it is to reckon Howrah part of Calcutta. The reply is that even excluding Howrah, but retaining the suburban areas to correspond with the Bombay suburbs in the north of the island, Calcutta still takes the lead with a population of 1,037,496. Without pronouncing on the merits of this controversy, it may be pointed out that Bombay has been unfortunate in the last two enumerations. Ten years ago the wholesale exodus of people consequent upon the plague epidemic brought down her population to little more than three-quarters of a million, and this led to an intermediate municipal Census in 1906, in which a population of 9,77,822 was recorded. The new figure is about 5,000 below that total, but it is stated that there has been considerable exodus of the floating industrial population of late owing to the depression of the mill industry, and that many people have taken residence outside the island to minimize the risk of plague infection. The extent to

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which the factory hands leave their womenfolk in their native village is reflected in the sex proportions both of Calcutta (805,475 males and 411,030 females, and of Bombay where the corresponding figures are 633,884 and 339,046.

This is, in fact, a striking feature of the figures for all the chief industrial centres, and of the large towns generally. Of the principal towns for which detailed figures are given, there are only three—Madura, Trichinopoly, and Salem—where females are in excess of males, and in each case the preponderance is very slight. Multan in the Punjab is shown to have three times as many females as males, but this is by a manifest typographical error. Madras ranks next to Calcutta and Bombay in populousness, with a Census roll of 517,335, and Hyderabad follows with close upon half a million, but this total includes the British cantonments of Secunderabad and Bolarum. Rangoon grew rapidly during the decade, and with a population of 289,432 has now displaced Lucknow as the fifth city of the Indian Empire, the population of the Oudh capital having declined 1·3 per cent. to 260,621. India is a land of rural villages and few large towns; there are only four places, other than those already named, with a population of more than 200,000—viz., Delhi, 232,859; Lahore, 228,318; Ahmedabad, 215,448; and Benares, 204,222.

### RACE AND RELIGION

The preliminary returns we have discussed take the 315 millions of India in the mass, distinguishing them only by residence and sex, and it will be some time before full details are available as to race, caste, religion, education, occupation, and civil condition. In respect to race and religion, the enumeration is more important than any of its predecessors. The relation of the outcastes to the high-caste Hindus, the extent to which they can correctly be included in the pale of Hinduism (particularly those communities among them which are seeking emancipation therefrom), the degree of Hindu absorption of Sikhs, Jains, and Animists; the progress of conversions both to Christianity (towards which there have been "mass movements" in Southern India) and to Islam—all these have become matters of direct political significance, owing to the ratio established between numbers and representation upon the enlarged Legislatures. The rules relating to the Council elections are admittedly experimental, and their revision will be affected by the Census returns. A minor, though important, change calculated to render the returns as to the "domiciled" white or semi-white community more trustworthy is the disappearance of the term "Eurasian" from the official record, and the substitution of "Anglo-Indian." It is to be regretted that in yielding to the earnest appeal of the Eurasians for this change the Government did not ordain some acceptable application other than "Anglo-Indian," which has hitherto always been applied in literature and in speech to English people spending many or all of their working years in India, but retaining their English domicile. Confusion must arise from this appropriation by one community of a name to which another, and distinct, community has had prescriptive right for generations. But the main interest of the completed Census returns will be in the unchallengeable evidence given of the measure of change, moral, social, economic, wrought in the fabric of indigenous Indian society in the past eventful decade.

## MRS. AND MISS EAST

Mr. Harold Begbie writes to *The Daily Chronicle* :—

"Where women are venerated," says an ancient seer, "the gods are complacent."

A traveller through India calls this antique saying to mind at every stage in his journey. It is perhaps the uppermost reflection in his mind, whether he be resting in a city or looking at the laboured fields from the window of his railway carriage. For everywhere he sees evidence of this truth, that Indian women are under the heel of contempt, and he perceives, the more he studies the life of the people that the complacent heavens of this smiling land do but mask a real displeasure of the divinities. India is beautiful, but sad; she has brightness, but no joy. She is without strength. In India only one thing female is respected. It is the cow.

The man is king; the boy is prince; and the woman is their slaves. She has come into the world, not to share the joys of existence or to bear its sorrows, but to wear herself out in the beast-like service of her lord. She must prepare the meals of her master, but may not eat till he and his sons are satisfied. She may go with him through the village, but may not walk at his side. She may carry his load, but may not hold his hand. Such a spectacle as man and wife walking arm-in-arm I have not yet seen from one end of India to the other. Such a spectacle as a family sitting together at meals I have not yet seen in over four thousand miles of Indian travel. And those who know India will tell me that I shall never see these things at all.

But I have seen women under a burning mid-day sun reaping in the fields; I have seen them at road-making in the streets of cities; I have seen them loading engines with coal at railway stations; I have seen them in long procession on the white roads of the plains carrying great burdens on their heads like strings of camels. And I have seen also in the eyes of every old woman whom I have encountered, every one of them, such misery, adversity, and angry bitterness as seemed to curse the very air of heaven. I have not seen one happy old woman in the whole country.

The saddest of all things in India is the old woman, and the woman of India is old at forty. In Europe one commonly sees the ancient dame smiling and proud, garrulous, and full of beaming self-consequence; she regards her age as a work of art, a matter of importance to history, an achievement of great account to which middle-age and youth should bow a reverential knee. But in India the look in the eyes of an old woman says to one in a language needing no interpreter: "What misfortune is mine!—still do I live in this bitter world, still do I crawl under the hateful sun still do I suffer and endure on this hard earth. The gods have cursed me. They will not let me die." Woe to the woman whose hair grows grey and whose skin becomes wrinkled! Look at this wretched hag coming towards you, dragging a weary broom in the dust. The cloth has slipped from her shoulder, and you see the pitiful shrunken, breast, clawed and scratched and pitted by the talons of time; the skeleton limbs are like bones dug from the churchyard; the back is rounded, the knees are bent, the feet scrape in the dust; there is water in the dim eyes, the long lips mumble curses, the skin of the face is withered and shrivelled, the grey hair hangs ragged at the ears.

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All day she has worked at a loathly task in a place which has no drains. She has earned twopence. Through the choking dust and under the glare of the sky, she is dragging home to her meal of rice and her mat on the bare floor of a windowless mud hovel. No child will run to greet her. No one will be watching for her at the cottage door. She will enter like a whipped dog, slink in to the darkness of her corner, and be alone with her thoughts.

Throughout India this is the lot of old age among the women. And early life shows to them scarcely a fairer face. Perhaps as infants, held in a mother's arms, they may feel a blessing in the sky and breathe from the air something of joy ; but as soon as she can walk they learn the difference which divides them from the brother whose play they are just beginning to share ; and by the time they are wives they know that life for them is enrsed with an irremediable inferiority. They follow through the village like a dog at the husband's heel. Maternity is no excuse for the task in the field and the duties of the house. They are servants without wages and without liberty to select another master. Before them is perpetual servitude ; and if they are so abandoned by the gods as to reach old age, their certain destiny is misery, dejection, friendlessness, and black despair.

The women-folk of the upper classes in India, speaking generally are more the prisoners of their husbands than the women of the helot castes. They do not labour, except in cooking and serving the meals of their husbands, but they are cut off from the world as completely as a nun ; they do not even know, in many casses, the male relations of their husbands. They are little more than caged animals taught to do a few household tricks.

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

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### THE ARMY IN INDIA

For a long time past, the reduction of the Indian Army has been one of the main planks of the congress platform and the cry has very often been echoed and re-echoed in the Council Chamber of India. Recently a rumour found currency in some of the best informed circles in England and India that Lord Creagh was contemplating a reduction of the strength of the Indian troops of His Majesty's army in India. The *Times* has come forward to condemn the proposal and here it is what it says :—

We trust that the proposal, if it is ever formally made, will meet with strenuous resistance. We are entirely in favour of any reasonable steps to ease the burdens of India, but we could not regard any reduction of the Army of India as either wise or reasonable. The *minimum* strength of the standing Army of India was fixed by Royal Commission of the Indian Mutiny, and the limit then laid down as the strength required to ensure safety has never even been reached. The Commission said that the British troops should be 80,000 strong, and that is a total which has never once been attained, and does not exist to-day. On the other hand, the native Army was so far disbanded that it is now very little more than half the strength at which it stood on the eve of the Mutiny. We are told that we ought to reduce the Indian Army because the Anglo-Russian Convention renders India more secure from attack. But the theoretical strength of the Indian Army, which has never been reached, was fixed half a century ago without regard to Russia at all. The figure of 80,000 British troops was decided on when Russia had just been beaten to her knees in the Crimea, when she was still engaged in completing the conquest of the Caucasus, when she had not even crossed the Caspian, when the Central Asian Khanates were still unconquered. If we needed an Army of a given strength then, assuredly we do not need it less now. Internally in India, there never was a time when it was more necessary to play no tricks with our slender margin of safety. On the frontier, we are confronted on our side of the border by a great array of warlike tribesmen, armed as they were not armed even five years ago. In Afghanistan, instead of the confused strife of the Mid-Victorian era, we have a powerful and united nation of splendid guerilla fighters

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and a country deliberately flooded with arms. Fifty years ago British domination in the Persian Gulf was entirely unmenaced ; China seemed decrepit, and had little control over the province bordering on the North-East Frontier of India ; and nations were still in the making whose influence is now rapidly extending in the Middle East. The British command of the sea was then still so free from danger that we could send reinforcements to India at short notice, and with little fear of risk. No international agreements, however valuable, can be held to make the military requirements of India smaller than they were fifty years ago.

Compared with its heavy responsibilities, the Army of India is the smallest in the world. The territory it guards has a land and sea frontier of 6,000 miles. An exiguous force of 75,400 British troops is planted in the midst of a population of 315,000,000. It is assisted by 159,400 regular native troops. The military strength of Great Britain in India is already unequal to a very severe strain. It would be deplorable were it to become weaker. LORD KITCHENER's reforms, the value of which would at once be diminished by any reduction, aimed solely at increased efficiency, and involved no numerical enlargement. Military expenditure in India has risen because all over the world armies and the munitions of war have grown more expensive. Lord Curzon put the question in a nutshell when he said :—"The Army is required to make India safe ; and it cannot be said that India is safe." No paper documents can give the assurance provided by an Army trained and ready. No Convention can have any relation to a margin of safety fixed when a menace from the North was still undreamed of, and when Great Britain, still flushed after a victorious war, reigned supreme and unchallenged on the seas. We trust that the earliest opportunity will be taken to allay public anxiety, and to announce the definite resolve of His Majesty's Government to make no reduction in the strength of the Indian Army, but to seek for economies in less dangerous directions.

In another article on the same subject a military correspondent writes to the same paper :—

"Tactics change every ten years," said Napoleon ; and it might be added, so do armies. Armies must progress as well as armaments, and the last word in military administration and organization is never said. But improvements in the superstructure in order to meet the requirements, and benefit from the advances in science, of the present day do not necessarily imply an alteration in the foundations. And the Army in India is the most stable of

all British military institutions, in that the system on which it is raised and maintained has remained practically unchanged since the Mutiny days.

A great deal is said, and justly, of the remarkable results following on the extension of British rule in India. But not the least noticeable part of it is the expansion of that military force which has made this rule possible. It makes a steady growth from the time (1681) when a reinforcement was sent from the Bombay to the Bengal Army [consisting of "a corporal of approved fidelity and courage with 20 soldiers," down to the present day, when the Army musters over 70,000 British and 150,000 Indian troops. It is as well that people in England, amidst the controversies which rage around our own insular military problems and the uncertainties which yet attend those of the Dominions, should review from time to time the condition of those forces of the Crown which, through a long series of years, have presented a spectacle of restful stability to the gaze of those accustomed to the kaleidoscopic changes of Army organization at home.

It is a true saying that strategy and policy should go hand in hand. It is equally true that Army organization and policy should go hand in hand. War is only the final act of policy ; and, this being so, the physical forces by means of which this final act is played, however dormant in peace, cannot but have an enormous, one might almost say a dominant, influence on policy at all times. In the East things ripen, and ripen quickly, and effects take shape more rapidly than those which originate from similar causes in the West. A Government without a military force behind it, a force which admits of no doubts as to what its military value may be, is in the same position as a Court of Justice would be, were it unbacked by an executive power to arrest and detain offenders and to enforce the laws of the land. And in the Oriental world as its history shows us, the effects of military weakness are rapidly developed and often dramatically sudden. The decision by arbitration instead of by arms is, it is true, not unknown ; but the arbitration has always been forced on one or other party, and the glint of the scimitars in the durbar hall has shown that the blades are already half drawn from the scabbards. With one or two notable exceptions the Army in India, albeit at times with a narrow margin, has been in a position to support the policy of the Government of India. Whether it is still able to do so and whether it progresses in proportion to the constantly increasing demands of the political situation are the questions which call for our consideration.

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Formerly the North-Western problem was the only one which seriously occupied the attention of the military authorities. There were other problems, it is true, but they were all swallowed up by the North-Western Frontier question. The protection of that frontier and the guarding of the approaches which lead to it have for the last forty years afforded the *data* on which the military organization and distribution of the Army has been based. But quite recently another problem, which has been looming for many years in the indistinct background of the North-Eastern Frontier, has begun slowly to assume a definite shape. We cannot yet see its face distinctly, but that the form is there there can be no doubt. Moreover the Army in India is not a local force ; it has stepped forward on many occasions in the past, at the call of Imperial needs, across the borders of Hindustan into Persia, into China, into Egypt, into Africa, East and South ; and it is destined, by reason of its numbers, training, prestige, and readiness for war, to take a commanding position in that great Imperial Army which some of us are sanguine enough to believe will ere long be forged out by the heterogeneous forces to whose safeguarding the integrity of our Empire is at present, in part, entrusted. And, finally, there is the question of internal security. A question which, by reason of recent events, calls for at least as much regard now as it ever has in the past. Thus we see that the Army of India must be prepared, as formerly, to meet three demands—to protect the North-West Frontier, to answer to Imperial calls, to maintain internal security and that to these three is now added a fourth—*viz.*, to safeguard our interests on the North-East Frontier. It would be foolish to shut out eyes to the fact that as the regeneration of China progresses so will this last demand become more and more insistent.

The Field Army is now composed of nine divisions and eight Cavalry brigades, and these are practically up to war strength. In addition to this Army there are the necessary troops which, in the absence of the Field Army across the frontier, would be responsible for the maintenance of security. India is nearly self-contained as regards the manufacture of war *matériel*, the musketry is of a high order in the Cavalry as well as in the Infantry, and the training every year becomes more practical and more thorough. It is not pretended that there is no room for further improvement ; of course there is, both on the present lines and in other directions, and of this there will be more to be said on another occasion. The point which occupies our present attention is that the Army will in the

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future have to look to the North-Eastern as well as to the North-Western Frontier, and the latter must now cease to claim its almost exclusive regard.

The question whether its present distribution and strength will be suitable and adequate to meet this further demand is one which must some day arise. To be forewarned is to be forearmed, and an opportunity will be taken before long of giving these questions some consideration. The Indian military forces are small, compared to those of the great continental nations, and the Army does not possess adequate means of expansion in time of war. But it is a long-service Army ; its members are professional soldiers ; and in stability of organization, in prestige, in attention to duty, in the enterprise of the junior officers, in training and physique it is second to none in the world. And it is well that this is so, for to quote the words of an Eastern Clausewitz, "To all nations war is a great matter—upon the Army death or life depends ; it is the means of the existence or destruction of the State." But the Army cannot stand still—peace dispositions, organization, and numbers must alter to meet the changes which time is constantly bringing to policy ; and even now there comes a warning note from far away across Celestial plains.

Sir Edward Collen, another great authority on the Indian Army, has also entered the fields to combat the idea of the reduction of either the strength of the Indian troops or of expenses incurred on behalf of military organization and equipment. He says :—

"On January 25 last Mr. Gokhale, a member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, moved for an enquiry into the great increase of civil and military expenditure, and urged the reduction of the Indian Army. The upshot of the discussion was that Sir Fleetwood Wilson announced that the Commander-in-Chief would institute an inquiry into military expenditure, and Mr. Gokhale withdrew his motion for one year. In the course of the debate one of the official spokesmen is reported to have said that of the increase of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  millions in the annual Army expenditure in the last 12 years  $1\frac{3}{4}$  million was due to the improvement in the British Indian Army, and that the remainder had been for armaments. It would be interesting to have some clear information on this point, because it has hitherto been understood that the cost of new armaments and many other military charges had been paid out of the East India Loan. It would be still more interesting to have a clear statement of the capital expenditure incurred to render the Army in India more efficient, and of the recurring annual expendi-

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ture necessarily involved to maintain that increased efficiency. This should, of course, include the expenditure on new barracks and lines. But whatever this may have been, it is perfectly certain that Army expenditure in India cannot be reduced except by reducing the strength of the Army. Here and there some trifling economy may be effected or some appointment abolished, but no great saving can be made without impairing the strength and reducing the efficiency of the Army. The reason is clear enough. The great items of expenditure come under the heads of pay, food, and transport, clothing, medical and ordnance, in the effective services and, provided due economy is ordinarily exercised, there can be no material reduction in these charges unless the strength is reduced.

There are two methods by which the strength can be reduced. A number of regiments and battalions can be altogether abolished, or while the cadres are retained, the establishment per unit can be diminished. Assuming that no Government would seek to reduce the small British garrison of India, small as compared with the extent of the country and the enormous population, the application of either of these methods to the native Indian Army would be disastrous. The first would throw a body of British and Indian officers on our hands, as well as non-commissioned officers and men, and the charges entailed for pensions and gratuities would swallow up a great deal of the economy. The second method although less objectionable than the first, would reduce the efficiency of the units as fighting bodies ready for war, and would produce a comparatively small saving. Both methods are politically objectionable, especially at the present time, because they would hardly lead to the greater contentment of the native Army. If there is one thing desired by that Army it is stability and avoidance of change. A year or two ago every one was full of the importance of maintaining a highly efficient Army in India. The wind appears to have changed now, and because there is need of what Sir Fleetwood Wilson calls "sobriety of expenditure," the eyes of the financial economist are at once turned to the Army, as if this weapon of defence could be tampered with impunity whenever the financial outlook was not entirely satisfactory.

It is scarcely necessary for me to repeat that I regard the attempt to fuse the races composing the Indian Army into one body as a dangerous political error, and that by the plan of forming one amalgamated Army we are directly playing into the hands of those whose aim is to make India one nation with the sole object of dis-

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puting the mastery with us. I do not believe that the advantages of the divisional system compensate for the abolition of the great Army Commands, and I think that these advantages could have been secured without breaking up an Army system which commanded itself to many eminent statesmen and soldiers. But the thing has been done. I can conceive nothing more fatal in military policy than to accept the change and then to refuse to provide the means to carry it to a conclusion. It is a most dangerous delusion to think there are nine complete Divisions in India ready to be launched into the field. Several of the Divisions are wanting in the very essentials of mobility and completeness, and practically exist only on paper. What has to be done now is to provide year by year for all the requirements of these Divisions, and to accept this in principle and almost in the same breath to talk of reduction in Army expenditure is to imply a disastrous want of continuity in military policy. I am far from desirous of belittling the moral forces which make for our beneficent supremacy in India, a supremacy which, I believe, stands between India and anarchy, but I maintain that the strength of the Army is more indispensable to the peace and prosperity of the country than many of the concessions and changes which are regarded as all-important.

All these articles were of course written on the supposition that it was the British garrison which was going to be reduced. But it was soon found that there was no cause of anxiety in that quarter and that all that has been proposed is to reduce the Indian portion of the army. The Simla Correspondent of the *Times* thus explains the position of the Government of India :—

Regarding the proposed reduction of the Indian Army the position is that as economies are inevitable and as the Government of India has pledged itself to overhaul expenditure on all departments, the question of possible savings on the Army is now being considered. It has reached an initial stage only, and deliberation will be shown in formulating any scheme for reducing numerically the strength of the Native Army.

There has never been any thought of a reduction of the British garrison. Such reductions as may be proposed in the Indian Army will solely relate to regiments which are not up to the standard of modern requirements, the material in the ranks being inferior and drawn from classes which have not true fighting qualities. One of the points under consideration is whether such regiments should be mustered out or reduced in strength, their *cadres* being still retained. This will form matter for discussion by military experts.

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The *Pioneer*, in discussing the question of this reduction hints at the possible absorption of battalions of the Indian Infantry as the soundest policy, further suggesting that the British officers affected should be given small life pensions and offered careers elsewhere. Shortage of officers at home was probably in view when this suggestion was made.

The policy of Lord Hardinge's Government may be briefly described as aiming at having a native Army composed of the best material, the reduction in the numerical strength being counterbalanced by securing the highest efficiency in all units, while the most modern standard of equipment in armament and scientific appliances of warfare for both British and Indian forces is to be insisted upon. The local administration must, of course, be consulted as the maintenance of internal order is of the highest importance, and due provision must be made for the inland garrisons when the field Army is mobilized on or beyond the frontier.

Any scheme propounded by India would in due course be submitted to the Home Government, Imperial as well as local considerations being weighed before any material reduction in the strength could be sanctioned. The existence of the Anglo-Russian Agreement must be an important factor in regulating the decision.

The question seems to turn upon one main consideration—Can India afford to bear expenditure upon regiments which are admittedly below a certain standard and which can never hope to reach it? Troops of this kind are equal to police duties in case of emergency, but their value as parts of a fighting machine is practically *nil*. They are, indeed, sources of weakness rather than strength from the purely military point of view, and hence their disappearance would not prejudicially affect the capacity for war of the combined British and Indian garrisons, while it would raise the general standard of efficiency of the Indian Army.

The following article from the pen of the military correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* will show that any amount of assurance is not sufficient to allay the anxiety of the over anxious or rather of those whose profession it is to be anxious in the matter of the reduction of Indian troops.

"At first sight it would seem that the very natural anxiety aroused by the rumour of the contemplated reduction of the Indian Army ought to a great extent to be allayed by the assurance that such reductions as it is proposed to make will relate solely to such units of the Native Army as are not considered to be up to the standard

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of modern requirements owing to the material in the ranks not being now drawn from what are considered to be the best fighting classes. There has not, we are warmly assured, been any idea of a reduction of the British garrison of India ; and yet, if words and acts, pronouncements and deeds, are to be considered as furnishing any clue to the possible results of measures now in contemplation, it is impossible to avoid a feeling of anxiety lest the proposed reduction of the Native Army of India may not be followed—in the course of time, if not perhaps necessarily immediately—by a consequent and natural reduction in the number of British troops now maintained in India.

The reason given for the proposed reduction in strength of the Native Army is naturally the crying need for economy ; but it is curious to note that the question does not appear on the present occasion to have been raised by the National Congress school, for whom the matter seems lately to have lost much of its attraction, but rather by a Viceroy who has gone to India with a mandate to effect economies regardless of how such measures may affect the results of that other mandate with which Lord Kitchener was sent to India—to transform the Indian Army into a fighting machine. The name of Lord Hardinge recalls the ill-advised measures of his grandfather at the close of the first Sikh War, when the Indian Army was reduced in strength from motives of economy and from a persuasion that a period of profound peace was to follow the successes on the Sutlej. Again does history repeat itself ; another Lord Hardinge proposes reductions—and this time not merely in men but in units, reserve-producing cadres—persuaded that the mere terms of recent Conventions have caused the prospect of having to repel an invasion through Afghanistan to shrink into a vague and remote possibility.

There has never been any wish or intention of raising the strength of the Indian garrison to that of pre-Mutiny days, when it stood at 350,000 of all ranks, British and Native, and exclusive of the contingents maintained by Native States, and aggregating from 30,000 to 40,000. At that time the native troops in India outnumbered the British by eight to one, and when, after the Mutiny, the native Army was largely disbanded, the Royal Commission laid down that the strength of the British garrison should not fall below 80,000, and that the native troops should not exceed it by more than two to one. The minimum of strength for British troops has never been attained, does not exist at this moment, and has occasionally been unwisely permitted to fall far below it and in view of the fact that within

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recent years we have on occasions borrowed some of the strong and seasoned British units of the Indian garrison for service in other and more distant parts of the world, it seems essential that even in ordinary times the strength laid down should be exceeded rather than cut down.

The proposed reduction of the Native Army only must arouse a feeling of mistrust in the minds of those who have not forgotten the statements so often made by Lord Haldane. His cry has ever been for efficiency coupled with economy, and for economy at all costs. He has told us that "It is India which is the cause of the greatest drain upon our establishment at home and the direct cause of our necessity to keep up so large an establishment as we do within these islands. . . . Is it necessary to maintain that part of establishment in India, which causes us at home inevitably to incur a large expenditure in keeping up the materials from which to supply drafts for the Indian Army? . . . It is plain that if you are going to effect reductions the first thing you must look to is the state of the forces abroad. Can they be reduced? Your first reductions must be there." Lord Haldane has, so far as our colonial possessions are concerned, been as good as his word. He has effected reduction abroad ; brought regiments home ; and disbanded them. The British garrison in India now seems clearly to be menaced ; if the Native Army, regardless of new sources of disturbance within and without the country, is to be substantially reduced below its present strength of 160,000, the establishment of the British garrison must also, from the Haldane point of view, automatically fall. The regiments not required for India will not be wanted at home, and will doubtless also be disbanded. The evil of reducing the Native Army will assuredly not end with the disbandment of certain regiments now discovered to be less efficient than others.

## **THE PLACE OF INDIA IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE**

In an able article in the pages of "The National Review" of London, 'Asiaticus' shows how India has been most shabbily treated in successive sessions of the Imperial Conference. He says that the Imperial Conference being a gathering "at which questions of common interest may be discussed and considered as between his Majesty's Government and the Governments of the self-governing dominions beyond the seas" excludes the Indian Empire from any official "status" at its deliberations.

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Thus, in a Conference which is designed to deal with Imperial issues, the greatest unit in the Empire has at present no recognised place. Its position was even worse at the Colonial Conference of 1907. On that occasion, the Secretary of State for India never put in an appearance at all. The India Office was represented by Sir James Mackay, a member of the Secretary of State's Council. Sir James Mackay was probably the most unacceptable representative who could well have been found for the work. He did not represent the Government of India, except in a nominal sense; he was not the spokesman of the British communities in India; he was most certainly in no sense the representative of the peoples of India. His sole contribution during the fifteen meetings was a defence of the principles of Free Trade in India. But in this he did not represent the views of the bulk of the civil servants, or of the Indian manufacturers, or of the peoples of India, or of anybody save the Home Government and a few big British importing firms in Calcutta and Bombay. The real views of India can be stated in a single sentence. They are embodied in the strong and growing demand that India shall be granted some measures of fiscal independence under due restrictions. Apart from Sir James Mackay's solitary contribution, the name of India was hardly mentioned at the 1907 Conference, entirely omitted from the Memorandum, although during the year under review she had spent £19,413,000 upon defence, as against £3,548,000 spent by the whole of the Dominions.

In 1909, the Imperial Defence Conference met in London. Its object was "to discuss general questions concerning the naval and military defence of the Empire." No representative of India was invited to attend, and in the official report of the proceedings the name of India was never mentioned at all.

The difficulties likely to beset any attempt to give India equal "status" at a Conference solely intended for the self-governing Dominions are, says "Asiaticus," great and obvious. Nevertheless, the time must come when they will have to be faced and solved. It may not have arrived yet, but assuredly it is not very far off; and meanwhile it is desirable that the present position should at least be examined and discussed. Even to-day, the Imperial Conference should not and cannot afford to debate great Imperial issues, in which India is vitally concerned, while cherishing the fiction that India does not exist. The existence of India is a great manifest fact which has to be reckoned with. India is the keystone of the fabric of Empire.

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Any attempt to discuss naval and military questions without regard to India becomes almost ludicrous. Any proposal to settle the question of preferential trade without taking into account Great Britain's best oversea customer is bound to end in difficulty.

In the meantime, even if it does not formally admit India to its debates, the Conference would be wise and prudent if it referred in future to Indian questions in a somewhat different spirit, and ceased to dismiss Indian affairs with an air of contemptuous indifference. Though India did not figure in the published debates of the Defence Conference, she found a place—the kind of place with which she is unhappily only too familiar—in the proposals which were afterwards formulated as the result of that gathering. Apparently, at some undisclosed date, India will be expected to furnish a naval unit similar in size and strength to those which it is intended to establish in the China and Australian seas. The East Indies Squadron, towards the maintenance of which she pays about £1000,000 annually, is to be enlarged. India has not been consulted in the matter. She is simply to be told, so far as one can gather, that in due course she will have to pay. The deep feeling that is aroused in India by the constant attempts to settle Indian affairs and Indian expenditure without reference to the Government of India or to such Indian public opinion as exists, can be gauged from the following quotation. The *Times of India* of March 31, writing upon a somewhat similar unofficial scheme, said flatly :—

The first postulate, in any question of this character, is that in no circumstances can it be accepted if it is to cost India a rupee. That dismisses this scheme. But we would go farther and say that even if, by a re-adjustment of the Indian expenditure on defence, it were found practicable to find money for a contribution to the Navy, India should not participate therein, unless the spending of her contribution were entirely within her discretion. We shall be met with the report that this is impossible in the political condition of the country. The only answer is that India can then have no share in the project.

To the creation of that feeling, the holding of frequent "Imperial" gatherings which completely disregard the position and wishes of India has contributed in no small measure. It is intensified by such disclosures as that made the other day, when the India Office, at the bidding of the English tobacco magnates, peremptorily lowered the new tobacco duties in order to promote the sale of British products at the expense

of the Indian revenues. It is deepened by such incidents as the prospective partial ruin of several of the smaller native States, as a result of the compulsory stoppage of the opium trade with China, dictated from London without any heed to the welfare of the unfortunate cultivators of poppies.

‘Asiaticus’ proceeds to observe :—

The time is at hand when India will assuredly demand to be treated with more consideration, and to be granted a more effective voice in her own business.

The change which India has undergone in the last ten years is not yet even dimly realised in England. If the public in this country wish to comprehend it, they should consider the difference between the England of to-day and England as it was when Queen Victoria died. What a host of new developments, of fresh questions, of novel conditions, of unexpected discoveries and inventions, of new modes of thought and belief, have been witnessed in the last decade ! Yet the changes in England are slight in comparison with those wrought in India since the new century dawned. The more violent episodes of political “unrest,” though grave enough are only one part, and not the most important part, of modifications which are destined profoundly to affect the future relations of India with the rest of the British Empire. The intelligent sections of the peoples of India are awake and importunate. They are no longer willing humbly to submit to the dictates of Great Britain without making their voices heard. The reforms introduced during the last Viceroyalty, necessary enough in principle, though in some respects wrongly conceived, have merely regularised a situation which had already arisen. The politicians of India were told that we wished them to exercise a larger share in the control of their own affairs. We created facilities for the purpose, and they needed no second bidding. The chance for which they had long been clamouring had come at last. They are unmuzzled, and quite rightly mean to remain so. We must not be surprised if they use their new opportunities to further their own interests first, and think of Great Britain afterwards. That is exactly what the Dominions do, and we applaud their independent spirit. Need we marvel if the spokesmen of India follow the same course ? And how long shall we be able to deny to India some modicum of that real administrative freedom which is the unquestioned possession of the Dominions ?

So far good. But the rub lies in the ways and means which Asiaticus proposes ; He thinks that as England cannot allow complete Self-government in India so the Government

of India should be given greater freedom from the control of Parliament and Whitehall. He says that "at a time when every self-governing Dominion is completing his emancipation from the Colonial Office and Parliament it is not to be expected that India will be willing to place herself under closer subjection to the India Office and to Parliament." This is confusing the whole situation. The conditions of India and of the self-governing Dominions are not alike. In the self-governing colonies the government is controlled by their own people and Parliament. So they must naturally resent the control of other people. But the people of India have no control over their own affairs. And as control by any people is better than no popular control, they would welcome a more watchful eye on the part of British Parliament over Indian affairs as the second best thing. We admit that had the Government of India been more independent, India would perhaps have got some advantage in fiscal affairs; but the disadvantages would be so many that we are willing to forego that advantage for the present. However, 'Asiaticus' concludes in the following way:—

"Meanwhile it behoves us to acknowledge, far more effectively than we have yet done, that India is an integral part of the Empire. We cannot for ever continue the practice of holding Imperial Conferences with India left out. We cannot continue to devise schemes for binding the Empire closer together, and omit India from the reckoning. This is a matter which concerns Great Britain far more closely than the Dominions, because India is our greatest market, but it concerns the Dominions also. It is to their interest, as well as ours, that India should be linked more closely with the rest of the Empire. India is certainly destined to be a great manufacturing country, as well as a huge exporter of raw products. It is probably entering upon a period of far greater prosperity than it has ever yet known, in spite of the recent reverses undergone by its cotton industry. It buys vast quantities of imports, and will buy still more largely in the future as its wealth increases and becomes more fluid. But it is not upon the basis of trade alone that the Dominions should take a closer interest in India. Great Britain is engaged in her huge dependency in the greatest political experiment the world has ever seen, nothing less than the attempt to regenerate and guide into new paths of progress myriads of the human race. It is a task which, rightly regarded, calls forth the highest qualities of the British people. Ought it to be thought of as an enterprise which is the business of England

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alone? Cannot the Dominions share our pride in our undertaking, emulate our interest, and realise that the welfare of India ought to be their business as well as ours?

"Unfortunately, at present the attitude of the Dominions is too often marked by a very different spirit. They regard India with scarcely veiled contempt, and are unwilling to consider it as part of the Empire at all. Yet with some experience of more than one of the Britains overseas, I make bold to say that the present attitude is generally due to lack of knowledge rather than to any real antagonism. It derives additional force, no doubt, from the difficulty of Asiatic immigration, with which every Dominion is more or less confronted. I have never regarded that difficulty as impossible of solution. India has room and to spare for all her peoples, and the problem she has to solve is one of distribution rather than over-population. On the other hand, her best men, her citizens of education and refinement, have some right to expect that they may be permitted to move with freedom in any part of the Empire to which they belong. They cannot claim an unrestricted right of entry which is denied even to the English, but they are not unjustified in asking for a wiser discrimination.

"If India is to remain an integral part of the Empire she must become a willing member of the Imperial organisation. She will not be drawn into closer voluntary union so long as she is asked meekly to accept the edicts of a Secretary of State, and the fussy and often misguided solicitude of Parliament. Some control from England there must always be, but it needs modification and not enlargement. No one wants to see the Government of India given despotic powers, just as no well-wisher of India could desire to see her equipped with a Parliamentary system, for which her conditions are unsuited. The first necessity is the abolition of the mockery which proffers her greater liberty, while denying either the people or their rulers the right to a real voice in their own economic affairs. When that is conceded, when India is not expected to pay for fleets or troops without being consulted, when she is not humiliated by being ignored in the consideration of every Imperial problem, when both Great Britain and the Dominions welcome her as a great Imperial unit, the princes and peoples of India will embrace their British citizenship far more eagerly than they do to-day."

## EDUCATION OF THE DOMICILED COMMUNITY

Our readers are aware that from some time past the education of the Eurasian community is receiving a good deal of attention in England and India. An All-India Central Committee has been formed in order to further this cause and representatives have been sent to England to collect funds. It is a matter of sincere pleasure that these representatives are getting enthusiastic support from the British public. It may be in the recollection of our readers that at a meeting held in May last at the Mansion House, London, in which the Lord Mayor presided and Sir Andrew Fraser took part, a resolution was adopted in support of the Eurasian education scheme. At this opportune moment Mr. Horace Pitt Kennedy Skipton has contributed a well written article on the above subject to the *Nineteenth Century*. In this article he has given a systematic history of the beginning and progress of education among the domiciled community in India. He says:—

“ At the outset of the British rule in India the English Church assumed the responsibility for the education of the children of the domiciled community, the oldest Presidency, Madras led the way, and as time went on the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay followed suit. In 1784 the Free Schools in Calcutta were founded by the united efforts of the leading men in the place, who raised 30,000*l.* for establishing and endowing them ; and these schools are still doing a great work. The fine Martiniere Schools at Calcutta and Lucknow were founded by a bequest of that gallant French soldier of fortune, General Martin ; Sir Henry Lawrence established the School-Orphanage at Sanawar ; and the Church started schools in the Hills at Darjeeling, Naini Tal, and Masouri. The numbers of the domiciled community, though steadily increasing, were then comparatively few, and members of the English Services were well paid and able to be liberal in their contributions towards the work of educating them, so that in this respect, at least, all went well.

The next landmark in the progress of the domiciled community is furnished by the cataclysm of the Indian Mutiny. In this they shared the lot of their English kinsmen, and had their share of the ‘massacre, torture, and black despair’ that befell white men and women in that terrible time ; and they proved their essential worth by more than one daring and heroic deed. Probably the Martiniere School at Lucknow is the only public school in the Empire which has a record of active military service to its credit, and it has a right to be proud of the distinction. When the season of peril was

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over the sense of obligation to the domiciled community was still warm, and the authorities began to consider seriously what was to be done for them. Bishop Cotton, one of the greatest in the line of distinguished prelates who have filled the Metropolitan See of Calcutta, set himself seriously to develop and organise a definite and well-considered plan for the provision of efficient schools for this class throughout the peninsula, planted at strategic points where they were most needed and most readily accessible. The school called after his name at Simla was built as a thank-offering for deliverance from the Mutiny. Government was sympathetic, and heartily seconded his efforts ; and the English public in India did the same to the best of its even then diminishing ability. From 1858, when he came out to India, until his untimely death by drowning in 1866, the Bishop devoted himself zealously to this work, and the fruits of his labours are to be seen in the Bishope Cotton Schools still dotted about the country, founded either during his lifetime on his own personal initiative, or after his death in grateful memory of his labours.

In 1880, or thereabout, there opened yet another chapter in the history of the domiciled community. From every time the Church of Rome had realised its importance and the advantage to be gained by winning its members as a whole for the Roman Communion. Formerly the Roman Church had led the way in active missionary effort, under the aegis of the Portuguese power, in the western and southern portions of the peninsula ; but with the decay of that power their missions steadily fell off both in numbers and influence, and internal dissensions reduced the Roman Communion in India to a group of warring factions. With, however, the coming of a Roman Catholic Viceroy to India in 1880 the tide began to turn. Up to that time the Roman Catholic Missions in India were regarded as poor and inconsiderable ; but about that period they began to receive large remittances from Europe and definitely started upon a great forward movement. The money was said to come mainly from France, where it was raised by the sale of property which was supposed (rightly, as the event proved) to be in danger of confiscation ; and it was sent to various parts of the world for missionary purposes—which in practice include proselytising from other Christian Communions—and especially to countries flying the British flag, where it was considered safe from molestation. In 1885 the Roman Church succeeded in healing its internal dissensions in India, and the Pope and the King of Portugal (who had hitherto claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction in India under the Bull of

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Pope Alexander VI. in 1493) signed a Concordat under which the administration of the Roman Catholic Church in India was practically unified under a Papal Delegate. The country was divided into nine provinces, with twenty-nine dioceses and seven vicariates and prefectures, well equipped with churches, chapels, theological seminaries, diocesan and monastic institutions, and, above all, schools. The central object of their policy was the capture of the domiciled community. The new Roman Catholic schools and colleges were built in the same places, and in close juxtaposition with those of older standing erected long since by the Anglican Church; they began to charge lower fees than the English Church began and in case of need even to take children free or at little more than a nominal charge."

No statement of what has been done for the Christian education of the domiciled community would be complete which omitted any reference to the labours of the non-Episcopal bodies both of England and America. The schools owned by these bodies, though few in number, are large and well equipped, and are liberally supported by the parent societies across the seas. But the comparative strength of the three groups of schools throughout India may be reasonably inferred, from the following statement, which gives particulars of the schools for the domiciled community in the Lucknow Diocese at the present time, and in Bengal in 1908 :—

	Roman Catholic.	Anglican.	Non- Episcopal.	Undenomi- national.
Diocese of Lucknow...	18	9	2	1
Bengal ... ..	28	11	6	22

The twenty-two 'undenominational' schools in Bengal include fourteen schools maintained by the railway companies for the children of their employes. But it would not be far wrong to assert that the actual number of Roman Catholics, as compared with Anglicans, among the domiciled community is in more than inverse ratio to the number of schools provided by the two branches of the Church. It has been reckoned that only 17 per cent. of the domiciled children in Calcutta attend the Anglican Schools, though more than 50 per cent. are nominally Anglicans. The rest go to the cheaper Roman Catholic schools, and gravitate naturally to the Church of Rome. And the leakage is not from the Anglican Church alone. Throughout India Nonconformist parents depend largely upon Anglican schools for the education of their children, and though the majority of the Domiciled Community are normally and by sympathies Churchmen, yet there are plenty of English

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Nonconformists settled in the country whose children are being drawn into the Roman schools, in the same way, by the cheapness of the terms and by the excellence of the education offered.

What makes this overlapping and rivalry the more deplorable, apart from the damage inflicted upon the English Church, is the fact that the educational opportunities which exist are not nearly sufficient for the needs of the case, and that there is plenty of unworked ground available without invading that which is already occupied. There is in all the large cities of India a terribly large proportion of the children of the Community who are receiving no education at all, and whose parents are plunged in poverty so hopeless as to preclude the possibility of their making any effective effort on their own behalf. In 1908 it was calculated by the writer of the interesting *Report on European Education in Bengal* (Mr. Hallward) that the domiciled community in Calcutta must number some 36,000 souls, of whom about one-third were children, and that of this third some 2773 were paupers. The existing orphanages and schools might, he thought, account for 1160 of these, thus leaving 1600 in round numbers unprovided for.

Mr. Hallward warned that 'a political and social evil of no inconsiderable magnitude is being engendered in our midst, and the pauperisation of the needy white and half-caste population is increasing with dangerous rapidity.' He put forward a scheme for dealing with them at a cost (for Bengal only) of 16,000*l.* a year, and observed that, 'large as these figures are, it is not too much to say that the solution of the problem would be cheap at the price.'

Meanwhile two things had happened. At the annual meeting of the Indian Church Aid Association in 1908 no less than eight out of the eleven Indian bishops, with the Metropolitan at their head, declared that the key to the position of the Church in India, whether in its purely missionary aspect or as regards its work among its own people, lay in the proper education and care of the professing Christians of our own race already domiciled in the country.

The joint utterances of the eight bishops came at an opportune moment. It led, in the first place, to the emphatic utterance of the Lambeth Conference: 'It is of vital importance that the Church should establish and maintain secondary schools, wherever they are needed, for children of the English-speaking race in all parts of the Anglican Communion'; and in the next to the allocation of 20,000*l.* from the Pan-Anglican Thank-offering to the furtherance of that work in India. Perhaps the other happening was even

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more remarkable. A wealthy Nonconformist gentleman who has built up a great fortune in Calcutta has offered a donation of 50,000*l.* for the common benefit of the non-Roman Catholic Christian schools in India on the condition that a combined effort was made to raise adequate funds to place these schools upon a footing of assured efficiency under a joint central committee, so as to bring united pressure upon the Government to treat them more seriously, while retaining unchanged their present religious character, and with an especial view to prevent overlapping and consequent waste of money and energy. The Indian bishops heartily approve of the scheme, and the English Archbishops, the Primate of Ireland, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and the English Nonconformist leaders have associated themselves with it. 'Co-operation without compromise,' wrote the Metropolitan to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is to be the keynote of the scheme ; there is to be a general fund for the common benefit, but subscribers will also be at liberty to earmark their donations for any denomination with which they are in sympathy. For this a formal and forcible appeal will very shortly be put forth. The grant from the Pan-Anglican Thank-offering will probably become the nucleus of a special Church Education Fund, which will be under Church control and devoted to the improvement and maintenance of Church schools. The Bishop of Bombay has been appointed Convener of a Provincial Board which is now engaged in elaborating a detailed scheme for the best administration of this fund and of any earmarked sums that may be added to it. The two funds are to be worked in harmony and in pursuance of a common policy. The total sum required is 300,000*l.*

This project has formed the subject of anxious discussion in India by the Church at the Synod of the Anglican Episcopate in India held at Allahabad last November, and the joint scheme at a joint Conference held at Calcutta in the month following. The Conference was attended by representative educationists from all India, and the Metropolitan was present as a member of the Conference. The Member for Education on the Viceroy's Council, Mr. Butler, was also present. Some vigorous and well-considered resolutions were passed, including suggestions that the education of the domiciled community should be 'a primary responsibility' of the Government of India, instead of being left, as at present, to the chance sympathies of the heads of provinces, any one of whom might reverse the policy of his predecessor ; that a larger proportion of the cost of such education should be borne by the Government

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than hitherto ; that a Central European College should be established for the benefit of the domiciled community, affiliated to the University of London ; that the standard of instruction in schools for the Domiciled Community should be substantially raised, by providing a more highly qualified teaching staff with better pay and prospects than have hitherto been offered ; and that provision should be made for training members of the domiciled community to undertake such work, existing arrangements for that purpose being altogether inadequate. This in itself was an important departure, and the *personnel* of the Conference which adopted these resolutions made its recommendations the more impressive.

The writer concludes by saying that the Roman Church being an alien Church manned by foreign clergy should not be allowed to have its own way in the matter of education of the domiciled community in India.

# NOTES & NEWS

## GENERAL

### Plague in India

Mr. Montagu has circulated the following answer in Parliament to a question asked by Mr. Ginnell :—The recorded number of deaths from plague in India (including Native States) in each of the last 10 years was :—1901, 237,027 ; 1902, 576,365 ; 1903, 883,076 ; 1904, 1,143,993 ; 1905, 1,069,140 ; 1906, 356,721 ; 1907, 1,315,892 ; 1908, 156,480 ; 1909, 178,808 ; 1910, 511,202 (preliminary figures). For the 10 years the total is 6,473,704. There is no estimate of plague deaths as distinct from the number of deaths recorded as due to plague.

### The Indian Army

The established strength of the Indian Army in 1908-1909 was as follows :—

	Officers	Men	Total
European	3544	71778	75322
Indian	3038	158960	161998

Total—6582                      230738                      237320

The European troops have over 500 officers more with less than half the number of Indian soldiers. According to the Appropriation Accounts of 1908-09 the Army cost in pay and provisions only as below :—

		Rs.
Europeans :	Cost of pay	5,58,14,000
	„ provision	80,85,000
Indians :		6,38,99,000
	Cost of pay	5,68,84,000
	„ provision	15,50,000

5,84,34,000

Computed per head, each European costs 890 rupees and each Indian 368 per annum. Thus a European costs fully 2.42 more than an Indian in pay and provisions only, without counting pensions and other charges.

### Indian Currency Notes

Until 1903 Indian currency notes were encashable only in the "circles" (Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Rangoon) to which they belonged. In that year the Rs. 5 (6s. 8d.) note was made universal outside Burma, and in 1909 this privilege was also extended to that province. Under an Act passed in the latter part of 1909 Rs. 10 and Rs. 50 currency notes were made similarly universal, and power was given to the Government to apply the same method to notes of higher value. The Rs. 20 note was not

universalized, in view of its small circulation and its competition with the sovereign, the circulation of which the Government desired to see increased, and it was intimated that as the Rs. 20 notes in circulation came back to the Treasuries they would not be reissued. The concessions, which took effect at the beginning of last year, have been successful, and in response to a strong popular demand universalization has been extended to the Rs. 100 (£6 13s. 4d.) notes, with effect from April 1. These notes are now legal tender in any place in British India, and can be cashed at any office of issue, irrespective of the circles to which they belong.

### A Bengal Inscription

An archæological discovery of considerable importance has recently been made by Mr. R. D. Bannerjee, Personal Assistant to the Director-General of Archæology who has recently been touring in the Dacca district. This consists of an inscription of Lakshmana Sena, King of Bengal, on the pedestal of an image of the goddess Chandi now kept in a small shrine on Patharghat at Dalbazaar in the city of Dacca. The inscription records the erection of an image of the goddess by a judge named Damodara in the third year of the reign of Lakshmana Sena Deva which is equivalent to 1122 A. D. The image is said to have been found in the celebrated ruins of Rampala in Dacca district. The discovery throws light upon a portion of the history of Bengal now based to some extent upon guess work. The inscription is the first of its kind from Eastern Bengal proper giving the date of an era of a King of Bengal. Lakshman Sena was crowned King of Bengal in 1119 A. D. and was the last independent King of Bengal. According to history as it is current now, Lakshmana Sena fled from Nadia before the Mahomedan invaders of Bengal. The inscription discovered recently, however, shows that Lakshmana Sena was dead at least thirty years before the Moslems invaded Bengal. This Lakshmana Sena, who ruled over a tract of country from Benares to the Garohills and from the Himalayas to the sea was probably not the same Lakshmana Sena who was driven away by the Moslem invaders of Bengal. He was the founder of an era which was named after him and marked the year of his coronation, 1119 A. D. Lakshmana Sena is believed to have been a poet of considerable merit and there are several couplets in Sanskrit by him still extant in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The inscription on the image reads : " In year three of the reign of the illustrious Lakhmana Sena." It is the oldest image of the goddess discovered so far and is of good workmanship. It represents the wife of Shiva, the goddess of destruction, at the moment when she was getting ready to annihilate the universe. It is a female figure having four hands and overladen with ornaments. Two elephants are pouring water over her head from two earthen vessels with their trunks. Another inscription on the image says it is the work of a man named Narayana.

### The Rivers of Bengal

In 1904 two articles appeared in the " Manchester Guardian " in which a cheerful expectation was expressed that the Government of India and the Bengal Government were about to repent of their neglect of the magnificent waterways with which Bengal is endowed,

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and to enter on an active policy of dredging and otherwise improving the rivers. This hopeful view was fully justified by appearances at the time when the articles were published. But the encouraging signs soon vanished, and though one or two useful projects have been taken in hand the general attitude of the authorities towards waterways continues to be one of apathy or at best of spasmodic interest. Yet the great rivers form a splendid asset of the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal. Properly utilised they would furnish vast districts with the means of communication which they now lack and which railways cannot supply. On the other hand, rivers in Bengal, if neglected, are apt to silt up and become a chain of stagnant marshes. Scores of villages are deprived of their source of drinking water, and what were once health-giving streams become breeding-grounds for mosquitoes and nurseries of malaria. Some districts of Bengal, such as Nadia and Jessore, are full of dead and dying rivers. Malaria is rampant in these areas, and the last Census reveals a decline of 100,000 in the population of Nadia and Jessore alone. To realise the great extent of the waterways it must be remembered that, according to a recent estimate, the navigable rivers to the east of Allahabad exceed 24,000 miles in length during the rainy season. Even in the dry months the waterways which give enough draught for country boats extend over 14,000 miles. Nor is there any lack of the commercial enterprise required to utilise these facilities for transport. Between 35 and 40 steamer services are maintained. The vessels employed by the various companies form a considerable fleet, the number of steamers and launches being 257 and the number of flats and barges 590. About 3,500,000 miles a year are covered by these vessels, or 10,000 miles a day. The traffic which they carry between Calcutta and various river stations is over 2½ million tons, a substantial total, which does not, however, include the large intermediate traffic between river stations in Bengal and Assam. But, in spite of the energy which the steamer companies show, the neglected condition of the rivers confines their operations to 4,000 miles out of a dry-weather total of 14,000 miles which should be available for traffic. It must be added that the waterways thus utilised have in a large measure been kept in order by the companies. Most of the dredging or training that has been needed has been done by them. Until quite recently they carried out at their own expense the lighting and buoying of the channels, but latterly a part of the work has been taken over by the Government. The chief cause of the general neglect of the rivers is that waterways are under the care of the Irrigation branch of the Public Works Department. This Department suffers from the constant changes in *personnel* which are characteristic of the administration of India. So unsatisfactory has Government management proved itself to be that a demand is now being made for the creation of a Waterways Trust on the lines of the Calcutta Port Trust, which by unremitting attention has vastly improved the Hooghly as a navigable river. Only in this way, it is held, will it be possible to secure a staff of trained engineers who will keep the rivers under constant observation, become acquainted with their peculiarities, and be able to apply promptly any remedial treatment that is needed.

## INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

### Import of Cigarettes

The following figures will show that the import of Cigarettes into India has greatly fallen on account of the newly imposed duty on tobacco :—

		Lakh lbs.	Lakh Rs.
1908-09...	...	29'95	57'79
10...	...	30'84	64'98
11...	...	11'07	36'28

### Gut Industry

Gut industry is a paying concern, which has been sadly neglected in this country. The Director of Industries, United Provinces, has addressed lately the Bengal Chamber of Commerce on the subject, saying that a large and profitable trade can be carried on from Calcutta. Things which the village butchers do not care to preserve, can bring a very high price from Europe if they are properly treated. The Director intends to communicate with the houses who are prepared to carry on the business here.

### Cotton Cultivation

The Bombay Agricultural Department will take up in the near future the following three important lines of work :—

(a) To decide which of the exotic and hybridised cottons bred on the various farms offer the greatest profits in different localities, and to confine the efforts to putting in the seed of the most promising variety in each case and establishing effective buying agencies for the produce.

(b) To study the question of providing the most suitable implements for the efficient cultivation of various black soil.

(c) To make a survey of the fodder supply in the various localities and the best means of improving it.

### Inventions in 1901

The annual report of the Secretary under the Inventions and Designs Act for 1910 is published, which shows that during the year 667 applications were made for leave to file the specifications and 618 specifications were filed. The total number of applications under the present Act has been 10,872 and of specifications 8,508. Compared with 1909 the decrease in the number of applications has been 28, but there have been 115 more specifications filed. The amount received as continuance fees, by payment of which existing privileges are kept in force, has decreased by Rs. 2,750, but the total income of the office is better by Rs. 927-5-0. The range of inventions covered by the applications was as wide as usual and the predominance in the railway and textile industries still persists. A rather noteworthy feature of the year has been the increase in the number of applications under the heading of cooking appliances, and that is directly traceable to the prize offered by Mr. David Yule for the best *chula* shown at the U. P. Exhibition at Allahabad. Of the 667 applications made during the year 45 related to inventions that *prima facie* did not appear to

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be novel. In accordance with the practice that is now well established, the state of public knowledge was pointed out to the applicant, and he was given an opportunity of amending his application, including 11 cases pending from the previous year.

### **The Indian Railways**

The administration report for 1910 issued by the Indian Railway Board shows that 602 miles of line were opened during the 12 months, making a total length for the Indian Empire of 32,099 miles. The total capital expenditure has now aggregated to more than 298 millions sterling. Omitting annuity payments in redemption of capital, the net gain to the public Exchequer for the year on the working of State railways was £2,870,000. The net earnings of all Indian railways yielded a return on the capital outlay on open lines of 5.46 per cent., as compared with 4.81 in 1909. The total number of passengers carried was 371.58 million, against 329.38 million in the previous year. Nearly 41 millions more third-class passengers were carried. The average rate charged to passengers of all classes was 2.45 pies per mile, or just over one-fifth of a penny, and the average distance travelled was about 36 miles. The aggregate tonnage of goods traffic was 65.69 millions, as against 60.90 in the previous year. The average distance over which a ton of goods was carried rose from 153 to 184 miles. This higher figure points to the activity of the export trade. The prospects of the railways for the current year are very good, the earnings since January being higher than in the corresponding period of 1910.

### **Sea-borne Trade of Bengal**

The value of the sea-borne trade in merchandise in Bengal in 1909-10 was 116.94 crores, of which the share of Calcutta amounted to Rs. 116.51 crores, as against 110.64 crores and Rs. 110.48 crores respectively in 1908-9, an improvement in each case of over Rs. 6 crores or nearly 5.7 per cent. These figures are still short of 1907-8 by nearly Rs. 6 crores, and they represent only a partial recovery from the stagnation of 1908-9. Imports into Calcutta were valued at Rs. 46.62 crores, an expansion of 5.4 per cent. Of the increase, yarns and textile fabrics were responsible for so much as Rs. 3.72 crores. The imports of sugar were valued at Rs. 5.02 crores. Of all imports, 71 per cent. was received from the United Kingdom, against 69.2 per cent. in 1908-9. Jute continued to be the dominant staple of the export trade, and the United Kingdom was the best customer. The coasting trade declined from Rs. 22.24 lakhs to Rs. 18.96 lakhs, or 14.7 per cent. Of this total, 51.3 per cent. represents trade with Burma, 11.9 per cent. with Madras, 27 per cent. with Bombay and Sind, 2.6 per cent. with Eastern Bengal and Assam and 2 per cent. with non-British ports. Imports into Bengal by rail and river from other provinces were valued at Rs. 49.87 crores, as compared with Rs. 48.76 crores in 1908. The principal articles of export were cotton goods, metals, iron and steel sugar, rice and oils.

## REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

### A HISTORY OF GUJERAT

[*A History of Guzerat*—by Abu Turab Wali, Edited by Dr. Denison Ross, John Murray, London, 1909]

One important service which the Emperor Akbar rendered to the world was the encouragement of the composition of local histories and of autobiographies. They were intended to be materials for the great history of his ancestors and of his own reign, that is, of the *Akbernama*. His Secretary, Abul Fazl, tells us that the royal commands were issued throughout the dominions to the effect that those who, from old service, remembered the events of the past "should send to the Court copies of their notes and memoranda." "By these means, wrote Akbar," "I constructed a reservoir for watering the Rose garden of Fortune."

It is to this enlightened encouragement of Akbar that we owe the memoirs of Gulbadan Begum, of Janhar, the ewer-bearer, and of Bayazid the Riyat, and the history of Gujerat now under notice.

It is true, as remarked by Dr. Ross, that Abul Fuzl, the author of the *Akbernama*, makes no mention of Abu Turab's history, but neither does he specify the memoirs of Gulbadan Begum or of Janhar. But he had evidently used them and I think it is clear that he had also on occasions borrowed from Abu Turab. The passage at page 53 of the third volume of the *Akbernama* about Aziz Koka's regarding the report of Akbar's approaching Ahmedabad as a pleasantry is taken from Abu Turab's pages. This seems to me to be a reference to page 84 of Abu Turab's history. I think too that Abul Fazl has borrowed from Abu Turab part of his account of the murder of Bahadur, the king of Gujerat. At page 146 of volume 1 he quotes Abu Turab, but represents it as a mere verbal communication.

Abu Turab was a Persian by origin, his family having belonged to Shiraz where they were known as the *Setami Sayids*. This name was due to a tradition that an ancestor of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet and saluted it when a response came from the grave. Abu Turab's grandfather Shah Mir is said by the author of the *Mirat Ahmedi* (lith. II. 41) to have come to Gujerat in 898 A.H. or 1493 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Bigarha, and

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to have settled at Champanir, which was then the capital of Gujerat. His tomb is said to be still there. His grandson removed to Ahmedabad and settled in the quarter of Asawal. But apparently this did not take place till about 1554, for Abu Turab speaks of the family house being at Champanir in 1536-37 and seems to say that he himself was there when it was visited by Humayun's cousin, Zadgar Nasir, and by Tardi Beg (pp. 30 and 31). He also tells us, page 27, that when Humayun took Champanir about this time, he presented his (Abu Turab's) father and uncle with Rs. 75,000 and left them there in order that they might pass their days in comfort in their own home.

According to the *Akbernama*, III, 217, and the *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Abu Turab's father's name was Kamalu-d-din, but, as pointed out by Dr. Rien, Abu Turub seems to say that his father's name was Qutbu-d-din and that Kamalu-d-din was his uncle. I write "seems to say," because it is possible that the passage at p. 17 "Kamalu-d-din and Qutbu-d-din, the uncle and father of this faquir" is an instance of *trusteron proteron* on the part of Abu Turab or his copyist, for elsewhere and even lower down on the same page he writes "father and uncle" when speaking of them. However, a copyist's note to the British Museum MS. says that Abu Turab was the son of Qutbu-d-din Shukr-ullah. Abu Turab's tomb is in Ahmedabad in the Asawal quarter and there is a photograph of it in Sir Theodore Hope's work. No mention is made there of any inscription, but there may be one, or there may be some local tradition which would clear up the point of the parentage. With regard to the question of Abu Turab's age it should be noticed that at p. 99 he seems to say that the Mosque Sufi in Ahmedabad, as distinguished from the building constructed by him to contain the impression\* of the prophet's foot, was erected by him as long as 964, that is, 1557. Two chronograms are given. One is Shah Abu Turab Wali and yields 964 and the other, which occurs at the end of some lines by a dervish, is Ganbad (not Ganbaz)-i-Shah Abu Turab and yields 994. Dr. Ross's copyist has wrongly written 994 in the first line of p. 99, for his original has 964. This building contained some hairs of the prophet in addition to the impression of his right foot justifying a line in the mss. quoted in the *Mirat Ahmedi*, II 16, that it contained representations both of the head and the foot of Mahommed. They have long since disappeared.

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\*It was obtained, Abu Turab says, p. 96, for the Qabbatu-l-Abbas which is in the courtyard of the Misjidu-l-Haram, Mecca.

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According to the *Mirat Ahmedi*, II, 41, of the Bombay Lithograph, Abu Turab died on 13 Jumada-l-awwal, 1003, which corresponds to the 5th February, 1593. It is not known when his book was written, but if it was composed, as is probable, for the benefit of Abul Fazl, it must have been written about 1590. We know that it was written after 994 A. H. for that date, which corresponds to 1586, is mentioned in it. Abu Turab seems to have been a householder in 1536, and so must have been well up in years when he wrote his book ; and this agrees with the character of the work, for it is the garrulous narrative of an old man, especially when the subject is himself. In 1572-73 Akbar wrote to him that he was to regard Akbar's foster-brother Aziz Koka as his son (p. 76). Aziz was then over 30 ; so that Abu Turab must have been then, at least, middle-aged. The *Mirat Sikandari* too speaks of Abu Turab (p. 223) as having been a leading courtier in 1530-31.

Though Abu Turab's history is not a big book, several pages of it are exceedingly tedious. The first sixty pages are the most interesting, and also the most valuable, for it is the only contemporaneous authority we have for the history of Gujerat in the first half of the sixteenth century. The *Mirat Sikandari* was not written till 1611 and neither the *Tarikh Bahadurshahi* nor the *Zuhfutu-s-Sadat*, which it quotes as authorities, seems now to be in existence. The first of these was a general history of India, and was written by Saru Sultan Bahadur Gujarati, (Elliot's Hist. VI, 177 and Bayley's Gujerat 59) and the second was written by a Kashmeri named Aram for Saiyd Mabarak Bokhari, one of Bahadur Shah's generals. Abu Turab was probably an eye-witness of Humayun's capture of Champanir, and from 981 (1573-74), he took an active part in Gujerati affairs.

His history begins with a description of Bahadur Shah's magnificence. He tells of the death of Sultan Mozaffar II, the father of Bahadur, and of the succession of the latter's elder brother. Bahadur was obliged to fly to Hindustan to escape his brother's enmity, and he witnessed the great battle at Panipat between Babar and Sultan Ibrahim. He returned to Gujerat on account of his brother's assassination, and, according to Babar's "Memoirs", took a cruel vengeance on the supposed culprits. Imadu-l-Mulk, the actual murderer, was, says Abu Turab, flayed alive in the bazaar from his head to his toe-nails. Abu Turab then narrates the quarrel between Humayun and Bahadur, and gives copies of two of the letters that passed between them. These letters are

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well-known, and copies exist in the British Museum and elsewhere, but at page 43 a copy is given of a letter from Humayun to Sultan Mahmud II which is probably not to be found elsewhere. It must have been written in 960 (1553), and before Humayun had actually invaded India for Sultan Mahmud was murdered in February 1554, and Humayun did not set out on his march to India till November of that year.

Abu Turab gives a vivid account of the murder of Sultan Mahmud II, and his narrative differs in several particulars from that in the *Mirat Sikandari*. But perhaps the most interesting passage in his book is the account of the death of Bahadur Shah. It may be compared with the one in Mr. Whiteway's "Rise of the Portuguese Power in India." Abu 'Turab seems to have derived his information from the Italian renegade Sifr, or Safr, Agha whom he calls Khwaja Safr and Rumi Khan. This man was with Bahadur at the time, and was almost the only man of the party who escaped.

Abu Turab introduces Sifr Agha's account by the words "Rumi Khan used to relate." Another interesting passage occurs at page 52 when Abu Turab gives what is probably the true story about the boy Nanu or Natu who afterwards succeeded to the title of Muzaffar III and gave Akbar so much trouble. He says that his father was a carter (*gaobani*, lit. a cattle-driver) and his mother a Rajputni. She had been brought to Sultan Mahmud along with a number of other women in order that he might choose some of them for his harem. She was therefore kept under observation, but outside of the female apartments. Before the Sultan had made his choice, she gave birth to a son. The Sultan was holding a festival at the time, and, says the chronicler, this was the first time that the shadow of royalty fell upon Nanu. On the other hand, the *Mirat Sikandari* distinctly calls Nanu the son of Sultan Mahmud (page 196, or 143 of the translation). Elsewhere, page 83, Abu 'Turab contemptuously refers to Nanu as a boy whom a disaffected noble called Iqhtyaru-l-Mulk had set up, and was keeping secreted in his tent in order that when the time came he might pass him off as the King of Gujerat. For this purpose he had got ready a royal canopy and umbrella. But whoever Nanu or Mozaffar Shah really was, he seems to have had good blood in him, for he made a brave fight against Akbar, and at last died a Roman's death, *deliberate morte ferocior*.

As has been pointed out by Dr. Denison Ross, there is at p. 44, or rather at p. 43, an extraordinary hiatus in Abu Turab's accounts of the Kings of Gujerat. He misses out almost entirely

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the reign of Sultan Mahmud. He tells us of his having been put upon the throne in 944 or 1537 A.D. (when he was only ten years of age); then he speaks of the intrigues of his two chief officers, but he says almost nothing more of the Sultan's long reign of eighteen years. He merely remarks that it would be a long story if he were to describe the quarrels between the two officers, and at p. 44 he makes a sudden leap to the description of the Sultan's murder in 961 or 1554. One feels inclined to suppose that several pages of the original MS. have been lost.

Abu Turab's account of the negotiations with Akbar is very long and very tedious, but it has some interest on account of its containing so much of Akbar's conversation. When Akbar first came to Gujerat he was disgusted with the wavering conduct of the Gujerati nobles and was inclined to blame Itimid Khan and Abu Turab for this. The latter had much ado to pacify him. There were almost endless discussions, and we are not surprised that Akbar was in the meantime occupying his time by watching the antics of a large monkey (p. 74). There seems no doubt that Abu Turab took a very active part in handing over Gujerat to Akbar, and possibly this was the best arrangement that could be made, though one can understand the repugnance of the Gujeratis to it. It is evident that Akbar had a high opinion of Abu Turab for, when he returned from Gujerat after his wonderful nine day's ride, he secretly wrote to him and asked him to give him confidential reports about Aziz Koka and others of the Gujerat officers. Naturally, Abu Turab was much flattered by this request, but he was also cautious and, "after much reflection," wrote in reply that as he proposed to wait upon His Majesty at Fattehpur he would delay his reports till then. Aziz Koka found out that Akbar had written to Abu Turab, and was very anxious to know the contents of the letter. Abu Turab put him off, but says that he did not tell the emperor anything evil about Aziz. Some years later Akbar made Abu Turab Amin of Gujerat and sent him there along with Itimid Khan the new Governor, in order that he might keep him straight.

The great event of Abu Turab's life was his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1577, and his bringing to India an impression of the Prophet's foot. He tells us that Akbar received it with much honour, wrapped it up in his riding-cloak and carried it on his shoulder for about one hundred paces. He asked of what foot it was the impression and when Abu Turab told him it was the right foot, he was satisfied, because it could then be regarded as the complementary impression of a left foot which had been brought to Delhi

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some two centuries ago. It appears, page 96, that the impression was found in the Qabbatu-l-Abbas, in the courtyard of the Masjidu-l-Harain at Mecca. Abu Turab says it cost him much trouble and expense to secure the impression, and the *Mirat Ahmedi* says it was white on a black stone and very conspicuous. Abu-l-Fazl however declares, *Akburnama*, III, 281, that the relic was spurious and that Akbar knew this, but treated it with respect in order to preserve appearances (*as wafur pardadari*) and out of consideration for the simple-minded Sayid.

Abu Tarab's style is generally simple and intelligible but he uses some local words and some of his expressions are obscure. Possibly they have been wrongly copied. Most of the difficulties have been explained by Dr. Ross in his notes. The manuscript in the British Museum (No. Or. 1818) is very legible and I should think it generally correct. The same may be said of Dr. Denison Ross's copy which was made by a gentleman of Baghdad, though it is not without errors. One of these is at p. 5 where a Persian couplet has been wrongly copied, so that Dr. Ross has been obliged to say that he has not understood it. The British Museum original is however sufficiently plain. Instead of the unintelligible *Shah danise bad dil*, one should read *Shadeabad-i dil*. The couplet is in praise of Sultan Mozaffar II, the father of Bahadur Gujarati, for his generosity in restoring Malwa to Sultan Mahmud Khilji after his rebellious subjects had dispossessed and imprisoned him.

The poet's words may be rendered thus : "Thy Court is the happy-home of the afflicted. Whatever thou takest thou restorest." The chronogram on the same page yields 929 or 1523.

There is a more difficult couplet at p. 25. The copy is correct and only differs from the version in the *Mirat Sikandari* by *bir mah* being written instead of *ba mah*. But the meaning is hard to guess. It is said by Abu Turab to have been extemporised by Ighteyar Khan, the Governor of Champanir, when Humayun offered him his choice of either serving him or of returning to his master Bahadur. According to the *Mirat Sikandari*, it was uttered by Ighteyar Khan to celebrate his victory over a defeated disputant. Both authors agree in saying that it contains an enigmatic reference to Humayun's name. Fazlullah, the translator of the *Mirat Sikandari*, says, p. 196, that the couplet contains the numerical value of Humayun's name. But he does not explain how this is so and I cannot make the alleged *abjad* come right. I believe that the real explanation is that the second line contains an anagram of part, at least, of Humayun's name, *mah*, moon, being equal to *Huma*, and *h*,

the last letter of *maḥ*, also making, along with the *ma* of the following word an anagram of the same proper name. This view seems supported by another instance of Iqtiyar Khan's enigmas as given at p. 195 of the translation of the *Mirat Siḥandari* (p. 252 of the Persian text) which turns upon a bad pun on the name Jemal.

At page 19, four lines from foot, there occurs another bad mistake which makes the sentence unintelligible. It really refers to an order of Humayun to extinguish the fires in Champanir. At line 2 of the same page *dah* 10 has been substituted for *No. 2* which is the correct reading. At page 17 line 8 a line of the original has been accidentally omitted after the word Chitor. What the writer's father and uncle said was that their desire was that Chitor which had been recently delivered from the infidels might be surrendered to Bahadur in order that they might go and induce him to come to terms.

It is singular that the author never mentions his own name except in a chronogram. He generally speaks of himself as the faquir, but in one or two places he calls himself "the writer" (mohurir) and once he calls himself the *dai* or supplicant. Twice he quotes others as calling him Shahjen.

**H. Beveridge**

## **RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY**

[By R. N. SAMADDAR, Published by I. A. Isaac, 8, British Indian Street].

"To me he stood alone in the single majesty of, I had almost said, perfect humanity. No one in past history or in present time ever came before my Judgment clothed in such wisdom, grace and humanity. I knew of no tendency even to error.....He was the most liberal, the most amiable and the most candid of men.....unequaled in past or present time."

Thus wrote an eminent physician of London about three quarters of a century ago to a friend of his about the man a short account of whose life and character this book proposes to give and who, whether equalled or unequalled in the past, was certainly the greatest Indian of his time and of the century in which he lived. The book is only a reprint of a paper read at a meeting of the members of the Brahmo Students' Home. The whole life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in a single paper! —it is not strange therefore that the account should be so very meagre. Even in this, the author might better have devoted more space to the Raja's works than to mere incidents and anecdotes of his life. The chapter which is devoted to the quoting of testi-

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monials of different men and newspapers on the life and character of the Raja ought not to have found a place in such a small volume as this. However, as it is, the book will help to create in the mind of the educated community a desire to know more of the life and writings of the Raja and, as such, is expected to serve a useful purpose. The Raja's work is of so varied a form that it is not possible to do justice to it in the short space at our disposal. There was not a department of public life which he did not touch and whatever he touched he adorned. Briefly his life-work may be divided into the following parts :—(1) his services in the cause of English education, (2) his services in the cause of religious reform, (3) his services in the cause of social reform, (4) his services in the cause of Bengali literature, and (5) his services in the cause of politics. Here are some of the important points touched by the writer. In 1823, he wrote a letter to Lord Amherst against the government policy of oriental education then in vogue and very ably set forth the advantages that would follow from the introduction of English education into the country. He was a co-adjutor of David Hare in founding the Hindu College. He also established an English School at his own initiative and expense. At a time when Hinduism was fast sinking into a corrupt and degrading ritual, he brought to light the incomparable truths of the Vedic religion. He gave a perfectly national turn to the religious movement which he initiated and saved many from absolute spiritual death. When the author of *The Subjection of Women* was not yet in his teens, Ram Mohan Roy conceived the most advanced ideas about the status of women and fought for them. As is well known Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the originator of Bengali prose. He established the first Bengali newspaper, *Sangbad Kaumudi*, and strenuously fought against the ordinance issued by Mr. Adam, the then Governor-General, imposing certain restrictions on the liberty of the press. In those days ordinances could not become law without the sanction of the judges of the Supreme Court. Raja Ram Mohan Roy addressed a memorial to the Supreme Court against the said ordinance. But it rejected the memorial and registered the regulation. The Raja then addressed another memorial to the King (George IV) showing the necessity of granting freedom to the press of India. Both these memorials are reproduced in the appendix of this work. As the author says, they contain all that can be said in defence of the liberty of the press and especially of the Indian Press, and as such ought to be read by every student of politics in India. While in England he was called upon to give evidence before the Select

## **RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY**

Committee of the House of Commons and he acquitted himself remarkably and published three political tracts entitled "Remarks on the Settlement of Europeans in India," "Suggestions for the Future Government of India," and "Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India."

In the above the author gives us nothing which is new or original, but in our country knowledge is so rare that we make no apology in giving here a brief outline of the main works of the Rajah's life.

The Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Bose, who is now touring in England, recently paid a visit to Bristol and had a photograph taken of the renovated tomb under which lies buried the bones of the great Rajah. We hope to publish shortly an illustration of this tomb with a detailed account of his life in England.

## LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

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1. POLICE AND CRIME IN INDIA—By Sir Edward Cox Stanley Paul. 12s. 6d.
2. INDIA AND THE GOLD STANDARD—By H. F. Howard. Thacker, Spink & Co.
3. THE ECONOMIC TRANSITION IN INDIA—By Sir Theodore Morison. Murray. 5s. net.
4. THE WEST IN THE EAST—By Price Collier Duckworth. 7s. 6d. net.
5. LETTERS FROM INDIA—By Lady Wilson. Blackwood. 7s. 6d. net.

# ARTICLES

## RURAL REFORM. \*

The most unreflecting traveller through the villages in the interior of Bengal must have heaved a sigh of sorrow over their deserted and decadent condition, and the deplorable changes which have come over rural life and occupations. The forces that have silently worked, and are still working, these momentous changes, are the natural force of village decay and the artificial force of townward emigration. These forces, acting and re-acting upon each other, have tremendously accelerated the depopulation of the villages and the disintegration of village society. The country districts, thus drained of their most valuable and potential elements, have been slowly and thoughtlessly sacrificed to the towns. The towns, on the other hand—which afford ease, luxury, and mechanical facilities of life to the rich, high material prospects to the professionals and the ambitious, easy employment to the average clerk and labourer, and ready market for the products of petty artisans and traders of the mofussil—are being unduly fattened at the expense of the villages. This one-sided development has either destroyed rural industries or relegated them to only very subordinate positions, and has led serious men to reflect with dismay and lamentation the malady which has seized village life. On the one hand, these and other inducements, which life in town provides for all classes of people, render it an eminently pleasant and convenient place for their residence ; and, amidst the bustle, the excitement and the amusements of city life, they forget, for the moment, what is happening outside the world in which they live and work. On the other hand, malaria, want of efficient drainage, want of pure and adequate water-supply, absence of educational facilities, the dullness and monotony of village life, want of political excitement and the disgusting petty village factions—render village life almost insupportable. These forces—the forces of attraction to town and of repulsion from village—are constantly at work to drive the villagers into towns ; and the result has been to cripple the resources of the country—the supporter of all our commerce and industries, the fountain-head of all our national resour-

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\* Some of the passages in this article have been reproduced from certain articles contributed by the author to a local newspaper.

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

ces, and the source of national vigour and vitality. The village has, by this process, been denuded of its best human and recuperative resources, thus leaving rural society barren, inert and lifeless. The strenuous workers, the wealthy zemindars, and the resourceful educated men, are being gradually lost to the village, which is left a prey to all the forces of disintegration and decay. A strongly knit village must be a vigorous and self-contained unit in the social and political organism, producing, with the active co-operation of its members, all the necessities and amenities of an affluent and contented life, and providing for them healthy and profitable employment. Such a village should be the basis of a higher and more developed form of communal life, the training ground of its members for the higher civic duties and the granary of its food-supply. But this ideal conception of village life is gradually losing its hold on the imagination of the people, because altered notions of domestic comfort, of the standard of life, of duty towards the country and the community, and of the possibilities of industrial life, are working a complete revolution in the ideas and habits of our village population. The most disastrous effect of these changes has been on village economy and production. Tanks, orchards, and culturable lands are falling into disrepair and decay, owing to want of proper care and management, and are neither being repaired nor replaced. The vast areas of culturable wastes offer an excellent field for productive employment ; the preservation of the paternal estates from ruin and ravage, the establishment of new gardens and orchards, the breaking in of culturable wastes, the excavation and reclamation of tanks, the planting of useful trees—these are some of the obvious duties of villagers, because they are the surest means of recouping the economic waste to which the country is perpetually subject. The absentee landlord is no less responsible for the present condition of affairs than the absentee labourer, or the absentee middle-class educated man. The supreme indifference which is generally displayed by a zemindar (there are, of course, honourable exceptions) completes the catalogue of the pernicious influences which are sapping the foundations of village life. With a complacency, which is iniquitous rather than creditable, the landlord appropriates and wastes the greater portion of the money got from his tenants, to whom he has grave obligations to discharge. At the distance at which he keeps them, he loses all touch and sympathy with the poor and helpless tenants, who are left to improve their holdings as best as their slender means permit, without assistance or encouragement from their landlord. The

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zemindar is the fittest country gentleman to re-organise the village community, by his moral and pecuniary support, and to impart to it health, strength, vitality and cohesion. But alas ! his false and perverted ideas of position and prestige forbid him to visit, and inquire after the welfare of, his own people, lest his gracious presence be polluted by their gaze. The villagers are thus deprived of the landlord's paternal care and interest, and are driven to fight unaided the forces of destruction which, in the end, overpower them.

Among the consequences of this accelerating drain may be prominently mentioned the decline of agriculture and its attendant evils. A great Chinese philosopher has said, (I quote the words from a book by Senator Jules Meline) that "the well-being of a people is like a tree : agriculture is its root, manufacture and commerce are its branches and leaves. If the root is injured, the leaves fall, the branches break away, and the tree dies." The decline in the well-being of the people, which, in the words of an American economist, is made up of health, wealth, wisdom and virtue, is therefore an inevitable consequence of the decline of agriculture. Recognising the value and importance of agriculture, many civilised nations have set on foot very powerful and healthy movements for "return to the land" and for arresting the exodus to towns. The ease and conveniences of town life, whatever may be their charms and advantages to certain classes of people, are not without their injurious influences on the powers of physical exertion and endurance which are essential to the pursuit of a strenuous life, as well as on the virtues of simplicity, industry and perseverance which are necessary for the formation of manhood. England, whose prosperity has followed in the wake of her manufacturing industries, has shown an attitude of unconcern at this movement. She may have the best of reasons to adopt this policy ; but it would not be to the advantage of India, whose political and economic conditions are entirely dissimilar to those of England, to imitate her in this respect. Let India take advantage of the experience of other countries which are developing manufacturing and agricultural industries side by side, and adopt, as her settled and permanent policy, the development of her agriculture.

I have referred at the outset to the absence of educational facilities as one of the drawbacks of village life. It is necessary to explain the type of education suitable for village boys who are not endowed with an uncommon intellect nor with a lofty ambition. I am not sure if there is, at present, any well-devised policy of

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rural education at all. The system in vogue does not profess to train the eye, the hand, and the muscles of the children, nor does it instil into their minds a desire for nature study and a love for home and its environments. Nature-study has been very aptly defined to be a study of "those things in nature that are best worth knowing, to the end of doing those things that make life most worth living." The most covetable life for an agricultural community is farm life, and those things that most conduce to a happy life in the village are provided therein in profusion by nature. Nature-study, in its deep significance, fosters moral, social, religious and educational virtues of the finest type. If the child, at the early stage of his education, is taught to venerate nature, to appreciate her bounty, to dive deep into her secrets, her laws and her phenomena, and to admire the beauty and the grandeur of God's creation, what better education can be devised for his moral well-being? Another important—nay necessary—adjunct to rural education is the school garden, which simultaneously promotes nature-study as supplementary to book-instruction, and teaches the processes by which plant-life grows and develops. Besides its educational, the school garden has its utilitarian value; for, if properly conducted, it can, in a poor country like India, substantially supplement the miserable pittance of the primary school teacher. The entire policy, therefore, turns on the supply of good and suitable teachers and an adequate number of such schools. It is a matter of sincere gratification to find that the Bengal Government propose to spend two lakhs of rupees during the current year on primary school buildings. I expect that the expression "primary school buildings" is not meant to signify a structure of brick and mortar without gardens or playgrounds, which ought to form an essential feature of a village primary school. The Government will, I trust, make the grants conditional on the school-house being built in the midst of a minimum area of 6 acres of ground (which is not a very expensive site in a village) and on the laying out of a garden for carrying on experimental cultivation in flowers, fruits and vegetables. It is hoped that suitable trained teachers will be forthcoming; but the present opportunity should not be lost of laying the foundation of an ideal rural school, which bids fair to work a remarkable transformation in the educational and economic life of the rural population. It must, however, be remembered that this transformation is only possible through an appreciation of the waste and desolation to which the villages have been reduced and the necessity for their rehabilitation. The most suitable type of education

is that which is calculated to foster this appreciation and not the system of compulsory education advocated by certain reformers. It is an elementary doctrine of metaphysics that compulsion seldom works beneficial changes, which must evolve from within by contact with wholesome moral influences outside. Those who are familiar with the occupations and circumstances of the population of villages in the interior will, I am persuaded, never dream of exercising pressure on the parents to send their boys to school. If the schools become useful in the direction I have indicated they will attract pupils spontaneously ; if not, they are never likely to be popular. The principal obligation of the Government, therefore, lies in the adequate provision of institutions which do not impart random or aimless courses of study, uncongenial to the world in which the boys live and are destined to work ; but to instil into the boys an interest in, and an affection for, their country, a desire to stick to it, to work in, and for it, and to counteract the tendency of the townward movement.

The second remedy is to drive away malaria. The task is not a very easy or hopeful one ; but in the life and death struggle on which we are entering, it must be fought at all costs. It has never been satisfactorily demonstrated whether malaria is the cause of rural emigration, or the latter is the cause of malaria. The latter, however, seems to me to be the correct theory. Every observant week-ender, journeying by railroad, must have noticed vast tracts of malarial country converted into healthy and charming places of residence by Europeans with the application of funds and energy. The Panama tract, through which a canal is now being constructed, was, until recently, a hotbed of malaria ; and, if reports are to be trusted, it is stated that before its reclamation, 80 out of 100 workmen died of this terrific scourge ; but by the simple process of cleansing it has now been converted into one of the healthiest places in America. The city of Calcutta was notoriously unclean and unhealthy about 50 years ago, with its elongated cess-pools, its filthy tanks, its polluted wells, its abominable bustees, its skinning ghat, and lastly the system of voiding its night-soil into the Hooghly. Within the life of two generations, its face has been altered beyond recognition and it is at present regarded as the best city in Bengal for health, wealth and comfort. Every country, in its primeval state, is unhealthy and uninhabitable. The bushes of Australia, the dense forests of Western America, the wildernesses of Africa, and, nearer home, the tea tracts of Assam were notorious for their insanitary or inhospitable condition. But

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these regions are no longer what they were, and their complete transformation has all been the work of man. It is my firm conviction that judicious and effective measures of sanitation, which have succeeded in certain parts of the world, should succeed in other parts as well; and, it is not beyond the means or the power of the average village folk to rehabilitate the villages, which are not, indeed, more unhealthy or repellent than these tracts were. The question of ways and means is very easy of solution. If one-half of the money, which the mofussil zemindars, who have no business to reside in towns, and some of the middle-class gentlemen, who belong essentially to the village, so thoughtlessly sink in Calcutta in buying lands at exorbitant—and not unoften, fancy—prices and building fashionable houses thereon, were spent on the improvement of the country-side, malaria would be stamped out within a measurable distance of time. If they had the will and the energy and appreciated the ultimate benefits of rural reform, lakhs of rupees could be found for providing effective drainage and pure water-supply which are the chief weapons by which malaria can be combated; and our country gentlemen ought not to stint money or measures until the enemy is brought well in hand. A large proportion of the necessary funds may also, if desired, be raised with the agency of co-operative credit societies which, as I will show later on, are valuable accessories in the organisation of a reformed village life.

The third cause of rural migration is said to be the dearth and scarcity of the necessities of life. I shall, for my present purpose, confine "necessaries of life" to articles of food only, for the price and availability (*i. e.*, the distribution) of the former are sympathetically governed by those of the latter.

A writer in the recently *Capital* attributed the rise in prices to the following causes :—

- (1) Increase of population ;
  - (2) Exodus of field labourers to towns, and other centres of industry to work in mills, mines, docks, jetties, tea gardens, etc., where they earn comparatively high wages and eat more food ;
  - (3) The returned cooly-emigrants who bring with them very good savings, live on better fare than they were content with before they emigrated ;
  - (4) The cost of transport necessitated by the movement of population for industrial purposes adds to the cost of food.
- These are undoubtedly the principal causes which affect prices, whatever an independent scientific investigation and the inquiries

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of the Price Commissioner may reveal. But another, and a not less important cause appears to be the neglect of agriculture, and consequent diminution of agricultural production.

The rural life, as I have said before, is losing its charms and advantages and is being daily exchanged for town-life. These changes are accompanied by a growing preference for manufacturing industries and employment in mills, factories, Government and mercantile offices, which are putting the productive capacity of the soil to a severe strain. This tendency is not local, but world-wide. The net result is that the demand is out-running the supply, and it is not surprising that the cost of food is going up. In Germany, America and other countries a healthy balance has been maintained between the two rival industries, and America has so enormously increased her soil-production, and so wisely regulated her exports that the cost of her people's food has steadily diminished. The state of things in India has been just the reverse ; for she had been compelled to feed foreign nations before she could reserve a plentiful supply for her own sons. To take the single case of rice—the staple food grain of Bengal and Burma,—it is highly questionable whether its production has increased *puri passu* with the increase of population, and whether there is any justification for the theory that exports do not affect home consumption. With the object of frank discussion I invite a reference to the figures, given in the table below, for the 13 years following the great famine of 1896-97 :—

Year.	Production.	in millions of cwt.			
		Export of rice in husk.	Same reduced to clean rice.	Export of clean rice.	Total export of rice.
1897-98	... 498'35	'475	'317	26'35	26'667
1898-99	... 505'64	'549	'366	37'40	37'766
1899-1900	... 451'55	'409	'273	31'87	32'143
1900-01	... 413'51	'277	'185	31'08	31'265
1901-02	... 384'29	'286	'191	33'75	33'941
Average	... 460'87	.....	'268	32 09	32'86
1902-3	... 469'48	'452	'301	47 04	47'341
1903-4	... 439'28	'561	'374	44'44	44'814
1904-5	... 448'46	'613	'409	48'88	49'289
1905-6	... 433'14	'829	'553	42'21	42'763
1906-7	... 427'74	'655	'437	38 06	38'497
Average	... 448'8	.....	'416	44'12	44'54
1907-8	... 379'21	'553	'369	37'71	38'079
1908-9	... 390'98	'578	'385	29'69	30 075
1909-10	... 558'49	'810	'540	38'40	38'940
Average	... 448'0	.....	'481	40'8	85'7

An examination of the figures in the above table shows that the

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

average production of the first two quinquennial, and the last triennial, periods was 450'67, 443'6 and 443 million cwts. respectively. The production has, therefore, diminished during the last 13 years. On the other hand, the average exports of rice during the same periods were 32'36, 44'54 and 35'7 million cwts., the percentages of exports to production being 7, 10 and 8, respectively. In other words, while the exports have a tendency to rise, the production has a tendency to diminish. If we assume the whole of the difference between production and exports (*i.e.*, 93, 90 and 92 per cent.) as home consumption (and the actual figures cannot be very far out), it is clear that, if owing to any special causes, the production falls short of 408 million cwts., in the near future there is bound to be a deficiency in the normal food-supply of the rice-eating population. During the 13-year period under review, the number of rice eating population has, it may be safely presumed, increased by 10 per cent. If the production had kept pace with the population, it should have been 495 million cwts. instead of 443 million cwts. It, therefore, follows that the production of rice, if it was adequate for the needs of the rice-eating population 13 years ago, is not adequate at the present time, assuming, of course, that the whole of the surplus of production over consumption is exported. It has been argued that the exports, being only a very small fraction of the production, do not materially affect home consumption : but this fact can be interpreted to signify that the margin of exportable surplus being small, the people always live on the brink of a precarious food-supply, because a diminution of the production by any quantity in excess of that small fraction means to them a deprivation of the normal quantity of food ; and the smaller the fraction, the greater is the risk of deficiency in this home consumption. This margin of production over consumption has a tendency to diminish (1) with the increase of general population, and (2) with the migration of the rural population into towns. This migration cuts both ways, as it affects both production and consumption. In the first place it withdraws so many hands from the field of production, which in consequence suffers ; and in the second place, every emigrant into town has a desire and the means, to eat more and to eat better than the ordinary villager. This continual tendency to increased demand, unrelieved by an increased supply, accounts in a large measure for the rise in prices and consequent "hard times." There is no systematic attempt on the part of the capitalists and the crop-producing classes to increase the yield of cereals ; the culture of

fruits as a marketable commodity is now a neglected and dying industry ; pisci-culture has not yet attained to a position of serious or profitable occupation, the thoughtless destruction of young fish and ova having evoked no remedy up to this time ; the cultivation of vegetables and fruits is carried on according to the old traditional methods and nothing has been done within the memory of the present generation to improve the quality, to introduce variety and to increase the yield ; milk and dairy produce are becoming a luxury among the rich and the poor alike (the infant being the most pitiful victim) owing to the gradual extinction of cattle and the deterioration of the breed. In the United States, systematic investigations are carried on by the Agricultural Department into the nutritive properties and the cost of different varieties of food-materials with a view to calculate their power to transform themselves into matter and energy, and into "the changes brought about in cooking, and the relative digestibility of different food products." Dietary studies are also made in widely different localities to ascertain the amount of food consumed by people of varying occupations, age, sex and circumstances. The purpose has been to "secure data in regard to the kinds, amounts and costs of food-materials under different conditions, to give an opportunity for comparison with the data obtained by investigators in other countries, and to assist in establishing a general dietary standard. The results of these experiments have been to establish the nutritive value, as food, of certain products of the earth which have not been used before as such, and to include them in the general dietary with a view to diversify food and thus to bring about a reduction in cost." I am unable to claim that our Government should be prepared to undertake such onerous obligations, when the attitude of the mass of the people is one of stolid indifference, and foolish superstition. But my appeal is submitted to the educated and influential classes on the one hand, and to the starving young men on the other. In my opinion the general pursuit of agriculture (in which I include dairy work, pisci-culture and market gardening) on co-operative principles is an efficacious remedy for the severe struggle for existence which has manifested within the last half-century. Every one of my readers has, I presume, heard with sympathy the doleful complaints made by young men of average or indifferent education about hard times, want of employment, and the difficulty, sometimes the impossibility, of supporting their families. I am confident that the situation would be considerably relieved if these young men turned their hands to retrieve the

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agricultural industry after a certain amount of education had fitted them for the work in a more efficient manner than the present-day cultivator. Men who value dignity of labour, self-respect and independence, will, I am sure, agree with me in thinking that it is no shame nor degradation to an educated man to derive his bread by honest labour in the field instead of at the desk. If he clings to that prejudice yet, he must shake it off before the struggle for bread becomes harder and keener. If the avenues to Government and the mercantile offices are closed, the ilimitable resources of the whole country are at his door, and he is at liberty to turn them to his best advantage. The greatest peoples of the world—the bravest and the mightiest—are those who have tamed the ruggedness of the earth, softened its stern and wild features and made it yield forth its hidden and bounteous treasures. Agricultural pursuits endow a people with patience, perseverance, strength of character, and physical endurance, all of which lie at the root of national greatness. Besides, agriculture and its various subsidiary industries will make each family a self-sufficient unit in the community. The great indirect effect of increased production will, however, be a cheapening of prices all round, which will be enjoyed by a large number of industrial labourers, petty traders and other men with poor incomes. The question that now arises is how the funds and organisation necessary to effect this desirable revolution in our society are to be provided. The answer is definite and unequivocal—"by co-operation." The broad principles of co-operative credit societies started into existence under statutory authority are, by this time, well known to our educated citizens. The expansion and success of these societies are merely a question of time, for they depend upon the active and earnest efforts of the educated and intelligent villagers. The village society, in its present condition, is too poor to supply recruits of the requisite capacity for this vitally important organisation. The landlord, who is eminently fitted by his position, wealth and influence, to organise and direct such societies, is either indifferent to or ignorant of, his duty and responsibility towards his tenants, and the general impressions which prevails among gentlemen of his class, that the earnings of their estate are their personal possessions and that they are free to spend them on personal comforts and luxuries, is fatal to all sense of duty and responsibility. A remedy that by the bye suggests itself to me would be to convert the zemindar's estate into a distinct unit in the body-politic, and

with that object in view to invest him with statutory powers of administering the primary services within the estate, namely, sanitation, education, police, agriculture and the decision of petty civil and criminal cases. Whether this is a practicable suggestion or not, I throw it to my readers for all what it is worth as it is absolutely necessary to enlist his co-operation in the beneficial work of village reform. The spirit of co-operation, instilled into the villagers by the landlord and his educated and public-spirited associates, is sure to inspire them with energy and enthusiasm in the pursuit of every kind of rural undertaking. For example, by constituting themselves into a co-operative society, the villagers can easily raise funds, under the law, and invest them, in the first instance, in the excavation of tanks. They will serve a two-fold object: (1) they will supply pure drinking water; (2) they will develop pisciculture. If the society, for instance, constructs four tanks, two of them can be reserved for the use of its members, the sale-proceeds of fish, which should be sold at a very small profit, being credited to the society; the other two tanks may be managed on strictly commercial principles. I am of opinion that under a strong and business-like management, the principal of the loan could be repaid with interest within a short period. A part of the profits might also be judiciously expended on other works of public utility, partly productive, (such as the further expansion of tanks, or the establishment of a dairy), and partly unproductive, (such as sanitary and drainage works). By planting the banks of the tanks with fruit trees and vegetables, a subsidiary industry might be developed which would provide the young men, who might join the society and devote their time and labour to its cause, with the means of a lucrative and honourable livelihood. I have, thus, sketched the bare outlines of a scheme of village reform. By a similar organisation, it should not be difficult to raise funds for the improvement of agriculture, capable of providing a larger number of our young men with profitable employment.

There is, however, one strong point which can be urged against the general adoption of agriculture as a business, and that is that its returns are very slow in coming, and that a young man, with probably a wife and two children at 20, finds it irksome to serve, as it were, a period of apprenticeship, and wait for the fruits while he and his dear ones are starving. It is somewhat strange, however, that while such apprenticeships are very common in other spheres of work, for instance, in law, medicine and the clerical

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service, and are cheerfully and patiently undergone by the workers, they are felt to be onerous in the pursuit of agriculture, although their hardships can be considerably relieved by advances of capital by the village co-operative societies. This drawback in agriculture should not, however, prevent our young men from realising the gravity and acuteness of the bread problem with which they are confronted and deter them from grappling with it with the same courage, persistence and coolness which they have displayed in other spheres of employment.

The dulness of village life and the want of political excitement have often been gravely adduced as very strong reasons for the abandonment of the country. Village life would, without doubt, be capable of vivacity and fascination, if the society could be united and strengthened by co-operation, by mutual interdependence, and by a common solicitude for the well-being of the community. The petty factions, the uncharitable gossipings, and the false, exaggerated or unworthy imputations which, at present, corrupt village life, render it a disagreeable place to live in. These evils are not entirely irradicable, for, with the advance of education and a deeper knowledge of moral and religious principles, they cannot long continue to canker our society. The provision of healthy amusements to redeem the monotony of village life is a question of men and money. It cannot be seriously argued that the village should be gay and sprightly, while it is in process of depopulation. If it attracts and retains its best citizens, activity and brightness are sure to be introduced as necessary accompaniments. The want of political excitement is purely imaginary. There is wide scope for the exercise of political activity in the village, which is the best training ground for self-government, for in no other sphere is this activity more fruitful of tangible and practical results. The community of interests among the village population, their economic inter-relation, the simplicity and freedom of rural life, as well as the traditions of useful work done by the *Punchayets*, furnish the strongest stimulus for fostering a most healthy spirit of self-government. The virtues of co-operation and mutual help can be most advantageously learnt in village society; for, as stated by Sir Horace Plunkett, a strong village community "exhibits the feeling of human solidarity in its most intense manifestations, working in itself, regenerating itself, and seeking its own perfection." It must not be supposed that these remarks and arguments apply only to the elementary form of village government. The higher and more complex form of self-govern-

ment which is the legitimate aspiration of the educated classes must evolve from a general uplifting of the level of character and capacity of the mass of the people. This is possible only through the education of the villager and the reform of the village. I have no faith in the benefits of a constant pursuit of imperial politics. The country is indistinguishable from the village ; and if our politicians abandon the village, they do a distinct disservice to the country. The political doctrines of a townsman are fundamentally different from those of a villager ; and the interests designed to be served by the former are, in many instances, at variance with the interests of the latter. The villager has no need to concern himself with the perplexing and ever-green question of the Partition, or the ethics of the Seditious Meetings Act, or the annual economic drain, or the advantages of an Imperial Press Association, or the constitution of the Congress, or the excise duties on home-manufactured cotton-goods. The town politician is scarcely fit by reason of experience or tendencies to guide the politics of a village. His tendencies have a distinctly imperial bend ; and his experience, in the language of Sir Horace Plunkett, "is essentially imperfect. He has generally a wider theoretical knowledge than the rustic of the main processes by which the community lives, but the rustic's practical knowledge of the more fundamental of them is wider than the townsman's." Experience of village life is, for the above reasons, a valuable asset—nay a *sine qua non*—in a public man ; and it, therefore, follows that an educated and intelligent villager, familiar with the detailed needs and wants of village life, is a more useful factor in the machinery of local administration than a townsman perpetually harping on imperial topics. The wants of the nation are reflected in the village : sanitation, universal education, agricultural improvement, local self-government, protection of life and property, and the settlement of petty disputes by arbitration—are all pre-eminently village questions. If you solve these, you solve most of the complex and controversial topics which perplex the public men of to day :—for instance, the problem of food-supply and rise of prices, the problem of the famine, the problem of unemployment, the problem of juvenile unrest, the problem of rural indebtedness, the problem of *Swadeshi*, the problem of universal primary education and the organisation of co-operative societies. The village is the foundation on which these pillars of administration stand, the apex being the moral, material and intellectual well-being of the people. If the pillars should be strong and stable enough to support the structure of administration, it is

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necessary to ensure an adamant foundation. There is no significance in the term "town patriot." One cannot permanently dissociate oneself from the village and style himself a patriot ; and unless one is true to one's village, and loves it with the ardour of a lover, this flimsy town patriotism vanishes into thin air. The seeds of true patriotism cannot germinate in the breasts of a citizen if he severs his connection with the village—which, as I have said before, is indistinguishable from the country—and lives, at a safe distance, a life of indolence and luxury, of apathy and isolation, and of artificiality, frivolity and extravagance. If he is led away by urban allurements, or by rural inconveniences, he loses touch with the most predominant interest, namely, the interest of the masses. The love for a man's country, by which I mean the place of his birth and early associations, and the desire to reform rural life, contain within them the germs of true patriotism. The urban population is an infinitesimal proportion of the whole, and the urban industry is supported by, and depends upon, the industry of agriculture. If patriotism connotes the greatest good of the greatest number, it is just rational to define patriotism as love for the rural population and a solicitude for the industry which sustains their life. I am sure, one is incapable of loving his country if it lies beyond the horizon of his vision and activity and if he is not identified with its joys and woes. The whole body-politic is governed by division of labour. The State, the landlord, the educated townsman, and the educated villager, have each their share of work to perform for the general well-being. Village politics and village self-government ought to be infinitely more important and exciting than government through the Legislative Councils, for the former vitally concern 200 millions of the people of this country. There are bound to be politicians who prefer, and are required, to work in head-quarters ; but the village politician has nothing to gain if he is jealous of their status and influence, and forsaking the place of his humble, though useful, activity, throws himself into the vortex of town politics. There is, of course, nothing unnatural in healthy and legitimate ambition ; but the interests of the country would be better served if the village politicians, before taking active part in town-politics, were to acquire knowledge and experience in their own field. There is ample room for excitement and enthusiasm in village politics ; and provided, the villager understands his and acts up to duty, there are many things to counteract the monotony of village life. The administrator, the landlord, the educated townsman and the educated villager must divide the duties

of the State among themselves, and should work in co-operation and harmony, each in his own particular sphere of activity for the common weal.

**Satis Chandra Ray**

## BY COMMAND OF THE QUEEN

A TALE OF THE TIME OF NUR JEHAN

### I

"All night the red flame stabbed the sky  
"With wavering wind-tossed spears."

Through a semi-transparent cloud film as through the tears of sorrow, the pale Indian moon looked down on the low reaches of a gliding river. From its eastern banks the spear-topped flame of a funeral pyre shot luridly into the sky, and the red flare of its fitful light fell on the drawn faces of a hundred white-robed figures standing in a semicircle about the mortal remains of their royal lord and master. A wail as of the legions of woe floated across river and plain and died away in the softened echoes of the distant hills. Again and yet again those sounds of sorrow rose and fell over that eastern landscape like the "surge of many waters." Anon it ceased and the low chant of sacred *mantras* muttered by priest and widowed princess assailed the ears of the hundred mourners. Quietly the priest moved aside and beckoned to the white-robed queen to take her place on the "bridal bed." With streaming eyes and unbound hair, she slowly made as if to obey the mute mandate and as she did so from the far distance came the sound of galloping hoofs. At the sound, a man wearing the uniform of a general of the House of Birajpur stepped forward and raised his mailed hand as if to quell the tumult that was about to break out afresh. But the piercing eyes of the priest were rivetted on the white face of the now faltering *sati*.

"On, Maharani, on, to the embrace of thy waiting lord. Is a Rajputni afraid to die?"

The Queen flushed as though with shame, and turned an appealing glance to the man who stood with uplifted hand.

"Peace, priest," said the soldier and pointed towards the direction from which the hoof-beats sounded, now louder and more distinct, "someone approaches."

Even as he spoke, rider and horse burst into view; nearer and nearer they advanced until at last they drew up a sword right away

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before the shrinking maidens that formed the outer fringe of the semicircle.

The Rajput general strode forth, and seized the bridle of the foaming horse.

"Who art thou," asked he peering into the handsome bearded face of the horseman, "that darest thus to intrude upon the mourning *zenana* of our departed liege?"

"By the command of the Emperor Jehangir," answered the rider, "let the widowed queen retire to mourn apart with her infant son rather than in the arms of her burning consort?"

"Dog of a Mussalman," screamed the priest, now rushing to the front and displaying the sacred thread upon his breast, "are the *vedas* to be set aside by the order of a puppet?"

For answer the horseman held up a ring.

"Behold," said he, "the signet of Nur Mehal, Empress of Hindustan, 'tis a law which she has passed."

In an instant all eyes were turned towards the flaming circlet of gold, and the priest was silent. "Sirdar," said the general glancing from the priest to the emissary of the Empress, "produce thy warrant."

From the folds of his *choga* the other drew forth a roll of parchment on which the assembly read the desire of the Empress of Delhi.

But the Queen listened not. With fixed eyes she devoured the princely countenance of the man who brought her deliverance from the pyre but shame irretrievable in the eyes of her faith. Their glances met, and the somewhat surprised look of the man wavered before the dark passion-lit orbs of the woman. The Rajput general concluded the perusal of the document and handed it back respectfully to the noble messenger.

"Their Majesties' will is law. In the name of the Royal House of Birajpur, Sirdar, I greet thee."

The flames of the funeral pyre leaped higher as the muttering priest turned to cast still more *ghee* and sandalwood upon it. By the light of the dancing flames, the young Moghul looked once more upon the countenance of the Rajput Queen.

Her veil was thrown back, the long dark hair falling in jetty tresses about her rounded shoulders, the beautiful tear-dimmed eyes raised boldly to his face.

The messenger bowed low in respectful obeisance, and then turning his horse's head disappeared into the night.

## COMMAND OF THE QUEEN

### II

"One moment in Annihilation's Waste

"One moment of the Well of Life to taste

"The stars are setting and the Caravan

"Stars for the Dawn of Nothing—Oh make haste."

The old man knelt before the Queen, who with unbound hair and limbs divorced from jewelry reclined upon a fur-lined couch in her solitary boudoir. As he rose from saluting her, the queen addressed him thus :

"O Udai Chand, I can wait no longer. The fruits of thy art are long in coming. Rakhit Singh, the general, grows ever more importunate, and will not be put off for many days more. Thou knowest he desires to take me as his wife to some distant land where none will know us "

The old man bowed low and answered :—

"Maharani, for two moons hast thou awaited the fulfilment of my arts, and now—"

"And now," broke in the Queen, "I can wait no longer."

"Hear me," replied the other. 'Thou hast oft ere this summoned the aid of one who has the key to many mysteries. Canst thou number times that he has failed thee?"

"True," replied the Rani, in a more subdued tone, "thy power is great and thou hast never failed. But O Udai Chand, this craving of love that holds me prisoner will little brook the delays of thy cold and passionless arts."

The old man regarded her with his deep-set black eyes.

"O, queen," he said, "I well perceive the chain that holds thee in its toils and likewise do I see that the patience which a lover should have is not a virtue of kings. But—"

"Udai Chand," interposed the queen sternly, "thou growest garrulous in thy declining days. What knowest thou of kings and love,—thou, that went a wandering mendicant, selling thy arts by the wayside, ere I raised thee to the place of the Soothsayer to the Court of Birajpur. But I will fill thy hands with gold and jewels, if thou canst procure me my soul's desire."

The eyes of the old man glittered with the light of half-suppressed greed at these words.

"Lady," he replied with solemnity, "the time has come. Yesternight I read that he whom thou desirest, the young Moslem servant of the Empress, even now wends his way hither, driven by a force he cannot resist."

The queen started to her feet, her lustrous eyes ablaze, her

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graceful limbs quivering with excitement. The covering of her head had fallen back from her shoulder, displaying a gorgeous wealth of glossy tresses.

"Friend," said she, "if thy words be true, if at last thou hast brought me the prince of my heart, thou shalt be rewarded beyond the dreams of avarice. But," and here her face clouded ominously, "if thou seekest thus to deceive me with hope, remember that the sword of death hangs above thee."

"Princess," replied the old man calmly, "rest assured that this night, before the moon touches the western peak, in the grove that fringes the border of thy rose garden, he will await there."

A sigh of infinite relief escaped the lady and the other continued :

"But remember I have warned thee. The gods brook no trifling and Rakhit Singh is ever watchful. Take heed, O, queen, lest the hurricane extinguishes the lamp."

"The lamp of love," said the lady stretching forth her arm, the white curves of which showed through the filmy folds of her silken *saree*, "the lamp of love defies all gales."

"Ah, princess, there be many kinds of lamps," said he, with a respectful obeisance, before turning to leave her presence.

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"Ah, why comes he not ? Surely Udai Chand has not dared to deceive me." Thus soliloquised the queen, as she sat that night on a magnificently carved garden-seat in a moon-lit glade of the Queen's Grove.

From the eastward a gentle zephyr, bearing with it the mingled aroma of many flowers, stole through the trees and played against the silken veil that concealed her brow. The musical plash of a hidden fountain added to the bewitching glamour of sight and scent ; and over all stretched the blue, peaceful canopy of heaven, flecked by a few fleecy clouds.

The queen's eyes were turned westward, towards where the full silver moon was slowly drifting to meet the lofty peak of a mountain. As she looked, a rustling among the bushes caused her to turn her head. With a cry she sprang to her feet. Before her stood the tall commanding form of the young soldier, who two months ago had been the bearer of the imperial message that had rescued her from the flaming logs.

"Maharani", said the man meeting unflinchingly the gaze of the woman before him, "thou, by arts known to thee alone, has dragged me hither, as *Allah* knows, against my will."

## COMMAND OF THE QUEEN

As he spoke a wave of shame swept over the Rajpoot Queen and turning away she wept.

"Lady," said the Moghul touched at the sight of her grief, "weep not thus. Though thou hast wronged thyself there is yet time to atone."

"Talk not of atonement," sobbed the frenzied queen, "better that I had perished in the flames than that this love for thee had ever entered into my sorrowing soul. Disdainest thou to take a Rajpootni to wife, oh, lord of my heart, I will renounce my kingdom, my faith, my all, to be thy bride."

At these impetuous words the Moghul took a step backwards and with downcast eyes regarded the velvety turf beneath.

"Oh, noble queen," then at length he said softly, "this is not to be,—this honour that thou hast willed for me. Even as is the uncontrollable tide of thy love, so is mine—but for another,—behold this locket."

He held forth a tiny glittering object which he drew forth from his bosom and the queen snatched at it eagerly.

"Ha! What is here?" Said she looking at the object intently. "A stripling—the—the puny girl of Nur Jehan? Darest thou, in thy insane presumption, aspire to the hand of her, the destined Queen of Hindustan; her, who is spoken of as the intended bride of Shah Jehan?"

She raised her eyes, burning with jealousy, from the locket, and, as she did so, she beheld, among the thick-chestering leaves beyond, the ominous gleam of a sword. Speechless for a moment she watched the glint of the approaching blade and became suddenly aware of the dark-cloud features of Rakhit Singh, her general.

Then, as the upraised sword was about to descend upon the as-yet unconscious Moghul, she snatched a dagger that was concealed in her bosom and flung herself forward with a cry of warning. The startled Moslem stepped aside, as she rushed past him, and the murderous steel of the intruder cut through the empty air. The next moment the queen's weapon was plunged in the breast of the Rajpoot general.

"What hast thou done, woman?" cried the Moghul, regarding with intense dismay the bleeding man upon the ground.

"I have given a would-be assassin his deserts," replied the queen, magnificently controlling her accents.

Slowly the wounded man raised himself on his elbow and beckoned with unsteady hands to the queen.

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"Life ebbs, oh, Maharani. Forgive a dying man ; and—and take this ring in token of my helpless love."

The light of womanly pity took the place of anger in her face and with a muttered pardon she knelt at the side of the dying man.

The next moment he had convulsively grasped her wrist and digging his finger nails into the soft flesh, pressed the ring upon the scratch. The kneeling form of the woman fell back with a groan, as the poison coursed through her veins.

The tall figure of the Moghul stooped over the queen, and gently removing his treasured locket from her lifeless clutch, disappeared from the scene.

"Thus," he muttered, "are the ways of fate."

**N. C. Leharry**

**H. Khundker**

## THE ANTIQUITY OF JHANSI

### THE REGENCY OF LUKSHMI BAI

The unanimous voice of the people hailed with delight the reign of their new ruler. Sorely afflicted though she was, she did not think it worthy of her position to give way to grief, but rising equal to the responsibilities of the position she devoted her unflagging energy to the concerns of her state, bearing well in mind that the destinies of Jhansi solely depended on her. That she was fully capable of establishing a vigorous yet humane government in Jhansi, no one disputed. This was unhesitatingly admitted by the then political agent of Gwalior, Bundelkhand, and Rewa, Major D. A. Malcolm, in his letter to the Secretary to the Government of India of the 25th November, 1853 which ran thus—"The widow of the late Gangadhar Rao in whose hands he has expressed a wish that the Government should be placed during her life time, is a woman highly respected and esteemed, and I believe, fully capable of doing justice to such a charge." And within a few days the Ranee gave sufficient indications that her husband's trust was not misplaced. The Ranee bore in a pre-eminent degree all the outward signs of a powerful intellect and unconquerable resolution. Besides, a shrewd and penetrating judgment both as to men and things, and the manner in which she conducted herself amid the varied vicissitudes of her eventful career, indicated extraordinary force of character and a mature prudence. It was a sufficient index of her

## THE ANTIQUITY OF JHANSI

political sagacity that she could distinguish the persons on whose judgment she might rely, and could curb on occasions her own enthusiastic spirit and knew fully well how to temper prudence with strength. Endowed with great natural gifts and a spirit of self-restraint, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendancy over her people; she also engaged their affections by a softness of disposition not ordinarily associated with the sterner qualities. Her voice was powerful, but at the same time of great sweetness; her manner possessed a fine natural dignity and grace which, while it repelled familiarity, softened and subdued even the rudest of the soldiers. "In appearance she was fair and handsome: with a noble presence and figure and a dignified and resolute, indeed stern, expression which appeared to have usurped the place of peculiar softness which, when she was younger and had a good hope of prosperous life, had distinguished her."\*

These eminent qualifications, added to her magnanimous liberality, secured her the homage of her subjects, and enthroned her effectually as their devoted chief. The people remained perfectly contented under her humane and enlightened sway. Her stainless moral purity and fervid patriotism made her also an object of great respect and veneration to her subjects. The martial spirit of the Jhansi people yielded without a murmur to the superior genius of this Ranee.

Rising as early as 3 o'clock in the morning, and after the usual ablutions and wash, she devoted herself to religious meditation up to 8 a.m. Then till 11 o'clock she superintended the Political and Military Offices. Which finished, she distributed alms to the needy and distressed. Taking her meals then, and in the meantime having written 1100 names of *Rama*—a religious custom still prevalent among the devout Hindus—she again appeared in the court at 3 P.M. Thereupon she proceeded to look into the administration of the various departments of justice, revenue and account, which lasted till evening. The remaining hours of the evening were spent in listening to readings from the *Puranas*, the religious books of the Hindus. Thus completing her day's work she went to take rest after her usual bath and simple dinner.

Col. Meadows Taylor has thus written of this princess:—  
"Ranee Lakshmee Bai, a Mahratta Brahmin, had no affectation of personal concealment; and she sat daily on the seat or gummy of her deceased husband, hearing reports, giving directions, hearing

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\* *See* by Meadows Taylor, Vol. III, p. 247.

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petitions and comporting herself as a brave-minded woman had to do in her position." \*

As regards dress she was nither conservative nor simple. "Her dress though that of a woman, was not the ordinary costume generally worn by females of her class and position in life. On her head she had a small cap of bright coloured scarlet silk, with a string of pearls and rubies encircling and laced into it, and round her neck a diamond necklace sparkled, of not less value than a lac of rupees atleast. Her bodice, freely opened in front, showed a well shaped voluptuous bust, and terminated at the waist which was somewhat tightly drawn in by a belt worked over and embroidered with gold, and in it were ostentatiously stuck two elaborately carved silver mounted pistols of Damascus make, together with a small but elegantly shaped fish-kurbi, or hand dagger, the point of which, it was whispered, had been dipped in a subtle poison, whereby a wound, however slight, must prove fatal. Instead of the usual cloth or petticoat, she wore a pair of loose trousers, from which protruded her small prettily rounded bare feet which rested on a cushion placed in front of her."†

The first important act of this accomplished ruler was to address to the Governor-General a petition requesting him to recognise Annand Rao as the successor of her deceased husband in the rule of the Jhansi principality. Mr. Ellis on the 4th December forwarded this petition with an English translation to Mr. Metcalf who in his turn sent it to the Marquis of Dalhousie.‡

The petition of the Maharanee ran thus:—"After compliments—The service rendered by Sheo Rao Bhao, the father of my late husband, to the British Government, before its authority in this part of the country was established, are recorded with other state documents, and have been amply rewarded by unceasing flow of benefits which his family has derived from the acknowledged favour and protection of such a mighty power.

The concluding treaty with my late husband, signed by Colonel Sleeman in 1842, guarantees to the Jhansi Government the continued existence of the benefits claimable by virtue of a former treaty made with Ram Chandra Rao in 1817, not specifically cancelled by the terms of the new agreement then made.

This treaty was declaredly made in consideration of the very respectable character borne by the late Subadar Sheo Rao Bhao,

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\* *Seeta*, Vol. III, p. 247.

† Gillain's "Ranee and the Legend of Bundel-Khand."

‡ Jhansi Papers 1855, p. 13-14.

## THE ANTIQUITY OF JHANSI

and his uniform and faithful attachment to the British Government, and in deference to his wish expressed before his death, that the Principality of Jhansi might be conferred in perpetuity to his grandson, Ram Chandra Rao.

As the means of effecting this and with the view of confirming the fidelity and attachment of the Government of Jhansi, the second article acknowledges and constitutes Rao Ram Chandra his heirs and successors, hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by the late Shao Rao Bhao, thereby meaning that any party whom he adopted as his son to perform the funeral rites over his body necessary to ensure beatitude in a future world would be acknowledged by the British Government as his successor, and one through whom the name and interest of the family might be preserved.

The Hindu Shastras inculcate the doctrine that the libations offered to the names of a deceased parent are as efficacious when performed by an adopted as by a real son, and the custom of adoption is accordingly found prevalent in every part of Hindusthan. My husband, therefore, on the evening of 19th November last sent for Dewan Nara Singh, Rao Appa, Lalla Lahori Mall and Lalla Tatti Chand, the ministers and myself, and told us to consult with the Shastras and selected a duly qualified child from his own (Gote) clan to succeed him as ruler of Jhansi, as he found himself going worse, and the medicines doing him no good.

Ram Chandra Rao was in consequence summoned, when at his recommendation, out of several children of the *Gote*, it was agreed that Anand Rao, a boy of five years of age, the son of Basudeva, was the best qualified for the purpose. My husband then ordered the Shastri to perform the rites of adoption. The next morning Benaik Rao Pundit performed the *Sangakalpa*, when Basudeva, the father of Anand Rao, having poured water in my husband's hands with the usual ceremonies, the boy was named Damodar Rao Gungadhar, when the ceremony was completed.

The ministers, by the order of the Raja, wrote to Major Ellis, who was encamped at Saugor, six coss from Jhansi; and to Major Martin, the officer commanding the station, requesting their attendance at the place, with the view of bearing witness to what had been done. These two gentlemen came to the place at 10 a.m. the next morning, the 30th November, when my husband delivered a letter to Major Ellis, requesting him to obtain the sanction of the Government to the adoption which was read over in their presence when Major Ellis promised that he would make

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known his wishes to your Lordship. The next day, Monday, 21st November, my husband expired ; the different funeral rites required to be performed by a son have all been discharged by Anand Rao, styled Dāmodar Rao Gangadhar.

My late husband before his death made the boy over to the protection and favour of the British Government and as the adoption made by Prakshata, the late Raja of Datia, that of Bala Rao, the last Chief of Jaloun, and that of Teg Singh, the last Raja of Urcha, have all been sanctioned by Government, I hope that the present adoption will also be sanctioned by your Lordship, the more strongly as the term ("Dawana") perpetuity, made use of in the treaty with the Jhansi State, is not mentioned in theirs.

(Sd) R. R. W. ELLIS,

*Political Assistant for Bundelkhand*

(True Translation) \*

Soon after the petition of Luchmee Bai had reached Lord Dalhousie, Mr. Ellis, the political Assistant for Bundelkhand, addressed on the 24th December a letter to the Political Agent, Major Malcolm, clearly showing him the validity of the adoption and the necessity of confirming it. It ran thus :—

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 71, dated the 20th instant, I beg leave to observe that we have a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Jhansi as well as the Urcha State, and that I cannot discover any difference in the terms of the two which would justify our withholding the privilege of adoption from one state and allowing it to the other.

2. The right of the Native States to make adoption is most clearly acknowledged in paragraphs 16 and 17 of Despatch No. 9, dated the 27th March 1839, from the Honourable the Court of Directors ; and it appears to me that it would be opposed to the spirit of enlightened liberality which dictated those orders, if the privilege was now to be refused to families created by ourselves as a reward for the services rendered to the British Government, on the ground that they were not of so ancient an origin as others. †

I have, &c.

(Sd.) R. R. W. ELLIS,

*Political Assistant for Bundelkhand*

24th December, 1853.

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\* Jhansi Papers, p. 14.

† See Jhansi Papers, p. 26.

## *THE ANTIQUITY OF JHANSI*

Not long after this, on the 16th of February 1854, Luchmee Bai sent another petition to the Governor-General under the conviction that the arguments adduced for the right of adoption in the former petition were not sufficient.

The 2nd Kharita ran thus :—

After Compliments,

Distress at recent application when I addressed your Lordship on the 3rd of December last prevented my entering as fully as I ought to have done into the circumstances of the adoption made by my late husband, an omission which I beg leave now to supply.

It was the good fortune of Sheo Rao Bhao, the father of my late husband, to be the first of the chiefs in this part of the country who tendered their allegiance to the British Government, which he improved by subsequent exertions in inducing them to follow his example at which Lord Lake was so pleased that he directed him to submit a paper of requests as to the manner in which the interest of himself and the family could be best served. In obedience to these orders a paper "Wajib-ul-urz," containing seven different articles, was submitted through Captain John Baillie, the Political Agent of Bundelkhand, which were all sanctioned by the order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India. Sheo Rao Bhao having omitted to define certain requests in the "Wajib-ul-urz" which he was anxious to make and having in the meantime had an opportunity of rendering further services, his Lordship entered into a new agreement for the purpose of rectifying this omission and thereby becoming an additional pledge of fidelity and attachment on his part to the government. The new agreement consisted of nine articles in which the benefits of the two new articles were added to those already derivable from the seven articles of the "Wajib-ul-urz," and having been duly signed and sealed by the Governor-General was delivered to him by Captain John Baillie at Kotra.

In the 6th article of the "Wajib-ul-urz" Sheo Rao Bhao reports that the Rajas of Urcha, Dattia, Chandiri and other neighbouring states, are ready to tender their allegiance to the British Government, and prepared to pay their accustomed tribute to the British Government provided the different places then in their possession were confirmed to them. Upon which an order was passed to the effect that any chief who initiated his example in showing obedience and attachment to the British cause should be confirmed in possession of all the advantages

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then belonging to them ; moreover, that other marks of friendship might be expected from service in such a cause.

It was from the desire to reward past services like these that the British Government entered into a treaty in 1817 with Rao Ram Chandra, the grandson of Sheo Rao Bhao, the second article of which acknowledges Rao Ram Chandra, his heirs and successors as hereditary rulers in perpetuity of the Jhansi principality, and guaranteed its protection to them from foreign aggression.\*

During the Burmese war in 1824 Rao Ramchandra Rao advanced upwards of Rs. 70,000 to "Branjarahs" employed in carrying grain to the troops in Burmah. Mr. Ainslie reported his having done so in favourable terms to the Governor-General who ordered the money to be repaid ; but Rao Ram Chandra Rao having declined repayment on the ground that he was an ally of the British Government, and the interests of the two States were identical, the Governor-General was pleased to send him a dress of honour, with a complimentary "Kharita," thanking him for the services on the occasion. I regret to say that this "Kharita" has been mislaid and would esteem it a favour if your Lordship would kindly order my being furnished with a copy of it.

Shortly afterwards, during the siege of Bharatpore, the city of Kalpi in the British territory being threatened with an attack from Naunoy Pandit at the time in rebellion against Jaloun, Mr. Ainslie, the Agent, called upon Bhikraji Nana, Kamdar of Jhansi, during the minority, to despatch troops with the utmost expedition to Kalpi with the view of protecting the Koonch district from plunder ; in consequence of which Bhikraji Nana made immediate arrangements for sending 2 guns, 400 sowars and 1000 foot soldiers to Kalpi and which arrived in time to save Kalpi from being plundered and proved the means of restoring general confidence to the people in the Koonch district. Copies of letters from Mr. Ainslie to Ram Chandra Rao, the Minor Raja and Bhakaji, his Kamdar, thanking them for their services upon this emergent occasion, are submitted with the view of showing that the Jhansi State was always foremost in the field when opportunity occurred for displaying its loyalty to the paramount power.

When Lord William Bentinck was at Jhansi in 1832, he visited Ram Chandra Rao in the fort on the evening of the 19th December, and conferred upon him the title of Maharaja Dhiraj Fidmi Badsha Janujah Enghstan Maharaja Ramchandra Rao Bahadoor, ordering him to have it engraved upon his seal,

## THE ANTIQUITY OF JHANSI

investing him at the same time with the insignia of the Nakara and Chamara, with the permission to adopt the British flag telling him in open Durbar that of all the chiefs of Bundelkhand, his uncle Sheo Rao Bhao had done the best service and the honours now conferred were the reward of his meritorious services to the British Government. On arrival at Saugar his Lordship was further pleased to send him a complimentary letter in English, having a gold-leaf border, dated 20th December 1832, copy of which is forwarded, repeating what he had stated in Durbar, and adding that the letter then issued would serve ever afterwards as the patent of his rank and authority.

Raghunnath Rao, who succeeded his nephew, Ram Chandra Rao, in 1835, died in 1838 when the right of my husband to the succession was acknowledged but owing to the State being in debt at that time, it was placed under the superintendence of Captain D. Ross for a period of 3 years at the expiration of which it was restored to him, with an agreement on his part by which he ceded Duliah Falgong and other districts valued at 2,55,891 Jhansi rupees, as payment towards a legion to be employed for the purpose of coercing any of his turbulent feudatories who might set his authority at defiance ; and on Colonel Sleeman's part, dated 18th January 1843 confirming to the Jhansi State all the advantages guaranteed to it by virtue of former treaties.

It cannot be denied that the terms *warisan*, "heirs," and *Janishinan*, "successors," made use of in the second article of the treaty with Ram Chandra Rao refer to different parties ; the term *warisan* being confined in meaning to natural or collateral heirs while *Janishinan*, on the contrary, refers to the party adopted as heir and successor to the estate, in the event of there being no natural or collateral heir entitled to the succession. Treaties are studied with utmost care before a ratification ; and it is not to be supposed that the term *Janishinan* used in contradistinction to *warisan* was introduced in an important document of this kind, of the authority almost of a revelation from heaven, without a precise understanding of its meaning, the advantages of which are further explained by the clause declaring the gift then made to have been one in perpetuity to the family. It was with this understanding of the terms of the treaty that my husband, the day before his death, summoned Major Ellis and Captain Martin, the officer Commanding the station, to the palace, and with his dying breath in full Durbar, made over Anand Rao, his adopted son, to the care and protection of the British Government, delivering at

## THE INDIAN WORLD

the same time a "Kharita," or testament, further declaratory of his wishes on this solemn occasion for communication to your Lordship.

I take the liberty of enclosing a list of some of the precedents which have occurred in Bundelkhand in which the right of a native Chief or his widow to adopt a successor to the *gadi* in default of natural heirs, has been sanctioned and as it is the firm reliance, which they feel in the integrity and justice of the British Government, which enables them to pass their days in peace and quietness without other care than how to prove their loyalty, venture to express a hope that the widow of the son of Sheo Rao Bhao will not be considered undeserving of that favour and compassion which others similarly situated have been declared entitled to \*

(Sd.) R. R. W. ELLIS.

*Political Assistant for Bundelkhand.*

(True Translation).

### ENCLOSURE I.

Four precedents quoted in favour of the adoption of Anand Rao being sanctioned :

1. Bijaya Bahadur, the present Raja of Dattia, was a foundling of unknown case, picked up on the road by Parikshat ; this adoption was sanctioned.

2. The last Chief of Jaloun, like the Jhansi State, a Brahmin family, was adopted by his sister, the widow of Bala Rao, Chief of Jaloun, after his death ; and this adoption was sanctioned.

3. The last Raja of Urcha, Sajan Singh, was an adopted son of Tej Singh, the former Raja ; and this adoption was sanctioned.

4. In 1839, Khanday Rao, a Brahmin Jagirdar of Algi, but not connected in alliance with the British Government, died without leaving issue ; Mr. Fraser confiscated his estate as having lapsed, but Colonel Sleeman taking a more liberal view of the case, obtained the sanction of Government to his widow being allowed to adopt the son of a very remote ancestor, when the revenue collection for the four years, during the period that it had been confiscated, were made over to her.

### ENCLOSURE II

Translation of a letter from M. Ainslie, Esq., Agent to the Governor-General for Bundelkhand, dated 16th December, 1834 to Ram Chandra Rao, Minor Raja of Jhansi :

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\* Jhansi Blue Book, 1855, pp. 24-26.

## THE ANTIQUITY OF JHANSI

My friend,

I had the gratification of bringing your good conduct regarding the Brandjaras to the notice of the most noble the Governor-General of India, and I have much pleasure by his direction, in sending you a khilaut, with a letter from his Lordship, thanking you for your services upon this occasion.

### ENCLOSURE III

Translation of a Perwanah from Mr. Ainslie, Esq., Agent to Governor-General, dated 11th January 1825, to the Bhikaji Nana Kamdar of Jhansi.

Your letter stating that the Jhansi State, in compliance with my requisition, had detached troops under the command of Abaji Bakshi to Koonch, for the purpose of protecting it against attacks of Nunay Pundit of Parasar, has come to hand, and has afforded me much satisfaction as showing your zeal in the British cause, you will have heard of the arrival of the British troops, and those from Jhansi can be recalled.

### ENCLOSURE IV

Translation of a letter from M. Ainslie, Esq., Agent of Governor-General for Bundelkhand to Ram Chandra Rao, Minor Raja of Jhansi, dated 22nd January, 1825.

My friend,

Your letter reporting that you had ordered Bhikaji Nanah to send a force to Koonch has arrived, but previous to its arrival I had informed Bhikaji Nanah, as you will have heard that it was no longer required. I feel much gratified by what Mir Ahmed Ali, your vakil, has made known to me.

(True Translation.)

(Sd.) R. R. W. ELLIS,

*Political Assistant for Bundelkhand.*

(True copies.)

On the 28th of February this petition was forwarded by Major Malcolm to the Secretary to the Governor-General of India with his own remarks added to it. Major Malcolm writes:—

Sir,

I beg to submit for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council the accompanying kharita to his Lordship's address from Luchmee Bai, the widow of the late Gungadhar Rao, Raja of Jhansi.

Luchmee Bai, it will be seen, advocates the right of her late husband to adopt an heir to the principality of Jhansi on the

## THE INDIAN WORLD

grounds that by the treaty of 1817 the insertion of the term *Joh Nasheenan* or successors in general, as opposed to the term *warisan* or heirs of the body or collateral heirs, warranted his doing so, and also that the fidelity shown by the Jhansi chiefs towards our Government in past years ought to be taken into consideration by us in coming to a final decision on the fate of the principality.

The Bai in his *kharita* does not, I believe in the slightest degree, overestimate the fidelity and loyalty all along shown by the State of Jhansi towards our Government, under circumstances of considerable temptation before our power had arrived at that commanding position which it has since attained.

I have &c,

(Sd.) D. A. MALCOLM.\*

Thus the Regent Ranec pleaded the cause of her country before the tribunal of the Supreme Government, thinking that a case so clear and simple would be upheld. Unfortunately there sat at the time at the helm of the Indian Government a ruler whose novel policy of administration tended much to shake the stability of several native thrones in India to which we shall refer in our next article.

G. L. D.

\* Vide Jhansi Papers, 1835 p. 24.

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

### REFORM OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

In our last issue we pointed out how the Imperial Legislative Council badly needed reform both in its procedure and its constitution. But as no national life can grow by mere harping at official measures and institutions, it is necessary to examine from time to time the condition of popular bodies. This time, therefore, we intend to discuss how the existing constitution and procedure of the Indian National Congress stand in need of improvement. Since the Surat *contretemps* in 1907 the Indian National Congress has been provided with a constitution which evidently has not satisfied all the patriotic sections of the Indian people. Barring the fundamental objections of the extremist party to subscribe to the ideal of 'self-government within the empire', there are many points in the existing constitution of the Congress which have either proved ineffective or injudicious or exclusive.

At the last Congress at Allahabad a definite promise was given by the All-India Congress Committee that the matter of improving and revising the constitution would be seriously taken in hand in an autumn session of the Committee. This Committee, in all likelihood, is about to meet in September next, and before that time the country should be in a position to formulate its opinion regarding the improvements needed in the constitution and procedure of the Congress.

An impression has somehow or other got abroad that the present constitution makes the Congress an exclusive body. If, however, the *creed*, which is, after all, not a creed at all but an article of the constitution, precludes the admission into the Congress of any class of political thinkers and workers in the country, the Congress must not feel sorry for it. For every corporate institution is bound to have a definite object and a definite line of action to follow. The article of the constitution that defines the object of the Congress is so clear and unequivocal and happily so wide in its scope that we really for the life of us cannot see how any exception can be taken to it by any reasonable body of men. It is, however, no good discussing here the conscientious scruples which prevent a certain class of political thinkers in the country from accepting this ideal and joining

## THE INDIAN WORLD

the Congress as a patriotic organisation. For good or evil, this article of the constitution must be retained in the constitution of the Congress for yet a long while,—so long at least as the ideal of law and order and good government has got to be maintained.

If, however, the rules and other articles of the constitution are so worded as not to allow within its fold people who are anxious to join the institution and to abide by all forms of constitutional agitation, something must be done to remove such legitimate grievances. About this time last year the Bengal Provincial Committee framed certain amendments to the constitution and rules of the Congress which are likely to come for discussion in the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. The principal of these amendments says that the words "shall be deemed to have accepted" should be accepted as a sufficient substitute for the words "shall *express in writing* his acceptance of the first article" which is, perhaps, the most objectionable feature in the existing constitution. In Bengal, at any rate, we do not see why a man's subscription (in writing) to the object of the Congress should be a *sine qua non* to his admission into the Congress. To us it appears that if a man believes in the existing object of the Congress and is not prepared to go behind that object and if that fact is known and certified to by the local Committee, that is enough to meet all the requirements of the case. If the local Congress Committee shall deem such a man to have accepted the main object of the Congress, his subscription to the article should not be insisted on; and this necessary change will throw open the gates of the Congress to many such persons who, rightly or wrongly, have objections to be admitted into the Congress by signing a document which unfortunately has come to be known as the 'creed' of the Congress. There are two other amendments of the Bengal Committee which aim at broadening the basis of the Congress by allowing all public bodies of two years' standing, instead of three years' as now, the right to elect delegates, and also by reducing the present consolidated fee of a delegate from twenty to fifteen rupees. If these two amendments are accepted by the Congress, it is just possible that many educated men will be willing to avail themselves of the opportunity to become members of the Congress.

There is another amendment of the Bengal Committee to which we are anxious to draw prominent attention. This refers to the disadvantages of having the offices of the Congress fixed in Bombay. While admitting fully that the Congress has hitherto received a good deal of impetus and inspiration from Bombay and frankly recognising

## *EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS*

at the same time that the gentlemen who have so long been in charge of this office have devoted the best part of their time and energy to advancing and promoting the interests of the Congress, we think we owe it to our country and to our cause to speak out frankly that this arrangement has failed to give complete satisfaction to all the provinces of the empire. Nor is it a question of satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the provinces only, for a much deeper principle is involved in this arrangement. For the last quarter of a century the Congress has had its offices in Bombay and the Secretaries who have guided its affairs all this long time have now not only grown grey in its service but have earned a rest which should be allowed to them at this time of their life. It is with a view to introduce fresh blood and to raise local enthusiasm on behalf of the Congress that the Bengal Committee have proposed that the offices of the Congress should go by rotation to all the different provinces and that every Congress Committee, particularly the more important ones, must be given a chance to administer its affairs some time or other. This system is bound to create healthy rivalry and a new enthusiasm among the different provinces of the empire. We suppose there is nothing in the Congress offices, either in records or fixtures, which cannot be shifted from province to province at the end of every two or three years. Nor, according to the constitution or procedure of the Congress, there is any risk of breaking any continuity of policy by the system under proposal. Nor do we think should it be suggested in any quarter that there are few capable men in the other provinces to take this work up seriously. Taking, therefore, everything into consideration, it appears to us that such a reform is a matter of great urgency and we shall be surprised if such a suggestion should be thrown out by the Congress Committee as impracticable and unwise.

To the rules of the Congress we do not like to refer at this place. We have no doubt that the Congress Committee will give to the amendments of the Bengal Committee in this matter their most earnest and careful consideration.

Now we shall speak a few words about the procedure that is now followed in the Congress. Our friends will excuse us telling the blunt truth that the Congress has degenerated into a mere platform for glib oratory and claptrap declamation. This must not be so. For the days of the mere orator are no more. The Twentieth Century, if anything, is a century of work and organisation; no talk, however tall or big, which has no organisation behind it can pass muster in these days. This is a fact which we must

## THE INDIAN WORLD

invite the leaders of the Congress never to forget. At the present moment the Congress affords no further scope for usefulness and organisation than by opening for three days in the year the flood-gate of Indian oratory. As a display, therefore, of oratorical fire-works or as a demonstration of the strength of one's lungs or of the fluency of one's tongue it is perhaps the best thing going in the civilized world—England and America not excluding. But as an organisation for sustained work, as a main-spring of continuous and dogged agitation, as the fountain-head of wise political thinking and right political action, the Congress is not even worthy to find a mention among the different live organisations of the world. If the Congress cannot be made to fulfill these objects it has no *raison d'être* for its continuance and further existence. Twenty-five years we have talked and talked so very eloquently that orators that can command the applause of listening senates may now be counted by the hundred. If the Congress can not find its way to dispense with this feature let it retain it by all means. But to this alone it must not confine its energies. Work, work, work must be its motto if it must get on, and to this phase of its life the time has come to give serious attention. If you must have speeches for three days, have them by all means ; but at the same time you must not neglect to sit down to work for another three days at least,—to work for the organisation of the different branches and different subjects taken up by the Congress, to work for the propagation of the principles accepted by the Congress, to work for the education of the people so far at least as the masses are concerned. This is the prime work of the Congress for the future, and it is high time that the Congress Committees should sit down to work on these lines. If those who come only to speak to the Congress will not care to stay for another three days let them hurry back to their homes. But those who intend to work let them not disperse in a hurry.

Speaking about speeches in the Congress how often have we not drawn attention in these pages to their low standard. A large bulk of the speeches delivered in the Congress contain nothing worth knowing and prove no better than an infliction on the audience. People come to the platform without sufficiently preparing themselves on the subjects they have got to speak to. We shall not, of course, say that all the twenty-five volumes of the reports of the Congress hitherto published are barren. But we are prepared to say this much that it is a vast wilderness out of which it is no easy task to pick up gems. If speaking is to be the principal

## **EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS**

feature of the Congress yet for some time, the speakers, no matter how few, must be men of exceptional ability and close students of the subjects on which they are invited to speak. A due sense of responsibility must be awakened among the speakers who address the Congress, and they should not be allowed to say anything which is not new or original or the results of careful inquiry, study and research. If to ensure this the Congress has to invite people beforehand to come forward with papers, the Committee must depart from the existing procedure and arrange things accordingly. Every body who has ever attended it feels that the present Subjects Committee is a huge farce, and that two nights' sitting for two or three hours together is far from being a sufficient time for the consideration of all the subjects usually brought before the Congress. The Subjects Committee, therefore, also badly needs reform and with it also is badly wanted the curtailment of the number of subjects now taken up by the Congress. If the Congress could be brought to think more sanely, it would feel it a great advantage to confine its attention to not more than three or four subjects only at a particular session. Now, energy is dissipated, what is wanted is that it should be concentrated. Putting all minor grievances and smaller needs under one omnibus resolution or putting them to the care of the Provincial Committees, every particular session of the Congress should hammer out only a couple of subjects and deal with them effectively and at length. That should be the procedure which must be followed if the Congress must maintain its ground as a great national movement.

One flagrant omission in the present-day Congress propaganda, if it has a propaganda at all, is the utter absence of an accredited literature regarding its objects, principles, aspirations and the grievances of the people it has got to deal with. The Congress Reports cannot reach the masses or even a large portion of the educated community and can scarcely be expected to do duty for carefully thought-out and well-condensed treatises. The only publications that we have on current politics and which may be usefully consulted by the Indian publicists of today are those that we owe to the discriminating enterprise of the patriotic house of Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras. They are very good in their own way but they are neither authoritative nor exhaustive. There are few organisations in the world that have not their publication or literature department, from the Christian Missions to the Cobden Club. Why the Indian National Congress should go or do without it is difficult to account for.

## DIARY FOR JUNE, 1911

### Date

1. The "Indian Daily Telegraph" of Lucknow makes the announcement that the Government of India has sanctioned the grant of a charter for the Mahomedan University provided a sum of twenty-five lakhs of rupees is deposited in any bank for the purpose.

2. A public meeting is held in Madras in connection with the presentation of an address to the King-Emperor at the Delhi Durbar.

3. At the annual meeting of the All-India Moslem League in London, Sir Earle Richards reported remarkable progress with the scheme for a mosque in London.

5. The following Press *communiqué* is issued by the Education Department:—The statements which have appeared in the Press to the effect that the grant of a charter to the Moslem University has been sanctioned provisionally, on a sum of 25 lakhs of rupees being deposited in a bank for the purpose, are incorrect. The whole question is under consideration.

7. At a meeting of the Dacca Bar Association a resolution is adopted against the proposal of establishing any High Court at Dacca.

8. The Government of Bengal issues the following *communiqué* on the subject of the alleged adjournment of the Calcutta Improvement Bill:—

It has been stated in the Press of Calcutta that a rumour is current to the effect that the Calcutta Improvement Bill is to be adjourned. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council has not heard anything of this rumour, but if it exists, it is entirely unfounded. The intention of the Government is to proceed with the measure and to pass it into law during the rains session of the Council.

The *Leicester Mercury* states that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has accepted the presidency of the next Congress.

9. The following Press *communiqué* is issued by the Home Department:—

Intimation has been received from the India Office that Addresses for the presentation to the King-Emperor on the occasion of his Coronation in London should be addressed to the King and Queen jointly but that Addresses to the King only will not be declined.

10. Mr. Harkishen Lall is elected President of the Indian Association, Lahore, for the current year in place of Lala Lajpat Rai, who has retired, and Dwarka Dass and Pundit Ramblaj Dutt Chowdhuri, Vice-Presidents.

11. The Multan Hindu Sabha supports the Elementary Education Bill.

12. At the India Office this afternoon Lord Crewe received the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharajas of Jodhpore and Idar, and Sir Pertab Singh.

A complimentary luncheon is given at Frascati's to-day to Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, delegates of the Indian Association, Calcutta, in recognition of the work they are doing on behalf of India, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree presiding.

13. The Hon'ble Mr. Basu's Bill for amending the Special Marriage Act of 1872 is strongly disapproved by the Committee of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal.

Mr. Lionel Abrahams, Financial Secretary to the India Office,

is appointed Assistant Under-Secretary for India. He will be succeeded as Financial Secretary by Mr. Newmarch.

In the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of Indians and Anglo-Indians, Lord Lamington opened the Indian Court at the Festival of Empire at Crystal Palace, London, this afternoon.

The memorial to Lord Clive at Moretonsay, near Market Drayton, is unveiled by Lady Mary Herbert.

15. In the House of Commons, Mr. Wedgwood asked a question for an enquiry into the case of Colonel Pressey, of the 10th Jats, with a view to his reinstatement. In reply it was stated that disciplinary action against Colonel Pressey and other officers was necessitated by the condition of the Regiment, and was not taken without most careful consideration of the circumstance of the case, which Lord Crewe did not propose to re-open.

16. Mr. MacCullum Scott and Mr. O'Grady asked a series of questions in Parliament drawing attention to the methods of prosecution of the recent political cases, and wanted to know whether any enquiries would be instituted. The answers indicated that in some instances the Local Government was obtaining a report of the circumstances with a view to enquiry. Lord Crewe was communicating with the Indian Government with regard to the procedure in such cases. The procedure in gang and dacoity cases, and the use made of the evidence of informers, was receiving the careful attention of the Government of the United Provinces. The Indian Government would then consider the subject in connection with procedure in other provinces. It was not proposed to prosecute the informers in the Howrah, Khulna and Jat cases for perjury.

17. Mr. Ashe, Collector of Tinnevely, was shot to-day at Manyachi Junction Station on the South Indian Railway by a Brahmin youth. The assassin committed suicide on the spot.

A C. I. D. sub-inspector, named Rajkumar Roy, was shot dead at Mymensingh near the Bengal police station.

20. *A Gazette of India Extraordinary* notifies the conferment of a Knighthood of the Star of India on Mr. Krishna Govinda Gupta of the India Council.

The Municipal Committees of Multan and Gujranwala accord their cordial support to the main principle of the Elementary Education Bill.

The Cawnpore Municipal Board resolves by a majority of 12 to 5 against separate representation in local bodies. At the same meeting it adopted a resolution in support of Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill.

The Rangoon Muslim Association opposes Mr. Basu's Marriage Amendment Bill and supports Mr. Jinnah's Wakf Bill.

21. There was a meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Council this morning at Simla, and it is understood that the situation created by the recent outrages was under discussion.

22. Coronation celebrations take place in different places of India.

23. Sir George Clarke opened the proceedings of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference at the Council Hall today.

25. At a public meeting of Hindu citizens of Benares held under the presidency of Babu Govinda Das resolutions were passed against the United Provinces Government's proposal to constitute separate electorates for Mahomedans in municipal and district boards.

26. The Pope granted an audience to the Archbishop of Calcutta. His Holiness showed the greatest interest in the condition of India.

27. Savarkar, who was sentenced to transportation for life on various counts for complicity in the Nasik Conspiracy Case, was taken on

## ***THE INDIAN WORLD***

board the steamer *Maharaja* which sailed for the Andamans this afternoon.

During question time, Colonel Seely stated in Parliament that complaints had been made that the Transvaal Gold Law and Townships Act operated against British Indians. It was stated that the question was now being investigated by the Union Government, who had lately stated that they had no intention of interfering with any business right exercised by Indians prior to the date of legislation.

28. The Oxford University conferred an honorary degree on the Maharaja Scindhia of Gwalior.

29. At a meeting of the Mussalmans, with the Raja of Mahmudabad in the chair, resolutions were passed expressing the conviction that the representation of Mussalmans on Municipal and District Boards will not be effective until they had an equal number of seats to those allotted to their Hindu brethren.

30. At a meeting of the Allahabad Municipal Board to-day it was resolved that, reserving its opinion on the details of Mr. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill, the Board approve generally of the principle of compulsion contained in the Bill.

At the general meeting of the Chittagong Association resolutions were adopted supporting the Education Bill and the Marriage Bill and protesting against the proposal of establishing any High Court at Dacca.

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# THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. XIV ]

AUGUST—1911

[ No. 77

*(From the Times)*

## SELECTIONS

### EUROPE'S RELATIONS WITH ASIA

#### THE REFLECTIONS OF AN EXILE

The man who, after years of absence, suddenly finds himself whirled along on the roaring tides of London, feels dazed and disconcerted. He is conscious of change, but cannot rightly tell whether the change lies in his own outlook, or in the environment to which he has returned. He sees with astonishment great cars of Jagannath hustling through the contracted streets ; he drops down a shaft, and is whisked headlong beneath the very foundations of the giant city ; he emerges into the pale daylight breathless and amazed, and gazes with fresh wonder upon the surging traffic, upon the palaces, the new and strange hotels, the swift and costly motor-cars, all the evidences of luxury, extravagance, and poverty that pass incessantly before his unaccustomed eyes. He feels like a man in a dream ; the rushing, preoccupied throngs become for a time a haunting obsession that banishes sleep, but presently, after contact with his fellows, he asks himself whether he is really the dreamer, or whether it is not rather these eager, restless peoples who are busy with fond illusions. They seem complacent and satisfied ; they laugh when asked to look outward over distant horizons ; even those who dimly realized are acquiescent. The strident newspapers are full of outcry about what seems nothing to the stranger. He is told that he is in the midst of a tremendous crisis ; but to him it seems utterly unreal—a battle of puppets about shadows. He hears reverberant sentiments of Empire ; but he knows it is an Empire held together by mere handfuls of trained men. He listens to marvellous schemes for making work easy and thrift obsolete, which seem to imply that the country has some inexhaustible mine of hidden wealth. He hears of the coming days when the burden of life is to be lightened and all men are to be leisured and happy. No one, he thinks at last, seems to see for a moment that the struggle for existence in the West may grow keener ; but he knows they would see it if they would but look with eyes uplifted to the East.

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### A VISION OF THE EAST

"Is it the East or the West that is dreaming?" the wanderer asks himself as he watches the fog drifting through the cheerless streets, blotting out the sky, and wrapping the city in a brown pall, lit by glimmering lamps. He broods over memories of things seen, not dimly, like these vague swift shapes that flit through the gloom, but clear-cut beneath the morning light of the East. Forests of smoking factory chimneys, owned by brown men, managed by brown men, with swarms of workers who will readily toil 12 or 14 hours a day for a pittance of a few coppers; vast arsenals, where are made all weapons from great guns to rifles, without any Western supervision; dread battleships, manned and armed and controlled and fought without the aid of any white man; the multitudinous cities of Asia, rich and prosperous and growing—and awake. Vast plains of waving wheat, illimitable stretches of green rice fields, dense and inexhaustible forests, wide brimming rivers. The locomotive, piercing jungles, crossing chasms, speeding across immeasurable distances, binding the oldest continent in a network of steel rails with the willing approval of the people. Incalculable stores of coal and iron and gold, still almost unscratched, waiting the advent of the men of the new age. Races in myriads who learned the secret of work when our forefathers were still clad in skins, who dream of no millennium, but ask for nothing more than to continue their patient tireless industry. Men with brains more subtle than ours, with wills more tenacious than ours, who have never felt the Western fear of death. More than eight hundred millions of people who have watched the white races overrun and dominate their territories for 300 years, and have at last been quickened into a new spirit of resistance, a widespread determination to have and to hold their own lands in undisputed possession. An Asia savage, resentful, stirring, implacable. No, it is not Asia that is dreaming—it is Europe.

### ASIA IS NOT CHANGELESS

There are certain beliefs about Asia which it is the fashion in the West to accept without question. One of these is contained in the popular phrase, "The changeless East." There is no more exemption from the fundamental laws of change in the East than in the West. Some human and racial characteristics endure, as they do everywhere; but Asia has been one constant phantasmagoria of change from the beginning of time. She is covered with the ruins of mighty cities which grew, flourished, decayed, and were abandoned. Time after time, she has thrown up conquering hordes which have marched forward to overwhelming victory in the East, the West, and the South. Men say that in the dim night in her desert spaces you may still hear the tramp of ghostly armies, and the faint wild strains of barbaric music. Innumerable conquerors have arisen, and spread destruction and death far and wide in her broad lands, and founded dynasties—and been forgotten. The whole nature of the Asiatic peoples is imbued with the idea of change. They have the nomadic instinct as the Teutonic races never had it. The caravans you meet in Mongolia and Persia, the pilgrims who cross dizzy mountain passes pursuit of an ideal, the roving mendicants who pass from city to city and country to country—all those drifting, mysterious strangers who

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wander from end to end of Asia are the embodiments of the craving for change.

Asia is only changeless in that beneath the thin garments of Western influence she has remained true to her own spirit. But for the rest, the last ten years have witnessed mightier changes in the psychological outlook of Asia than the continent has known for centuries. We must not be lulled into comfortable confidence by these delusions about "the changeless East."

### **ASIA NOT A MYSTERY**

Another popular belief, which is largely fallacious, is the prevalent idea that "there is no greater difference in the world than the difference between East and West." Whenever people talk about Asia, they at once assume the existence of inscrutable mysteries. They think nothing of tearing her most esoteric secrets from the bosom of Nature, but they speak as though an Asiatic is a being from another world. The idea is partly a survival from the days of Prester John, when the East was mysterious indeed, and partly it is due to regard people as weird and strange and abnormal who do not think and act precisely as he does. We shall learn to discern the probable future of Asia more clearly if we break away from the romantic habit of regarding the Asiatic nations as impossible to understand; if we count upon their broad course of action as being likely to be very much that which European nations would follow under similar circumstances.

### **THE NEW ERA**

The new era in Asia really began on the day when China told Italy to keep clear of Samsun Bay; but for history it will always date from the memorable night when the Japanese torpedo-boats were slipped from their leash and dashed amid the Russian battle-ships beneath the shadow of Golden Hill. The unfurling of the flag of the Rising Sun over Port Arthur meant far more than a Japanese victory. It was hailed as an omen and a portent by all Asia. It was an emblem of the turn of the tide that had carried the white races to the shores of the Pacific. The outward movement that began when Vasco da Gama sighted the green palms and golden sands of Calicut, and Yermak led his hardy band of warriors across the Urals into the trackless forests of Siberia, was stayed for the first time. The peoples of Asia knew full well that their day was dawning at last. When the Japanese burst open the barred doors of Manchuria, and drove the Russians headlong back towards the Sungari, they let loose a surging flood of vague but potent aspirations that quickly spread over the whole continent. From Stamboul to Canton, from Kabul to Madras, from Tokyo to Hail, the peoples of Asia were quickly resurgent. We cheered our gallant allies when they stormed the blood-red slopes of Nanshan, but did we realize all that their triumph may mean some day to us and to Europe, and to all the Western world?

### **THE LESSON OF HISTORY**

The victory of Japan was not a new phenomenon. If the Western world contemplated it with stupefied surprise, it was only because, flushed with the memories of long and dazzling successes, it had forgotten history. The whole of human history in the Eastern

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hemisphere has been one long record of the ebb and flow of encounters between Europe and Asia. The alternation is as persistent, and almost as regular, as the recurrence of winter and summer, of night and day. It is one of the great perennial phenomena of human existence. It began with the dawn of civilization at the head of the Persian Gulf, whence migratory races carried the arts of writing and agriculture eastward and westward, to the Mediterranean and the Yangtse, and the Godavari, through Europe and through Asia. Then came the rise of the Aryans, which was probably also a movement both eastward and westward, though in its most marked result it was an invasion of Southern Asia from the direction of Europe. Followed, after a long interval, the westward sweep of the Persians, stopped in an heroic age at Marathon and Salamis, the tide of conflict rushed eastward again when Alexander made his marvellous raid through the Hindu Kush into India, and marched back trailing the spoils of Asia in his train. The long struggle between Carthage and Rome, though it had its real inception in migrations which happened when Greece was young, was essentially, in his later stages, an episode in the ancient antagonism between Asia and Europe.

The eagles of Rome were carried to the Euphrates, and the Roman legions were long a bulwark against Asiatic aggression, but Rome sought few conquests in the East. The decay of the Roman Empire weakened the barriers; and again the star of Asia rose as the Huns poured like a torrent into Europe, carrying death and devastation far and wide under the ruthless guidance of Attila. The rise of Islam brought fresh Asiatic incursions, though the Arabs clung to the shores of the Mediterranean and left the real heart of Europe unmenaced. The retaliation of the Crusaders was far more feeble and unproductive than the armed and restrained vigilance of Rome. It left the energy of Asia unabated. The meteoric appearance of Jenghiz Khan generated a new flood of invasion which carried the Golden Horde across the Volga and placed Russia under a long and bitter domination. The Ottoman Turks crossed the Bosphorus and even thundered at last at the gates of Vienna. But the tide turned once again. The West had learned the secret of the sea, and science and superior organization had given it the keys of Asia. It had, too, caught the passion for trade from the East in an inferior degree but not less keenly. The dramatic appearance of Vasco da Gama off the Malabar coast was followed by a rush of Spanish and Dutch and British and French and Russian forces, some of which founded Empires far greater than Asia in Europe had ever dreamed of. The last pulsations of the outward tide brought Dewey to the shores of Manila Bay and Germany to Kiaochau. Then the guns of Japan spoke, and the tide was turned and a new era began. Yet it had already, perhaps, had a beginning in the final results of that mysterious dispersal of the Jewish race, which after many centuries of suffering and repression had given an indomitable people a master-hold upon the strings of European policy.

### **BRITISH CONTROL OF INDIA**

There are three great problems which, in their gradual development, are likely to determine the character of the relations between Europe and Asia in the present century. The first, and the greatest, because it will most directly influence the moral attitude of Europe

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towards the East, is that of the course which will be shaped by Great Britain in her control of India. Upon the outcome of the tremendous experiment in racial regeneration to which Great Britain is committed the fate of Europe in Asia chiefly turns. It is of vital moment to Europe that British dominion in India should be maintained, and there is little doubt that its stability cannot be gravely menaced by internal revolt. But the British people is about to have its sincerity of purpose in India challenged as it has never yet been. Great Britain has never made up its mind about its aim in India, but it will have to do so soon. Neither the Royal visit nor any other adventitious expedient can deflect the new and fundamental tendencies now at work. The coming issue in India, upon which the continued acceptance of British rule depends, will be found in the demand already arising for fiscal and financial liberty. If the demand is conceded, and in whatever form, it must inevitably involve some abatement of the control from England, which is essentially financial. The impending agitation will test to the utmost the professed unselfishness of British motives in holding India, and will be fraught with destinies as great as those which lay concealed in the Declaratory Act when it was passed by the Rockingham Ministry.

### **THE FUTURE OF CHINA**

The second problem is that of the future of China. It is the problem which must in its solution ultimately have the greatest material effect upon Europe, because of the vast natural resources of China and the industry and capacity of her teeming inhabitants. Many believe that the Chinese are destined to become again, as they were ages ago, the greatest power in Asia. The awakening of China has been, and will continue to be, as a slow process, its stages marked by many apparent failures and even losses, but it will be the more enduring because it is slow. The late Lord Salisbury cared little about Asiatic questions, but he had a way of getting at the heart of things in a few vigorous words. When he growled out that he declined to believe that 400 millions of people could ever become moribund, he touched the root of the matter. No Western Power will now be able permanently to place those myriads of yellow men in subjection. An expedition to Peking, the seizure of a port or two or an outlying province, the slaughter of a few thousand Chinese—these things leave the essential China almost untouched; and the Chinese are beginning to know it. The spirit of China is not aggressive, though the memory of a thousand wrongs may rankle and produce grave results. The danger from the Chinese is that of industrial competition, and it is still so little visible that the menace is hardly realized in Europe. Every year adds strength to the position of China, and behind the medley of corruption and weakness which still constitutes her administration a new spirit of cohesion and ambition is at work.

### **THE MIDDLE EAST**

The third great problem is that of the countries of the Middle East, and it has the most immediate interest, because it will probably be the first to come to a head. The Middle East is the real cockpit of the world. It is the abiding battleground between East and West, the arena of those mighty conflicts which have brought

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Empires to the dust. It begins at Adrianople and ends at Jellalabad. There is no country lying between those two cities which can hope to preserve its present methods of control without great modifications. Turkey has not yet found salvation; its remoter provinces grow more rebellious, and the new system of government has so far failed to work smoothly. Persia is groping in the dark; its Parliamentary experiment drifts nearer to a complete deadlock, and there can be no growth of strength while the mutually jealous southern tribes hold the balance of power. Afghanistan cannot expect for ever to maintain its sullen isolation, though it is to the interest of Great Britain that it should remain so. The weakness of the races of the Middle East is a danger to Europe, because it may at any time produce quarrels and an explosion. The quarrels of Europe are the opportunities of Asia. Though Turkey absorbs European attention, Persia and the Persian Gulf probably present greater risks of international disputes. The troubles of Persia are ultimately due to her changed climate, for she has shared to some extent in the process of desiccation visible in parts of Asia, and she has no great rivers to retrieve the balance. To that extent, therefore, they are insoluble. The Persian Gulf is a danger, because Great Britain rightly holds that she must control it in the interests of India, and the claim may some day be called in question. The Middle East offers no present menace to Europe, save that by its very weakness it produces jealous aspirations which may breed war.

### **THREE GREAT FACTORS**

There are three great factors which must exercise a preponderating influence in the determination of these problems. The first is the development of land communications, which is completely revolutionizing the Asiatic question. The last rails had scarcely been bolted in the line which Russia carried to an ice-free port on the Pacific, when some of the greatest battles the world has ever seen were fought as a direct result. Yet the railway has opened up the potential riches of Manchuria; and the great railway system now being constructed in China must presently introduce the Chinese to unexampled prosperity. The growth of India's wealth is chiefly due to railway development, which has incidentally greatly strengthened British control. The Baghdad Railway will assuredly be built, and Persia will not long remain without railway lines, though she probably needs good roads more. The chief railway question of Asia is now the connexion of India with Europe on the one hand and with China on the other, and both these schemes are no longer wild dreams. No one can foresee all the changes which the locomotive may produce, but its steady advance must profoundly modify the existing situation.

### **THE UNITY OF ASIA**

The second factor is the rejuvenation of the Asiatic peoples, prompted by Japan. There can be no mistake about the new spirit abroad in the East. The dry bones have stirred. Behind the mysterious activities of the Young Turks, the muddled wrangles of the Persians, the insistent aspirations of the Indians, the new craving for education among the Chinese, the mailed efficiency of the Japanese, there lives and moves a spirit which, however varied

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its expression, is essentially the same in every Eastern land. It has everywhere a common origin, for at the back of all things else it is a revolt against the domination of Europe. It is a manifestation of the new Pan-Asiatic ideal, and though it does not involve unity of action it implies a common purpose. A new world-movement is beginning, which is nevertheless as old as humanity itself. The pulsating heart of Asia has begun another diastole, and the expansion must produce a renewal of the ancient conflict with the West.

### THE COMING CONFLICT

But for a period, the duration of which cannot be discerned, it will be a conflict in a new form. Though the principles which governs human history are eternal, the manner of their reappearance varies. No signs are visible which portend the recurrence of gigantic war between the two continents, one reason being that climate-changes have made the Middle East far less populous. There may be occasionally terrible encounters on the battle-field—we have recently witnessed a very great one—but no horde of conquering Asiatics is likely to overrun Europe. The third factor now coming into play is that of the industrial development of Asia, and the coming conflict between Europe and Asia will be, in its most permanent form, a war of industrial competition. When the factories and mines of Asia have heaped up fresh riches for the East, the character of the conflict may change and become more violently militant, but the intermediate process must be a long one. Yet the results will not be less tangible because the weapons will be bales of piece-goods rather than ironclads. In the south and east of Asia are these swarming peoples with their illimitable resources, their faculty of patient labour, their realization of the great truth which the West is forgetting—that true happiness lies in unhurried work and not in aimless leisure. They have not lost the joy of fatherhood or the secret of maternity. They occupy the lands made fruitful by the monsoons, and the desiccation of much of the rest of Asia leaves them untouched. They have been preoccupied with agriculture for unnumbered ages, but now they are learning the uses of machinery. Why should they continue to buy from the West the products which they can make for themselves? China has always made most of the clothing her people require. In time she will probably make all she wants, and then China and Japan and India will ask themselves—as indeed they are already doing—why they should not compete in the rest of the markets of the world. That is why the renaissance of Asia means so much to the workmen of Europe. That is why the West should awaken from its dreams. It has pictured the docile millions buying its merchandise with meek acquiescence, but the East is no longer docile, and is clamouring for its rightful share of prosperity.

### SOME FURTHER POSSIBILITIES

It remains to point out that all these conclusions are liable to be modified by the appearance of some quite unforeseen phenomenon. In the East, far more than in any other part of the world, it is the unexpected that happens. The dominating factor in Asia is religion, and its mutations are less easy to discern than the growth of new tendencies in the materialistic West. The recent subtle intrusion of Pan-Islamism into China, which has passed

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almost unnoticed, may, for instance, contain the germ of great events of dire import to the world. There are already 30,000,000 Mahomedans in China. They have been frequently in revolt, and the more ancient faiths are weakening. The fear that other parts of the world are likely to receive floods of yellow and brown men is, on the other hand, probably quite unfounded. The small overflow of the Eastern races which has reached other countries has been carried thither far less by pressure of population than by the genuine demand for cheap manual labour and a natural desire to make the most of existent opportunities. Both China and India can support far more than their present population. The sole exception is Japan, which needs room for expansion, though the need is more likely to bring her again into violent contact with Russia than with any other Power. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that America watches the outward tendencies of the Asiatic peoples with a somewhat tremulous anxiety, and that Australia should begin to realize that her vast empty tropical lands may not for ever be allowed to remain untilled and unpeopled. Too much has been made of the colour question. This article has been written in vain if it has not shown that the processes at work lie far deeper than the mere antagonism of colour, though that is admittedly a potent surface influence. The economic factor is the mainspring of the complex relations between East and West, and in the new form it makes the Asiatic question the greatest question of the 20th century. (*The Times*).

## RELIGION AND CASTE

### A REVIEW OF INDIAN BELIEFS

The task of giving, in a limited space, an intelligible account of the religions professed by the millions of his Majesty's subjects inhabiting India presents difficulties which can perhaps be realized best by a brief reference to the statistical drybones of the Census returns for 1901. Of the total population (including Native States) of 294½ millions there recorded, 207 millions were returned as Hindus, 62½ millions as Musulman, and 8½ as Animists. While these figures have to be supplemented by the numbers of Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, and Jews, those relating to the Hindus have also to be sub-divided into various sects. Hinduism itself is of so fluid and complex a character that it has taken Sir Herbert Risley many pages of discussion in his "People of India" to arrive at its elliptical definition as being "Animism more or less transformed by philosophy," or, in other words, as "magic tempered by metaphysics." To the lay mind, however, no definition can convey any conception of the complexity and unlimited variations of the manifestations of Hindu religious beliefs, and one must be content to endeavour to describe some of its broader features, and at the same time to indicate its intimate connexion with, or rather dependence upon, the social institution of caste.

### THE BASIS OF HINDUISM

In the first place, it should be of peculiar interest to us of the British Empire to realize that the basis of the higher Hinduism is,

in its earliest known form, closely analogous to, if not identical with, that of the earliest religions professed in Europe. Max Muller, in his lectures on the "Science of Religion," has pointed out "that the highest God has received the same name in the ancient mythology of India, Greece, Italy, and Germany, and had retained that name, whether worshipped on the Himalayan mountains or among the oaks of Dodona, on the Capitol, or in the forests of Germany"; and he has drawn therefrom the inference that the ancestors of the whole Aryan race worshipped an unseen Being, under the self-same, name, "the best, the most exalted name which they could find in their vocabulary—under the name of Light and Sky." Just as, in Europe, this ancient worship degenerated into a form of nature worship and idolatry, so, it appears, the religion of that branch of the Aryan family which migrated to India and came in contact with the Turanians and Dravidians assimilated customs and beliefs which overlaid and modified its earlier simplicity. Fetichism and totemism, of which there are remains to-day in India among the aboriginal tribes, exercised their influence upon the Aryan immigrants, and while the religion of the latter, in its ultimate Brahmanical form, succeeded in absorbing and embracing practically the whole population, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, this achievement appears to have been purchased at the expense of a general lowering of the ideals and standards of the conquerors. Just as, no doubt, the earlier Aryan immigrants took women from among the conquered races, so also they absorbed some of the customs of the races to whom they thus became related; and, with a tolerance which is characteristic of the Indian of to-day, not only permitted the continuance of the indigenous practices which they found prevalent in their new home, but even grafted some of these on to their hereditary rites and beliefs.

That this was so, and that, at all events in the earliest Aryan incursions, there was no rigid severance, either social or religious, between the indigenous populations and their conquerors, seems to be corroborated by the fact that the earliest records we have of the Indo-Aryans and their customs—namely, the Rig-Veda—contain nothing to show the existence of any division of the people into castes. The oldest of the Hindu sacred books, on the other hand, gives colour to the belief that the doctrine of metempsychosis may have originated with the indigenous inhabitants of India.

### THE ORIGIN OF CASTE

But if the Aryans were indebted to the peoples they had subdued for the idea of transmigration of souls, they appear not only to have "lent to it a moral significance of which no trace is to be found among the Animists," but also, after evolving from it the theory of an automatic retribution which is known as *Karma*, to have made this theory the basis of the social fabric as we now know it in India. The origin of caste is wrapped in obscurity, but the deductions made by Sir Herbert Risley justify us in tracing the complex structure of the Indian religious and social system to the effects of successive Aryan immigrations. The earliest of these, bringing a race numerically weak into contact with the aboriginal tribes of India, would account for the assimilation of many of the customs and beliefs of the mass of the populace; but, as they received added strength from later incursions of members of their own race,

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the tendency would be towards a preservation by the immigrant conquerors of their distinctive racial characteristics, and towards the adaptation of indigenous tradition to that purpose. On this theory it does not seem too far fetched to suppose that the idea of reincarnation, when once it had become part and parcel of the Indo-Aryan's beliefs, should be made to operate forcibly in the direction of the preservation of race distinctions, and, ultimately, of social gradations. The theory of metempsychosis, as is shown by its development to-day, would be a powerful factor to this end; and would be a weapon for the enforcement of laws of endogamy, hypergamy, and exogamy far more cogent than any argument based on mere racial pride.

Whatever the original cause, however, the facts are clear, and, as Max Muller expresses it, "Modern Hinduism rests on the system of caste as on a rock which no arguments can shake." It is not only a religious force, but a social organization which has survived reforms and hostile invasions by the proselytizing Moslems and continues to-day, after hundreds of years of contact with other faiths and civilizations, the predominant system in India. The manner in which the social and religious aspects of Hinduism act and react upon one another is best exemplified by the history of the reform movements which, from time to time, have arisen with the object of purging the Vedic religion of impure accretions. The greater of these movements, in chronological order, are Jainism, Buddhism, and (in comparatively recent times) Sikhism: while in our own period the sects of the Brahmo and Arya-Samajists have endeavoured to set up a reformed ideal of philosophic Hinduism.

### PRESENT CONDITION OF HINDUISM

A preliminary glance at Hinduism as it presents itself to the casual observer to-day may be useful. The first impression derived from a cursory study of the outward manifestations of the religion of India is undoubtedly one of astonishment at the multiplicity of shrines, at the devotion of the people, and at the apparently heterogeneous nature of the deities enshrined. In the more or less orthodox provinces, as contrasted with the tracts where aboriginal Animism still predominates, there is in nearly every house some image or emblem purporting to be the elephant-faced god Ganesh (a son of Shiva) who presides over the entrance of the home (*cf.* Janus) and must be propitiated at the outset of any journey or undertaking. Out of doors temples to Vishnu or Shiva, according to the particular cult locally predominating, are the most conspicuous shrines. But throughout India one may come across innumerable local deities whose familiar names bear no resemblance to those of any of the gods of the orthodox pantheon.

In more backward places, where aboriginal ideas have persisted, colouring the local Hinduism, the process of deification is by no means confined to eponymous heroes in human shape. There is an altar near the top of a mountain in the Western Ghats which was established only 20 years ago, and the deified hero was clothed, while on earth, in the shape of a horse. No other horse, however, had ever scaled those heights before, and the local village elders had no hesitation in concluding that under the equine form must, for purposes of his own, have been hidden the spirit of the godhead.

## RELIGION AND CASTE

And yet, except in the most backward tracts, it would be an error to conclude that the mass of the people is plunged in ignorant paganism. Clumsy and ugly as are many of the outward symbols of their worship, the philosophy and ideals of the higher Hinduism are yet present to the minds of the people to a degree which it is difficult at first to realize. They no more directly worship the hideous *ling*, or the revolting image representing the goddess of small-pox, than do enlightened Christians the images of the Virgin. Those things merely symbolize some activity or power of the Universal Godhead, and the poorest cultivator may have a curiously definite conception of the intricacies of the doctrines of *Karma* and metempsychosis.

### RELIGION AND MORALITY

While there is no gainsaying the elevation of the concept of the former, which replaces what might be termed a doctrine of "rewards and fairies" by one according to which every act of a man carries with it inexorably its own consequences through the whole succession of his subsequent lives, it is, as a matter of fact, a doctrine of singularly small influence on the ethical side. Sir Alfred Lyall has said:—"In India, few people would admit that their religious beliefs were necessarily connected with morality"; and he goes on to indicate what is perhaps the great distinction between Europe and India in this respect:—"In Europe morality can, on the whole, dictate terms to theology, and though both sides still equally dread an open quarrel, yet theology has most to fear from a dissolution of partnership. In Asia theology is still the senior partner, with all the capital and credit, and can dictate terms to morality, being, for the most part, independent of any connexion with it."

### THE STRENGTH OF BRAHMANISM

Perhaps the most comprehensive sentence describing modern Hinduism is that contained in Sir Denzil Ibbetson's Census Report of 1881:—"A hereditary sacerdotalism, with Brahmans for its Levites, the vitality of which is preserved by the social institution of caste, and which may include all shades and diversities of religion native to India, as distinct from the foreign importations of Christianity and Islam, and from the later outgrowths of Buddhism, more doubtfully of Sikhism, and still more doubtfully of Jainism." Now there are various factors at the present day which tend automatically towards the subversion of the caste system; not only the material facilities of communication and travel afforded by modern means of transit, but, in a far more potent degree, the germination of a moral influence emanating from Western education and the resultant advance in purity of administration. Caste, as we have seen, rests upon no authority derived from the earliest Hindu scriptures, and is, as we shall see further on, the feature of Hinduism which comes first under condemnation at the hands of successive reform movements. The most modern of these are the fruits of a rising moral sentiment regarding which Sir Alfred Lyall has a significant passage in his "Asiatic Studies."

After describing the spirit of philosophic paganism as it manifests itself in Hinduism, he says:—"The popular religious beliefs must obey the pressure of slowly rising moral influence and if the

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*social condition of a people continues to advance*" (the italics are mine) "this process goes on until at last the authority of morals becomes as necessary to theology as at first the authority of theology was to morals." This furnishes us with a key to the conflict that is going on in India to-day. The social condition of the people is advancing and moral influences are gaining an ever-increasing hold upon them, and must, if that advance is fostered, eventually act as a solvent of some of the social restrictions. On the other hand the ascendancy—nay, the existence—of orthodox Hinduism depends upon the maintenance of those restrictions. Brahmanism—the "hereditary sacerdotalism" of our definition—must, if it is to survive, enforce rigid adherence to the doctrine of caste; and it is for this reason that we see in the India of to-day, side by side with an organized effort to spread the cult, from Benares, of the Vedanta philosophy, and to elevate the general tone of Hinduism, an ever-increasing determination, on the part of the younger members of the innumerable Brahman sects, to retain the social institution of caste in its most rigorous and exclusive form. And the strength of the orthodox position is very great. In a community in which, for more than 2,000 years, certain occupations have under a divine sanction, been allotted to certain hereditary castes, and involve pollution if performed by those of higher status, in which the Brahmanical claim to adjudicate upon what can and what cannot be done has, without question, been acquiesced in for an even longer period—in such a community it will be very many generations before the advance of the social community, and the rise of moral influences will establish the authority of morals as co-equal with that of theology.

### THE JAINS

The earliest of the reform scheme—earlier even than Buddhism—was organized in the sixth century B. C. Perhaps stimulated thereto by the degradation of the earlier Hinduism in contact with the Animism prevailing in India, a degradation countenanced by the Brahmins in pursuance of the principle of absorbing and including "all diversities of religion native to India," Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, rejected the divine authority of the Vedas and the sway of the Brahmins, and established a cult which, theoretically, disregarded caste distinctions, denied the existence of the Hindu gods, and (retaining the doctrine of transmigration) looked, not to the Hindu Nirvana, or individual absorption in the Universe, but to the attainment of perfection in all things, enjoyed without limit of time or space. In practice, however, the modern Jains are as rigorous in their insistence on the distinction of themselves as a caste, and upon the social limitation of other castes, as the most arrogant Brahmins.

### THE FAILURE OF BUDDHISM

Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, succeeded by his preaching and by the example of his life, in establishing a universal religion which alone has, for a time, superseded Hinduism throughout India. The abolition of caste was rather an incident to his teaching than a main objective. In spite of the purity of his doctrine, and of the appeal which its democratic character necessarily made to the masses of the subordinate castes, the cold logic of its agnosticism must have been far over the heads of the people.

## RELIGION AND CASTE

Securing the support of the rulers of India, Buddhism became, for some five or six centuries, the chief religion ; but as soon as it failed to retain kingly countenance it was again superseded by a Brahmanism which was adapted far better to the general needs and feelings of the public.

### THE DEAD-WEIGHT OF CUSTOM

As in the case of Buddhism and Jainism, the founders of the sects of the Lingayets and of the Sikhs expressly abjure the social institution of caste ; but, whereas this prohibition is still acted up to by the Sikhs, the Lingayets, under the weight of surrounding influences, ultimately developed sub-castes based upon social distinctions, and themselves, as a body, became a caste of the sectarian type, with all the concomitant restrictions and endogamous laws. The Shikhs are still untrammelled within their own sect by sub-castes ; but there appears to have been, of recent years, a tendency towards the recognition of social distinctions as affecting intermarriage. The fact is that the dead-weight of custom, operating with the ever-active and jealously fostered sanction of institutions whose divine origin has for so long been undisputed, lies upon the whole body politic, and has, as yet, been too strong for the reformers.

Human society, as it exists, has been less the care of the great thinkers of India than humanity in relation to the universal meaning of things. In the West expediency prevails, and the practical needs of the community are the touchstone of policy. In the East, philosophic theorizing usurps the place of tangible reform. Unfortunately, the mass of the population of India has not as yet achieved that social advancement which would enable it to voice its needs ; and so, while philosophers form sects and reformers initiate theories, the *vis inertia* of a society unable to grasp the reasoning of their would-be saviours, backed by the authority of the orthodox sacerdotalism, nullifies all their efforts. No religion has, as yet, persisted and become a world force which has been too far in advance of the social development of the people among whom it has originated.

### THE MODERN MOVEMENTS

In our own time the Arya Samaj sect has arisen, under the leadership of Dayananda Saraswati. Its peculiar interest lies in the circumstance that it initiates, or at least has been an instrument in furthering, a *quasi*-national movement. In common with earlier reformers, the Arya Samajists endeavour to get rid of much of the later impurities of Hinduism and, while not specifically assailing the caste system, aim at certain other social reforms. For example they would raise the age at which girls should be married, and they permit the remarriage of widows. What distinguishes the Arya Samaj, however, more sharply from previous reform movements is its political tinge. It is avowedly a proselytizing movement, and appeals to all Hindus on a basis of assumed common nationality and it has organized itself into a strong educational association. There are many points at which it comes into collision with Brahmanical Hinduism—as, for example, in prohibiting the worship of idols and other similar ceremonies—and it yet remains to be seen how far it will receive Brahman support.

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## HINDUISM A SOCIAL SYSTEM

We have thus seen that Hinduism is a social system rather than a religious creed, but a social system which rests upon what is accepted as divine authority ; that the Brahmanical hierarchy which controls the system depends for its authority upon the maintenance of the social *status quo* ; and that the theory of transmigration affords a strong impetus to cling with determination to the caste system. Hinduism has shown its capacity for absorbing into itself all the indigenous religious beliefs, and for basing upon that absorption a further extension of its social structure. From time to time efforts have been made to free society from the shackles of caste and from the impurities with which Hinduism, in its process of expansion, has trammelled itself. But the sects formed with this object have in every instance, except perhaps that of the Sikhs, succumbed to the overwhelming influences surrounding them, and have become merely an addition to the innumerable sub-divisions into which the social fabric is split up. Finally, in our own period we find a movement set on foot whose hope of achieving a success more lasting than that of its forerunners lies not so much in the promotion of social advancement as in the inculcation of a national sentiment.

## ISLAM IN INDIA

It has been necessary to devote a greatly preponderating share of space to Hinduism, as compared with Mahomedanism and the other religions of India—not only because more than seven out of every ten persons are classifiable as Hindus, but also because it is, if Burma with its Buddhism be excluded, practically the only indigenous religion in the country, and must, if its meaning is to be appreciated at all, be examined in its aspect as a social system. Mahomedanism in India stands on an entirely different, and far more simple, footing. Though of course a foreign importation, forcibly thrust upon the conquered Hindu population so far as the power of the conquerors availed, Islam south of the Himalayas remains, to all intents and purposes, the same as it is in other parts of the world. It is true that a large proportion of the sixty odd millions of Mahomedans is racially Hindu, and that, as a consequence, the spirit of tolerance, so strongly characteristic of the Hindu, has modulated the original fire of proselytizing zeal ; and, save on some of those ceremonial occasions on which rites such as the sacrifice of kine, repugnant to Hinduism, are enjoined on the followers of the Prophet, Mahomedans and Hindus live peaceably and amicably side by side.

Although there is no technical difference between the faith of the Musulman in India, with his various sects, and the Musulman of Turkey, prolonged residence in India has resulted in producing a modification in the general outlook. It is usually assumed that, in some contingencies and for certain purposes, the world of Islam is a factor which must be considered whole and entire ; and there is, of course, substantial ground for this belief. Viewed in this light and if the assumption applied with the same force to the millions of his Majesty's Mahomedan subjects in India, these would in truth be a political problem of very serious import. The injunctions of the Koran requiring loyal obedience to temporal sovereignty, whether Musulman or otherwise, have, however, been widely taught

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and are generally accepted as requiring obedience ; and contact with Hinduism has served to temper some of the more ardent characteristics which we are accustomed to associate with the followers of Islam. At the same time, it would be idle to deny that, except in respect of private or tribal feuds, the Mahomedan does not like at the bidding of temporal rulers of another faith to take up arms against an Islamic State. Space precludes mention of the remaining religions of India.

### A MEDLEY OF CONTRADICTIONS

The dominant religion of India is, then, as we have seen, a curious medley of contradictions and paradoxes. Ranging between and embracing within its capacious fold, pagan Animism and the most cultured and refined Vedanta philosophy, exercising throughout this wide gamut a more direct and constant influence upon the lives of its votaries than is the case with most other religions, it is, nevertheless, an intricate social fabric rather than a theological creed. The Brahmanocracy, which originally erected the social system as a bulwark for its policy of absorption, now defends that system behind a zareba of Divine authorities, clinging tenaciously to caste ordinances as the very essence of its own ascendancy. Again, though his religion enters so intimately into the daily life of a Hindu, governing his going out and his coming in, his rising up and lying down, and the whole scheme of his daily routine, it has but a remote and indeterminate moral influence upon him. Though some of his scriptures inculcate moral precepts of the highest beauty, they contain no coherent and definite plan of communal life. Devised and interpreted by a priestly aristocracy, based upon the theory of an infinite series of re-births, and deriving "a certain measure of support from the social penalties imposed by the caste system," it has failed to create any code of common morality or patriotism. This failure is no doubt, in part due to the variety of nationalities and languages which chequer the surface of Indian society, but the conclusion seems irresistible that a common national or patriotic sentiment is incompatible with the ideals of Hinduism so long as it is hampered by a rigid doctrine of such fissiparous tendency as the social institution of caste. (*The Times*).

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### THE NEED FOR FURTHER REFORM

When considering the advance made under the British Government in India in the various branches of the administration, it is too often the practice to take it for granted that our responsibilities date back to the latter end of the 18th century, and that, therefore, the destinies of five or six generations of Indians have been under our control. In no department of public life is such an assumption more unfair than in the case of education. In the first place British India, as we now know it, hardly came into existence as an organic whole until the time of Lord Dalhousie, and, secondly, it was only a few years before the expiration of the Company's charter, and the direct assumption of the government of India by

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the Crown, that our responsibilities in the matter of education were susceptible of realization. It would, indeed, be fairer to say, rather, that it was only in the year 1839 that the British in India deliberately decided to go beyond the limits of their obvious responsibilities by undertaking a task which has no parallel in history. M. Chailley, in his admirable "Administrative Problems of British India," says, indeed, that "All colonizing nations are sooner or later faced with the problem of the education of the natives. It is a grave, a difficult, one may say a distressing, problem which cannot be evaded and which involves a conflict between interest and conscience." And he goes on to claim that "it is to the credit of the civilized peoples that in this conflict between interest and duty none of them has long remained deaf to the voice of honour."

### A COMPLEX PROBLEM

In the case of India, however, it may be doubted whether M. Chailley was in a position to realize to the full the difficulties of the problem. There was hardly the antithesis of civilized *versus* uncivilized peoples, which existed in the majority of the other countries, he no doubt had in mind. The complexity of the problem as it confronted the East India Company was enormously increased by the existence in India not only of a very old civilization, resting upon some of the highest philosophic teachings with which the world is as yet acquainted, but also of institutions of very long standing devoted to Oriental learning. It is true that nothing in the nature of general education had ever been organized or indeed thought desirable, by the governments in India which preceded ours; nay, education was, under the Hindu system, regarded as the close preserve of some of the higher castes, by no means to be invaded by those of the baser sort. But this fact, of course, added to the difficulties of initiating any scheme based on Western, and more democratic, ideas, while it also gave pause to those desirous of establishing an educational system on a broader basis, inasmuch as it appeared that any such innovation would tend to an infringement of the customs and traditions of the people.

### THE BEGINNINGS

In such circumstances it is not strange to find that the earliest attempts in India to establish schools for general education were made by missionaries, a fact which in itself not improbably retarded action by the Company, one of whose principles, emphasized on the assumption of the government of India by the Crown in 1858, was the observance of a strict neutrality in regard to the religions of India. Apart from missionary institutions, such colleges as were established in the 18th century were for the promotion of Oriental learning: and the Charter Act of 1813, which required the expenditure of a lakh of rupees annually on education, may be said to be the first overt recognition by the rulers of the Company's territories of their responsibilities in this matter. With a growing demand for Indian clerical subordinates, literary attainments obtained a commercial value, while a knowledge of English ensured employment by the rulers of the country. The interests of the Company, it now began to be realized, also demanded the syste-

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matizing of education ; and in 1823 a Committee of Public Instruction was established for Bengal to organize matters on a proper footing. Similar arrangements followed for Madras, and, later, for Bombay, but before the organization of the educational machine had reached this stage, a most important decision was reached by the Government of Lord Auckland in 1839.

### THE INFLUENCE OF MACAULAY

Until 1835 the Company's government had halted between two opinions, and their hesitation and the delay in the expansion of education which it involved are an illustration of the wide difference between India and other conquered and colonized countries in relation to this problem. Had India been, in M. Chailley's phrase, uncivilized, there could have been no difficulty in deciding upon the nature of the educational system. We should have had a *tabula rasa* upon which to work, and the introduction of a Western system need have occasioned no hesitation. In view of Indian conditions, however, there was a strong body of opinion in favour of establishing a system of education based upon the methods we found in operation there, since it was held that these were more in conformity with the genius of the Hindu and would be less subversive of the social customs and traditions of the people. It was the strong personality of Lord Macaulay, at that time a member of the Governor-General's Council, which carried the day against the Orientalists and in favour of conferring upon India an education based upon English ideas. It is not necessary, indeed with our present knowledge it would be impossible, to agree with him in his low estimate of the value of Oriental learning and the ancient Hindu literature ; but there can be little doubt to-day that, in all essentials, the decision to which he led the Government of his day was the wise one.

### THE PRESENT SYSTEM

Education on Western lines came, then, gradually to be organized in all provinces, and considerable progress in organization had been made by local governments in India when, in 1854, Sir Charles Wood addressed to the Government of India the celebrated despatch which outlined and directed the adoption of the measures for improving the educational system which continue, in substance, in force to the present time.

The chief specific directions conveyed in this despatch, with a view to securing a much wider extension of English and vernacular education, included the establishment in each province of a separate department for the purpose ; the institution of Universities at the three Presidency towns ; the establishment of training schools for teachers ; the maintenance and further extension of colleges and high schools ; and increased attention to elementary education in the vernacular schools. Finally, Sir Charles Wood urged upon the Indian authorities the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid, anticipating (as results have proved, with too great confidence) that this would ultimately lead to the discontinuance of the need for a general system of education entirely provided by the State.

In the light of what has been said as to the traditions of the Hindus in respect of their social system and of education it will

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not be a surprise that the Indian community failed to respond to Sir C. Wood's expectations in the matter of primary education. Efforts at securing local support to the project tended to make the whole educational scheme unpopular, and it became clear that a policy which aimed at imparting primary instruction broadcast was not likely to secure the unqualified support of the higher castes. The suggestion was accordingly made, in conformity with the general plan which had been in operation for some time, that it would be more expedient to impose a special rate on land to defray the cost of elementary education, and this is the system now in force.

### **THE COMMISSION OF 1882**

The arrangements inaugurated in pursuance of the scheme outlined in the despatch of 1854, approved and supplemented by the Secretary of State for India in 1859, resulted in a very large expansion of education; and the results have come under observation and special inquiry in 1882 and again in 1901-4, during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. It became evident that elementary education was not receiving that share of State or local support to which it was entitled; and it was found necessary to lay down rules of a stringent character requiring local boards and municipalities to devote a fixed proportion of their educational expenditure to primary schools. The Commission of 1882 further urged the gradual transfer to local management, wherever possible without loss of efficiency, of secondary schools as well as primary.

### **ATTITUDE OF THE HIGHER CASTES**

It will be realized that the community into which we introduced the system, culminating in the directions given in 1854, was one differing both in its social customs, its past traditions, and its domestic organization from any other in Asia, and as far asunder from the Western communities as it is possible to conceive. On the one hand, in the hereditary, priestly and clerical castes of the highest degree of intelligence, in some cases highly educated, there existed, at the summit of the social organism, material which was ready to adapt itself to our requirements with almost marvellous promptitude. Accustomed, by hereditary right, to direct the domestic affairs of the lower castes, and frequently to exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, this class suddenly found that their road to influence and affluence lay in adapting themselves to an Occidental system of tuition. Full and prompt advantage was taken of the opening afforded. On the other hand, the submerged millions made a lamentably slow response to our invitation. The social fabric had never contemplated the education of the masses, nor had these ever experienced the need of it. The agriculturist and artisan classes had been accustomed from time immemorial to rely for such literary and mathematical skill as was occasionally needed in the pursuit of their callings upon a special class of the community. In a country where labour was not only meticulously subdivided, but where the subdivision formed exclusive social groups circumscribed and hedged about by marriage and other restrictive ordinances, it naturally took a long time for the new ideas to filter downwards. And meanwhile the aristocratic castes were profiting.

## EDUCATION IN INDIA

### THE BRAHMANS AND THE WRITERS

Two results ensued. In the first place, by the promptitude with which the Brahman and writer classes fell in with the new order of things they succeeded, to a large extent, in perpetuating to themselves a practical monopoly of the proffered educational advantages; and, in the second place, the practice grew up of looking upon these as the means to an assured end—*viz.*, employment by Government. In other words, the scheme of a Western education, designed to raise the masses of India from the depths of the ignorance in which they had remained content for ages, came to be an instrument in the perpetuation of the traditional social system of the Hindus. This was not, of course, a policy consciously pursued. It is merely an interesting instance of the persistence of an inbred characteristic. Unconsciously the special feature of the social system of the past two thousand years overrode the superficial tendencies of an imported scheme; and this fact explains to a considerable extent the failures to achieve desired results which successive investigations have brought to notice. The degree of our failure should not, however, be exaggerated.

In 1871 there were 19,646 primary and secondary schools in India, giving instruction to some 700,000 scholars. In 1908-9, the last year for which complete figures are accessible, the total number of scholars appears to have reached nearly six millions, the cost of educating them amounting approximately to £4,5000,00. Having regard to the tendencies adverse to the spread of general education already noted, these statistics cannot fairly be regarded as giving cause for despondency.

### LORD CURZON'S INQUIRIES

Lord Curzon, after he had been three years in India, and had thus obtained ample knowledge of the practical working of the educational methods pursued, was persuaded that the time had arrived to make a searching investigation into their defects, and to this end convened a strong and representative conference, over which he himself occasionally presided, whose deliberations covered practically every branch of the system. The first result to take shape was the appointment of a Director-General of Education, whose function was to be advisory, not only in relation to the central Government, but also to the provincial Administrations.

The second, and perhaps the most important result, was the appointment of the Universities Commission in 1902. It had long been felt not only that the Indian Universities, up till then purely examining bodies, had failed to influence general education in the right manner, but also that their constitution required amendment before improvement could be expected. The standard of qualification for the Senate of the Indian Universities was low, and the unlimited tenure of Fellowships tended to swell the body of Fellows without securing vigour to the administration. Again, the regulations governing the affiliation of colleges to the University were found to be faulty and to need revision. These and other matters formed the subject of specific recommendations for change by the Universities Commission, of whom five members were distinguished Indian educationists, and they were eventually embodied, in 1904, in a new Universities Act. The subjects of

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technical and European education in India were dealt with at considerable length by the Conference of 1901, as were also questions relating to the improvement of normal schools and training colleges, the extension of primary and female education, the inculcation of moral training, &c. : and not the least significant of the remaining subjects were the discussions of the Conference on the subject of the abolition of competitive tests for Government employment.

The Conference deprecated a system which encouraged the idea that all educational tests were to be regarded as qualifications, more or less analogous to bills payable on demand, for Government service.

### THE PRESENT POSITION

It is, unfortunately, open to question whether, in India as a whole, the policy of reform, of which the foundations were thus laid, has lately been prosecuted with the same vigour and determination. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the reforms in regard to the Universities were themselves sufficiently drastic. Endeavours made recently in Bombay to induce the University to modify its tests and to expand its curriculum so as to include technical subjects have hitherto failed to produce good results, and the Bombay Government have been compelled to rule out the lowest University test as a qualification for Government employment. Such conflicts seem to indicate that the ambition for complete self-government in matters of higher education has come into being prematurely, and while this idea has doubtless developed as the outcome of past policy, dating from the establishment of the three Presidency Universities in 1857, and from the hopes expressed in the despatch of 1854, it is clearly desirable, if progress is to be made on the right lines, that reforms, even if they should bear an outward semblance of being retrograde, should be enforced where necessary.

And it would be idle to contend that all is well in matters educational in India. As early as 1904, before overt symptoms of unrest had made themselves apparent, the Government of Lord Curzon, in reviewing educational progress, had to take cognizance of certain tendencies, "unfavourable to discipline," which criticism had attributed to the extension to India, without modification, of a system of education modelled upon that of the West; and the Government orders proceeded—correctly enough, so far as they went—to rule that the remedy for such tendencies must be sought not so much in any formal methods of teaching conduct by means of moral text-books or primers of personal ethics as in the influence of carefully selected and trained teachers. The provision of proper persons as teachers is, of course, one of the most important—and in India, under present conditions, one of the most difficult—requisites as a condition precedent to the attainment of satisfactory results, and until the general condition of the subordinate educational staff is raised much above its present level, it will be unreasonable to hope for material improvement.

### FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION

It is most important that this, perhaps the most urgent need of all, should be borne steadily in view, especially at a time when

the facile cry of free and compulsory primary education is being raised. The unreality of such a cry can best be appreciated when two facts are realized. First, four villages out of five (taking India as a whole) are without a school building or school staff, and it would therefore be impossible to make compulsory education a reality. In the second place, every province has a free list, and the free list is never full. It is the fact that not a single boy whose parents wish to have him educated is debarred from gratifying their desire by the existence of the very small fee which is levied. But even if the demand for abolition of all fees were a reality, there can be no question whatever, where the financial resources of Government are limited, between the relative importance of the unlimited provision of inadequately staffed primary schools and of placing existing schools upon a satisfactory footing. When assistant masters in village schools receive, as they did till quite recently in some provinces, pittances of Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per month, it is idle to talk of an unlimited expansion of primary education. Even now the lowest paid assistants receive not more than Rs. 8, except in Bombay, where the *minimum* salary has just been raised to Rs. 9.

But it is not only in the primary schools—nor even in the secondary schools—that the qualifications of the staff of the educational department are deficient. When a competent observer like M. Chailley remarks that the teaching staff in Indian colleges is far too small, he is criticizing the University which permits affiliation by an institution which is inadequately equipped, and, through the University, the Government, from whom the authority is derived; and when he proceeds:—"Nor does the quality of the teachers compensate for their numerical feebleness. On the contrary, defective quality is the weakest point in the college teaching," he, in effect, condemns the inadequacy of the Government control throughout.

### RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TRAINING

A great deal of discussion has recently taken place regarding the secularization of Indian education, and there seems to be a growing conviction, among Indians and English alike, that the complete divorce of all religious and moral training from the curriculum has been an error which is in no small measure responsible for the recent unrest in India. It may be accepted as inevitable that the Government of India will endeavour to modify past policy in this respect, in so far as modification is possible with a strict regard to the observance of religious neutrality; but in no aspect of the education of youth is the provision of properly trained and qualified teachers more desirable than in that of ethics.

### THE NEED FOR INSPECTION

Local autonomy in educational matters, as in many other departments of Indian administration, is a most desirable goal to have in view, and, with certain rigorous safeguards, the policy, advocated in 1854 and 1882 and since reiterated, of leaving the management of primary and secondary schools to the control of local boards and municipalities, is the one most likely to achieve permanent success. Absolute uniformity in educational matters in a continent like India, with its wide diversities of race and language, would be most undesirable even if it were possible. But there must be

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the safeguard of inspectability. If in England there is such necessity for inspection by the Board of Education officials, how much more urgent is the need in India. And it is precisely in this department of the Government's past educational policy that there is need for criticism.

A hopeful sign is the renewed attention which is being accorded to the subject of education, and although the reforms which Lord Curzon initiated have perhaps not as yet been brought to complete fruition, and although the unrest in India may have diverted the attention of the authorities from the subject, it is to be hoped that it is realized what a close connexion exists between the two. If one cause, more than any other, can be said to account for the unrest it is the inherent defects in the stupendous scheme of giving a Western education to an Eastern people. It was inevitable that mistakes should be made; and it has been characteristic of us to shut our eyes to possible dangers. That the authorities in India are determined to grapple with the difficulties, and endeavour to find means of improvement, is evidenced by the recent creation of a Department of Education in separate charge of a member of the Viceroy's Council. That appointment, it is true, raises an apprehension that a most undesirable process of centralization may be pursued; but, provided that this tendency is rigorously resisted, there is ground for hoping that a persistent and logical effort will be made to see that the reforms advocated are gradually brought into being.

### THE REFORMS REQUIRED

The vitalizing and strengthening of the Universities, which should be the inspiring mainspring of the system, must be carried into effect. The methods upon which the Indian Educational Service is recruited in England and organized in India should be carefully investigated and revised; and the strength of that service, both in the professorial and inspectorial branches, strengthened. The pay of the lower grades of the educational service should be revised throughout India so as to render it reasonable to expect that competent assistant masters will come forward to join the department; and the tests qualifying for admission should be so arranged as to afford some guarantee of their moral and educational fitness for their work. The curriculum should include such moral or religious teaching as may be desired in each province or locality; and the whole system throughout should be subjected to a more rigorous and real inspectorial control than is possible with the inadequate staff which is at present made to suffice.

Reforms such as these will cost a great deal of money, but they will achieve real results, and when the public instruction organized by the State upon Western lines has thus been revitalized, it will be time to consider the question of the further extension of the system by the adoption of free and compulsory elementary education. It has been impossible to deal at length with the important development of industrial and technical education; but the success of these depends in large measure upon the adoption of the progressive and enlightened attitude by the Universities which should follow upon what has been advocated. The germs of all these improvements are to be found in the resolutions of the

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Conferences of 1882 and 1907, and in the orders of the Government of Lord Curzon in 1904; and it is now for the Government of India to falsify the apprehensions of those who feared that the reforms then initiated would remain a dead letter.

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An Imperial Exhibition was held in London in June last in connection with King George's Coronation. In this Festival of the Empire, held in the Crystal Palace, there was an Indian section, in which several Indian artisans and agriculturists demonstrated their art and skill before immense crowds of Englishmen. The following pen-picture contributed by Mr. James Douglas to the *Morning Leader* relates to this section of the Exhibition :—

The Indian craftsmen at work in the White City are fascinating creatures. It is hard to imagine that these strange, silent beings are sitting on their heels in London and not in a bazaar in Lucknow, or Agra, or Delhi, or Bombay. Their environment is fantastically Oriental. They are utterly isolated and separate from the life around them. They are not in any way blended with our civilisation. They are not melted into our life. They have not been corrupted by contact with our manners. The sharp flavor of the East is about them. They have nothing in common with us as we stand staring at them. They make no effort to pass over the gulf between their minds and ours. They have the loneliness and the aloofness of animals. They are quite sincerely indifferent to the stream of curiosity that flows turbidly round them.

They have not yet caught the air of exhibited beings. Their pose is an alien one. They are as they were a few weeks ago in their native city or village. It is we who are out of place and incongruous, for they have brought the spirit of India with them, and for the moment it resists the pressure of the new raw environment. Their garments make us furtively ashamed of our ugly and tight clothes. Their self-contained grace makes us blush at our awkward and clumsy movements. Their gentle harmony of physical calm arouses in us a doubt with regard to our superiority. Try as we may, we cannot feel that we are nobler products of a higher culture. They compel us to question the beauty and dignity of Western aims and ideals. They look like aristocrats who have strayed into a coarse and heavy society of vulgarians. It is a very preposterous thing, but beyond doubt these men and women make us feel vulgar. We are their rulers, their masters, their lords and gods, but they make us feel like serfs and slaves. It is only an illusion, but it is a very powerful one.

#### AN EBON-BEARDED GOD

There is one man whose features are a wonder of delicate refinement. There is race in every curve. His silky beard, unlike most European beards, is as natural as the leaves on a tree. It is not a thickset for the concealment of weak or debased or hideous lineaments. Its black splendor enhances the clear beauty of his unblemished skin. He is not vain. He does not appear to be cons-

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cious of his amazing fineness. It is a part of his nobility that he is as naive as a little child. It is heart-breaking to contrast this superb creature with ourselves. He is fastidiously, but unostentatiously, clean, and ages of health seem to glow in his solemn eyes. There are no scars of vice on his skin. He looks like a thoroughbred—a human being as pure as a horse.

And yet he is only a cheap, common, ordinary, working man—even cheaper, commoner, more ordinary than our cheapest, commonest, and most ordinary. Why does our civilisation fail to breed masses of men like him? Is the fault in our food, or our beer, or our schools, or our bricks? Or is it a secret of the soul? Certainly this man's attitude to life is in some undecipherable fashion different from ours. As you study him, you divine a queer composure, a strange balance, a surprising symmetry in his personality. He looks a harmonious being with a settled, imperturbable, fixity of mood. But you cannot penetrate his unwrinkled impassivity. He is locked up in his fastness, and you cannot guess at his frame of mind. He is a mystery as inviolable as Bostock's snarling tigers hard by, and as violently beautiful. Whatever we may be, we are not as a race violently beautiful. I have no doubt that my ebon-bearded god thinks that we are masterpieces of ugliness.

### THE WEAVER

There is an old man, with grey splashet in his hair and beard, who toils tirelessly over an incredibly ancient handloom. He is weaving a beautiful shawl of many colors. Slender spindles, on which are wound silk threads of various hues, are strwn all round him. He peers at a strip of paper on which are inscribed strange cabalistic signs like an insane shorthand. Out of them he picks the intricacies of the pattern. He is hundreds of years behind the times. Time has no meaning for him. As you watch him you feel sure that he will never live to complete his task. But he is sublimely patient. The illimitable resignation of the East is in his eyes. Besides him a placid young man is writing out a design. A sheet of painted paper is before him, and he is translating its shapes and colors into the curls and twirls of some mysterious language. Generations of craftsmen have done this thing thus in India. Again you feel that time does not mean money in the East.

In another niche of the bazar you come upon a group of men who are gravely grinding precious stones on a disc fixed on a cylinder. The cylinder is made to revolve slowly by means of a bowstring. The long bow is drawn back and forward with dreamy deliberation. The wheel turns, the craftsman presses the gem against its edge, dips it in a bowl of water, and languidly glances at it. Here, again, you feel that you are gazing at a craft that was old before Chre and Warren Hastings were born. There are three hundred millions of these calmly unprogressive creatures in India. The marvels of machinery do not appear to thrill their breasts. They are content to be what they are and what their ancestors were. The thought is staggering. A horrid suspicion rears its head. Is it possible that machinery has not altered the nature of man? Are these child-like craftsmen abysmally inferior to our chain-makers, and potters, and cotton operatives?

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### THE MOTHER AND THE CHILD

Even more bewildering are the soft-eyed women whose benignant faces vie with our Madonnas in their profound peace and serenity. One of them is a charming girl whose ears are bedizened with a medley of silver earrings. In her right nostril is a great silver circlet. Its circumference is as large as that of a breakfast cup. It is made of thin silver wire. She is exquisitely arrayed in delicate stuffs. She ought to seem grotesque, but actually she looks less ludicrous than some of the European women who are gaping at her in grinning astonishment. She is a finished and polished little being and she is utterly free from the slightest touch of the centuries. It is we, and not she, who are out of place.

There is one other very old thing in the bazaar. It is motherhood. A tiny little mother sits on her heels. By her side a tiny little baby, with eyes like stars, tries to stand on its small feet. The little mother babbles in some odd dialect to the little child. It babbles back to her. It laughs merrily in her eyes. It is a bald, toothless little morsel, but it has a perfection of limb that European babies of its size seldom possess. The little mother and the little child confirm one's doubts about Western civilisation. Even our aeroplanes do not help us to fly very far in advance of the little mother and the little child. Life is not a very subtle thing, after all. When we have done our best or our worst to sophisticate it, it beats us. In the West, as in the East, it resolves itself into those eternal simplicities, the little mother and the little child. Wise as we are, we are only beginning to stumble towards the discovery of that terrific platitude.

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# NOTES & NEWS

## GENERAL

### Bengal Jails

The outstanding feature of Bengal Jails of the year 1910 from the administrative point of view says the Government resolution, was the reduction in the jail population, due to the good harvest of 1909-1910, the average daily number of prisoners being 13,163 as against 15,065 in 1909.

### Education in Mysore

The Government Review on the report of the Inspector-General of Education in Mysore for 1909-10 shows that the number of Public Institutions increased from 2,367 to 2,416 and that the number of pupils in them increased from 113,251 to 113,785. But there was a falling-off in the number and strength of private institutions, and as a consequence the total number of schools decreased from 4,310 to 4,292 and the attendance from 139,008 to 137,729. The percentage of boys under instruction to the male population of school-going age decreased from 28.48 to 28.06 while the percentage of girls to the female population of school-going age increased from 5.29 to 5.4. But the point that is most noteworthy is that in this Premier Hindu State only 15 per cent. of the Hindu boys are under instruction while 46.46 per cent. of Mahomedans, 58.8 per cent. of Indian Christians and 78.74 of Europeans and Eurasians are benefiting from the liberal expenditure incurred by the Government. The State expended Rupees 18.38 lakhs in all on education which come to or 5.01 per cent. of its total revenues.

### Educational Progress in Baroda

From the report on Public Instruction in the Baroda State, for the year 1909-10, which has just been issued it appears that there were in all 2,875 educational institutions in the State at the close of the year, as against 2,832 in the previous year. Of these 2,875 institutions, one is an Arts College, 3 are High Schools, 25 Anglo-Vernacular schools, 12 grant-in-aid schools, 1 Princes' School and the rest 2,833 purely Vernacular schools. The number of pupils in all these institutions was 1,71,117 as against 1,79,383 in 1908-09. The total expenditure on Education amounted to Rs. 13,45,988-10-8 of which the share of State was Rs. 11,66,015-14-11 and that borne by the Local Boards Rs. 1,79,922-11-9. The receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 1,40,379-9-10. Compared with the previous year's figures there was an excess of Rs. 80,293 in expenditure on education and the average cost per pupil rose from Rs. 8-1 to Rs. 8-12. Roughly speaking, the State spent more than one-fourth of its gross revenue on Education.

### Cinchona in Madras

The report on the administration of the Government Cinchona Department in the Nilgiris, has been published. At the end of the

year under review the total area under Cinchona, both young and old, amounted to 1,257.24 acres, of which 817.05 acres consisted of young plants. There were 455.37 acres of fuel trees making a total of 1,712.61 acres. The total bark crop was 214,797 lbs. As compared with 1909-10 and with the average of the last five years, this figure is disappointing. The crop obtained from cultivation was supplemented by 948,075 lbs. of purchased bark, of which 460,300 lbs. were purchased from planters in India and the rest in the Amsterdam market. As compared with previous years the total quantity of bark worked up in the factory was greater, the figure for the year under review being 736,500 lbs. The yield of quinine was 26,750 lbs. or 3.63 per cent. against 4.01 per cent. in the previous year. The expenditure on the plantation was about Rs. 65,000 or Rs. 5,000 more than in the previous year. The profit and loss account shows a loss of Rs. 37,689-9-4. The cost per pound of the manufactured product inclusive of all charges was Rs. 9-3-0 as compared with Rs. 7-12-5 for the previous year. It should be remembered that the government have since February last prescribed a higher standard of purity for the quinine manufactured. During the year no febrifuge was manufactured. The quantity of quinine issued was 27,686 lbs. as against 21,965 lbs. in the previous year.

### **A New Treaty with Bhutan**

The following is the text of the treaty made between the Government of India and Bhutan :

(1) The British Government shall on demand being duly made in writing by the Bhutan Government take proceedings in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Extradition Act 1904 (of which a copy shall be furnished to the Bhutan Government) for the surrender of all Bhutanese subjects accused of any of the crimes specified in the first Schedule of the said Act who may take refuge in the British territory.

(2) The Bhutan Government shall on requisition being duly made by the Government of India or by any officer authorised by the Government of India in this behalf surrender any British subject or subjects of a foreign Power whose extradition may be required in pursuance of any agreement or arrangements made by the British Government with the said power accused of any of the crimes specified in the first Schedule of Act 15 of 1903 who may take refuge in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Bhutan Government and also any Bhutanese subjects who after committing any of the crimes referred to in the British territory shall flee into Bhutan on such evidence of their guilt being produced as shall satisfy the local Court of the district in which the offence may have been committed.

### **Moral Text-Books in Bombay**

The Bombay Government have issued a resolution stating that it has under consideration the question of preparing hand-books of moral lessons for the use of the teachers in the Educational Department in the Bombay Presidency. Most books available on the subject are based on western materials and modes of thought. It was therefore necessary to accumulate a stock of illustrative materials from Indian sources. Mr. R. E. Enthoven was deputed

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by the Government to undertake the work, while on leave in England, last year and to continue it on his return to India. That officer has prepared two volumes of material, after making enquiries and consulting the experts of authority on educational questions. The first volume contains extracts, drawn mainly from Indian sources and intended for the use of the teachers in the primary and Anglo-Vernacular schools. The second volume contains material suitable to pupils in the High Schools. The volume will provide the teachers with a store of well selected illustrations, but the actual lesson will have to be the teacher's own work. The Governor in Council is of opinion, that it is not desirable to publish lessons in the form in which they are to be given, as this would inevitably lead to their being read aloud in a dull and lifeless manner, little likely to interest a class for more than the opening sentences. A special Committee has been appointed to examine the hand-books and to report whether they are suitable with or without modifications for the use in the manner indicated. A series of vernacular readers already contains a number of lessons dealing with the moral virtues such as honesty, truthfulness, courage, thrift, etc., interspersed throughout.

### The Expansion of Indian Land Revenue

What a marvellous story does the following table reveal regarding the wonderful expansion and growth of the Indian land revenue from 1869 to the current year:—

1869	...	19'9	1891	...	24'0
1870	...	21'1	1892	...	24'0
1871	...	20'6	1893	...	24'9
1872	...	20'5	1894	...	25'6
1873	...	21'3	1895	...	25'4
1874	...	21'0	1896	...	26'2
1875	...	21'3	1897	...	24'0
1876	...	21'5	1898	...	25'7
1877	...	19'5	1899	...	27'5
1878	...	19'6	1900	...	25'8
1879	...	22'0	1901	...	26'2
1880	...	21'9	1902	...	27'4
1881	...	21'1	1903	...	27'6
1882	...	21'9	1904	...	28'8
1883	...	21'9	1905	...	28'3
1884	...	22'4	1906	...	28'2
1885	...	21'9	1907	...	29'7
1886	...	22'6	1908	...	28'0
1887	...	23'1	1909	...	29'7
1888	...	23'2	1910	...	32'0
1889	...	23'0	1911	...	31'5
1890	...	24'0			

### H. M's Mints

The annual Resolution of the Government of India on the working of the Mints at Calcutta and Bombay during the year 1909-10 has been issued, which shows that the total value of gold tendered was Rs. 11,72,57,685. The receipts included 199,871 sovereigns of the value of Rs. 29,98,065 tendered at the Calcutta Mint by the Paper Currency Office, Calcutta. The direct receipts from the public, therefore, amounted in value to Rs. 11,42,59,620,

exceeding the figures of all previous years since 1904-05, and showed an increase of about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  crores over the receipts in 1908-09. This large increase was due to the revival of export trade which followed the depression of the previous year. The total value of silver coinage represented Rs. 21,75,56,166. The work was confined to the recoinage of 1835 and 1840 rupees and uncurrent coin and the outturn of rupees was less than that of previous year by nearly 44 lakhs. No quarter-rupee pieces were coined during the year. During the year 5,954,218 British dollars of the nominal value of Rs. 1,35,10,675 were coined at the Bombay Mint against 6,870,741 British dollars of the nominal value of Rs. 1,55,90,338 in the previous year. The Bombay Mint also coined 11,088,198 ten-cent and 3,263,915 five-cent. pieces for the Singapore Government. 24,800,000 nickel one-anna pieces of the nominal value of Rs. 14,08,50,000 were coined at the Bombay Mint during the year 1909-10 as compared with 22,536,000 pieces of the nominal value of Rs. 14,08,500 in 1908-09. The net gain on the nickel coinage which passed into circulation amounted to Rs. 1,43,88,629 against Rs. 11,11,336 in the preceding year. The bronze coinage of the year consisted of pice, half-pice, and pie pieces of the aggregate value of Rs. 5,98,720. The aggregate value of the coinage in 1908-09, including pice of the value of Rs. 3,500, coined for the Sailana Durbar, was Rs. 11,03,958. The copper coinage comprised cents and half cents of the value of Rs. 35,000 executed for the Ceylon Government. During the year under review there was a net loss of Rs. 7,42,899 on bronze and copper coinage against Rs. 10,71,185 in the preceding year. The loss was due partly to the return of a large number of coins from circulation and partly to the special steps taken during the year for the withdrawal of worn copper coins for conversion into bronze.

### **Irrigation in India**

The Government Review on irrigation works in India for the year 1909-10 shows that the length of productive works increased from 40,820 miles to 45,755 miles. Of this increase 902 miles occurred in the United Provinces chiefly in connection with the Agra Canal and Eastern Jumna Canal ; 152 miles in the Punjab due to the inclusion of Sirhind Canal ; and 344 miles in Madras in the Lower Coleroon anicut system. The gross revenue increased from 5.20 crores to 5.26 crores in spite of a falling-off in the demand for water owing to timely and well distributed rainfall. But the percentage of net revenue on capital outlay decreased from 8.25 to 8.20 chiefly owing to the adverse influence of the Karnul Canal, the 'net profit' from which is represented by a minus quantity. The Punjab Canals, including branches in the Native States, irrigated upwards of 6 million acres out of a total of  $14\frac{1}{4}$  millions. The return on capital is the highest in the Punjab, being 12.78 per cent as compared with 12.58 in the preceding year. There would have been an increase both in the area irrigated and in the percentage of yield but for the marked falling-off on the Western Jumna, Upper Bari Doab and Sirhind Canals, due to good and timely rainfall in the tracts served by these systems. This deficiency was more than counterbalanced by increases in the Lower Chenab, Lower Jhelum, and Sidhnai systems. The Lower Chenab alone irrigated nearly  $2\frac{1}{4}$  million acres and earned a gross revenue of 1.01 crore representing an

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increase of 11 and 20 per cent respectively upon the figures of the preceding year. The Government resolution says that this is the first time in the history of irrigation in India in which a single canal irrigated in one year more than two million acres and earned a revenue of more than a crore of rupees. The working expenses on the Indus Inundation Canals have exceeded the gross revenue and the excess is attributed to the serious damage caused by floods. No other Province, not even the U. P., gives so cheerful an account. In the last named Province the largest area irrigated by a single canal, namely, Ganges Canal, was 914,532 acres, which was less than the area irrigated by the Upper Bari Doab Canal (982,773 acres). The Ganges Canal with a gross revenue of 46.68 lakhs yielded a net revenue of 9.88 per cent on capital outlay. But the Upper Bari Doab Canal with a gross revenue of only 38.45 lakhs yielded 11.80 per cent on the capital outlay. That shows the difference in the cost of maintenance on the two systems. In the United Provinces the maintenance charges of 13.165 miles of canal consume more than 35 per cent. of the gross revenue whereas in the Punjab those charges in respect of 14,133 miles of canals amount to 30 per cent. of the gross revenue including the heavy expenses due to the damages caused by floods on the Indus Inundation Canals. This is a matter which requires investigation, especially as the percentage of the cost of operation to the gross revenue is as low as 26 in Madras for a total of 11,213 miles.

## **COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL**

### **Yarn spun in India**

The quantity of yarn spun in British India in the month of April this year was 42,536,805 pounds against 48,156,048 lbs. in the same month last year and 56,065,655 lbs. in April 1909. Of this, by far the largest share went to Bombay as usual, 31,936,852 being spun in that Presidency, and the United Provinces came off a puny and limping second with 2,780,191 lbs.

### **The Maritime Trade of East Bengal**

The maritime trade of Eastern Bengal and Assam during 1910-1911 showed an increase of 11½ lakhs over the trade of 1909-1910, and reached an aggregate of 660½ lakhs. The increase was due to the foreign trade which advanced by nearly 14 lakhs, whereas the coasting trade declined by Rs. 2,39,000.

## **BANKING NOTES**

### **Bank of Burma**

The net profit of the Bank of Burma, Ltd., for the half-year ending 30th June, 1911, is Rs. 1,26,514-4-8. To this has to be added Rs. 35,763-7-9 brought forward from 31st December, 1910, making a total of Rs. 162,277-12-5 available for distribution. The directors have decided to declare an *ad interim* dividend at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum free of income-tax for the half-year just ended—absorbing Rs. 61,687-8—to place to the reserve fund Rs. 75,000, (making this fund Rs. 5,75,000) and to carry forward Rs. 25,590-3-5.

**Bank of Bombay**

The total earnings of the Bank of Bombay for the half-year ending 30th June, 1911, comes to Rs. 14,74,635, including Rs. 3,76,050 brought forward from last half-year. Out of this the directors resolved to pay a dividend at the rate of thirteen per cent., and a bonus of two per cent, *i.e.*, Rs. 37-8 per share to shareholders. Rs. 1,00,000 is devoted to the reserve fund ; Rs. 35,000 to the premises account ; Rs. 65,000 for bonus to staff and pension fund ; and the balance, Rs. 5,24,635, is to be carried forward.

**Bank of Madras**

The Bank of Madras during the half-year ending 30th June, 1910, made a net profit of Rs. 7,25,104. The sum of Rs. 152,843 was brought forward from the previous half-year. Rs. 2½ lakhs have been added to the reserve fund which now amounts to Rs. 52 lakhs. Rs. 25,000 has been added to the premises account, and it has been decided to pay dividend at the rate of 16 per cent. per annum and a bonus of one per cent.

**Bank of Simla**

The Alliance Bank of Simla have had a record year for the twelve months ending 30th June 1911, the profits being in excess of any previous year. The net profits, including the balance brought forward from last year, amount to Rs. 4,58,398. The directors propose a dividend and bonus making 14 per cent. to shareholders, which absorbs Rs. 2,80,000. Fifty thousand rupees are added to the reserve fund, Rs. 25,000 to the contingency fund, a bonus of one month's pay to the staff, and the balance to be carried forward.

**Bank of India, Limited**

The net profit of the Bank of India, Limited, for the half-year ending 30th June 1911, amounts to Rs. 3,83,469-9-0, including the sum of Rs. 1,31,659-14-8 brought forward. The directors have resolved to declare an ad-interim Dividend at the rate of six per cent. per annum, free of Income Tax on the paid up capital of 50 lacs which will absorb Rs. 1,50,000, and to carry forward the balance, Rs. 2,33,469-9-0 to the next account.

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

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### PROTECTION IN INDIA

Some time ago the Hon'ble Mr. A. Chatterton of Madras read an interesting paper on Protection at a meeting of the South Indian Association. This paper has been duly published in the last number of the journal of that Association. Mr. Chatterton is of opinion that Protection is not responsible for keeping Indian industries in a backward condition. According to him, the causes of industrial failure in India lie deeper. Says he :—

"The people of this country do not possess, or at any rate possess only in a very limited degree, the essential qualities which make for success along modern industrial lines. . . . The social system of the country does not favour individualism; the East and the West are as far asunder as the poles in their ideals of life: the influence of an enervating climate operates powerfully against the strenuousness which is essential to commercial success, and there is the influence of heredity extended over twenty centuries and one hundred generations—all these are factors which cannot be eliminated by a sudden change in environment or by external pressure, however great it may be."

Mr. Chatterton would not only not give us protection, but he can not even concede that India can claim to be regarded as a separate entity in fiscal matters. It is needless to say that we differ from him in this matter and by doing so, we are in very good company. For it is well known that recently Lord Minto has declared himself decidedly in favour of protection in India and said that he did not know how industries could be developed in India without something like Tariff Reform. However, we reproduce below the leading points of Mr. Chatterton's paper.

"At the outset our cry for protection is something like a cry in the wilderness which will never be heeded to, and that, more for the interests of India than for anything else. It is inconceivable that British statesmen will ever voluntarily agree to the erection of artificial barriers to the freedom of trade, between England and India, to which the present material and industrial progress of India are so largely due. . . . The true interests of India lie in preserving the existing state of affairs. There is no likelihood

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that the cry for protection will fall on willing ears, and no prospect whatever that it will be granted."

But supposing that protection were granted to us it would defeat its purpose in India. It is idle to expect, says he, that "in India where custom and conservatism yet rule supreme, where millions are wedded to their fields and are still in the agricultural state, sufficient labour will be forthcoming to work the industrial and factory system which a protective policy will give birth to." With the masses illiterate and immobile, labour unskilled and inefficient, unambitious and unenterprising, capital lacking and shy and organization unknown, "it is a fallacy," says Mr. Chatterton, "to think that the adoption of a protective policy will change all this and be followed up by a rapid development of Indian industries on a purely indigenous basis, that is to say, with Indian capital and through the agency of Indian brains."

According to Mr. Chatterton even if protection were desirable Indians are not ready for it. He says :—"There is no fund of capital-seeking remunerative investments. Industrial leaders with technical skill and business experience are non-existent and the operative labour could only be obtained with difficulty and would require training from the beginning. You might exclude British manufactures, but you cannot exclude the British manufacturer. A protective tariff would compel him to start in India and stimulated by the inflated prices which he would be able to obtain within the protected zone, there can be but little doubt that with his energy and business experience he would overcome the initial difficulties due to lack of local knowledge. Managers, foremen and workmen would be sent out to India, native labour would be trained and mills, workshops and factories set going. All posts of responsibility would be in European hands. India would have an industrial system, but it would be no source of profit to her and it would certainly not furnish the educated classes with occupations of a superior character, the need of which had led them to cry out for industrial development." It has been argued that this would be so at first, but that the Indian would shortly mend his ways and oust the European. If this, says Mr. Chatterton, were likely to happen it might be worth while paying the price to get the initial result done, but according to him "there is very little evidence that such would be the result."

Mr. Chatterton says that the economic salvation of India does not lie in "bolstering up an artificial industrial system for which India is ill fitted by her education and custom, but in the develop-

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ment of her internal agricultural resources. And this is to be achieved by a wide distribution of education—by education alone, not by protection. What India wants is education rather than a fiscal reform." Let suitable measures be taken to spread education, encourage thrift, assist enterprise and develop the faculty of cooperation in which the future of India lies, and the economic problem of India will be half solved. "The cry for protection is, I hold, a mistaken attempt to force the country into a course of action for which it has but few natural facilities and for which it possesses little inclination or aptitude. The land is fully occupied, but only half developed, and there is ample scope for constructive statesmanship of the highest order, in dealing with the innumerable problems in connection therewith which present themselves for solution. Work along these lines is progress, and it will better serve the interests of India than a hopeless agitation for a change in fiscal policy which in the long run is likely to prove an intolerable burden."

Mr. Chatterton corroborates his remarks by a reference to how the sugar industry is flourishing in Madras without protection and in the teeth of foreign competition of the keenest kind. If sugar industry pays in Madras while it does not in the other Presidencies, it is not because there is protection in Madras but because the usual difficulties which make the industry a failure have been obviated in Madras by advanced economic and scientific methods. Lack of capital to cultivate the crop which requires heavy manuring have been met by co-operative credit. The primitive method of extracting the juice by a crude process has given place to modern methods of extraction by machinery, the installation of which co-operative enterprise has made possible. The risks from pest, blight and disease to which the canes are subject have been minimised, if not altogether overcome, by improved methods of manuring and cultivation. The lack of water for irrigation has been met by an extension of the use of mechanical methods of lifting water *e. g.*, by pumps, which are four times more economical than the primitive water-lifting by cattle power. And the ignorance and apathy of the ryots have been dispelled by the spread of education. Protection was specially asked for in the case of this industry but all this, according to Mr. Chatterton, is proof positive "that it is not protection that is the remedy, but the vigorous exploitation of the industry on a wellconsidered scientific plan."

## **EAST AND WEST IN INDIA**

We gladly make room below for the leading points of the very interesting and illuminating paper which Mr. Gokhale has prepared to be read before the Universal Races Congress which met in London on the 26th July last and subsequent days :—

With the commencement of the twentieth century, the relations between the East and the West may be regarded as having entered on a new phase. The traditional view, so well expressed by the poet, of the changeless and unresisting East, beholding with awe the legions of the West, as they thundered past her, bowing low before the storm, while the storm lasted, and plunging back again in thought, when the storm was over, seemed for centuries to encourage—almost invite—unchecked aggression by Western nations in Eastern lands, in utter disregard of the rights or feelings of Eastern peoples. Such aggression, however, could not go on for ever, and the protest of the Eastern world against it, as evidenced by the steady growth of a feeling of national self-respect in different Eastern lands, has now gathered sufficient strength and volume to render its continuance on old lines extremely improbable, if not altogether impossible. The victories of Japan over Russia, the entry of Turkey among constitutionally-governed countries, the awakening of China, the spread of the national movement in India, Persia and Egypt, all point to the necessity of the West revising her conception of the East—revising also the standards by which she has sought in the past to regulate her relations with the East.

The problem—how to ensure “a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation” between the East and the West—so difficult, everywhere, is nowhere else so difficult and so delicate as it is in India. In the case of other countries, the contact of the West with the East is largely external only ; in India the West has, so to say, entered into the very bone and marrow of the East.

It is recognised on all sides that the relations between Europeans and Indians in India have grown greatly strained during the last quarter of a century. And yet Englishmen started with uncommon advantages in India. The establishment of British rule, so far from being resented, was actually regarded with feelings of satisfaction, if not enthusiasm, by the people over the greater part of the country. This was due to the fact that with all her contribution to human progress in many fields, religion, philosophy, literature, science, art—a contribution, which the world is coming to recognise more and more every day, and of which Indians may

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well remain proud for all time—India did not develop the national idea or the idea of political freedom as it has been developed in the West. Who exercised the sovereign authority was to her people a minor matter, as long as it was well exercised and did not seriously interfere with their religious, social, or communal life. And it cannot be denied that in many essential respects, the standards of government of the new rulers compared favourably with those of the indigenous powers that were then struggling for supremacy in the land. The advantageous start thus secured was further improved by the liberal declarations of wise and far-seeing statesmen, made from time to time in those early days, as regards the policy in accordance with which the affairs of this country were to be administered.

The educated community began firmly to believe that it was England's settled policy to raise steadily their political status till at last they fully participated in the possession of those free institutions, which it is the glory of the English race to have evolved. This belief, so strong at one time, began, however, gradually to weaken, when with the rise of the new Imperialism in England, during the last quarter of a century, new and clearer signs became visible of a disinclination on the part of the ruling nation to carry into effect the policy to which it stood committed. Suspicion was followed by surprise, by disappointment, by anger, and these inevitably produced a rapidly-rising anti-English feeling, which especially affected the younger minds throughout the country. The steady growth of the anti-English feeling in the country was recognised by all thoughtful persons to be fraught with a serious menace to the cause of peaceful progress and the outlook was undoubtedly very dark, when English statesmanship came to the rescue and by granting to the country a measure of constitutional reform, sufficiently substantial to meet the more pressing requirements of the day, helped largely to ease the tension and restore a more friendly feeling between the two sides.

Here Mr. Gokhale, however, does not voice the popular opinion on the subject, and we are bound to enter our protest against the misleading statement that the recent reforms of the Councils have "eased the tension and restored a more friendly feeling between the two sides." Far from it, but it is no good entering into a controversy with Mr. Gokhale on a subject in which he has already been associated very intimately with official opinion.

There is no doubt whatever, continues Mr. Gokhale, that the reform measures of two years ago arrested the growing estrangement between Europeans and Indians in India, and since then the situa-

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tion has undergone a steady and continuous change for the better. So marked is this change over the greater part of the country that there are many who hold that the desire to understand each other and respect each other's feelings and susceptibilities was never so great as it is at the present moment. For how long these relations will thus continue to improve, and whether they will again tend to grow worse, and if so, when, are questions more difficult to answer. It is well to remember that certain causes are constantly at work to produce misunderstandings and make harmonious relations between the two sides of a matter of considerable difficulty. Thus the differences in temperament, the natural predisposition to look at questions from different standpoints, the tone habitually adopted by a section of the Press, both English and Indian, these make a demand on the patience of either side, which it is not always easy to meet. Then there are those cases of personal ill-treatment—cases in which Indians are found to suffer insult and even violence at the hands of individual Englishmen for no other reason than that they are Indians. These are, so to say, among the standing factors of the situation ; they must, I fear, be accepted as inevitable, at any rate, in the present circumstances of the country. But even these are not all. The real sources of trouble, which invest the future with uncertainty, lie much deeper. Is British rule to remain a rigidly foreign rule, as long as it lasts, or will it conform more and more to standards which alone may be accepted in these days as compatible with the self-respect of civilized people ? What is to be the objective of England's policy in India ? How is the conflict of interest between the two communities to be reconciled and what sacrifices may be reasonably expected from either side to render such reconciliation a living and potent reality ? These and other allied questions, which really go to the root of England's connection with India, have to be answered before any prediction about the probable future of the relations between the Englishmen and Indians in India can be hazarded. The opinion is often expressed that if only Indians and Europeans will mix more largely socially, or if Indians will participate in the games and sports of Englishmen in greater numbers, a better understanding between the two sides will be established, resulting in better relations generally. There is a certain amount of truth in this. But apart from the fact that such freer intercourse, unless it is restricted to individuals on either side, who are anxious to see each other's good points and are tolerant to each other's weaknesses, may produce difficulties of its own. I am firmly persuaded that as long as

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the consciousness of political inequality continues to be behind such intercourse, it cannot carry us far. The soul of social friendship is mutual appreciation and respect, which ordinarily is not found to co-exist with a consciousness of inequality. This does not mean that where equality does not exist, the relations are necessarily unfriendly. It is not an uncommon thing for a party which is in what may be called a state of subordinate dependence on another to be warmly attached to that other party. But such relations are only possible, if the subordinate party, assuming, of course, that its sense of self-respect is properly developed, is enabled to feel that its dependent state is necessary in its own interest and that the other party is taking no undue advantage of it for other ends. And this, I think, is roughly the position, as between India and England. It must be admitted that the present inequality between Englishmen and Indians, as regards their political status, can only be reduced by degrees and that a considerable period must elapse before it is removed altogether. Meanwhile Indians must be content to continue in a position of subordinate dependence, and the extent to which "a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation" can be promoted between them and Englishmen, must depend upon how they are enabled to realize that British rule is necessary for their progress and that British policy in India has no other aim than their advancement. Any doubt on this point in the Indian mind will mean the weakening of the tie which binds the two countries and will not fail in the end to nullify the results of the most beneficent administrative measures. Assured on this point, on the other hand, Indians will not allow even serious administrative mistakes to alienate them in feeling or sympathy from the country, under whose sway they find themselves placed and with whose guidance they hope to advance to their appointed destiny.

The political evolution to which Indian reformers look forward is representative government on a democratic basis. The course of this evolution must necessarily be slow in India, though it need not be as slow as some people imagine. It is unnecessary to say that it is largely in England's power to hasten or delay this evolution. I think the time has come when a definite pronouncement on this subject should be made by the highest authority entitled to speak in the name of England, and the British Government in India should keep such pronouncement in view in all its actions. There is a class of thinkers and writers among Englishmen, with whom it is an axiom that Oriental people have no desire, at any

rate, no capacity for representative institutions. This cool and convenient assumption is not standing the test of experience, and in any case no self-respecting Indian will accept it; and it is astonishing that those men who thus seek to shut the door in the face of Indian aspirations, do not realize how thereby they turn the Indian mind against those very interests for whose support they probably evolve their theories. The first requisite then of improved relations on an enduring basis, between Englishmen and Indians, is an unequivocal declaration on England's part of her resolve to help forward the growth of representative institutions in India and a determination to stand by this policy, in spite of all temptations or difficulties. The second requisite is that Indians should be enabled to feel that the government under which they live, whatever its *personnel*, is largely and in an ever-increasing measure *national* in spirit and sentiment and in its devotion to the moral and material interests of the country. Thus, outside India, Indians should feel the protecting arm of the British Government behind them, ready to help them in resisting oppression and injustice. The monstrous indignities and ill-treatment to which the people of this country are being subjected to in South Africa have aroused the bitterest resentment throughout the land. On the other hand, the recent action of the Government of India in prohibiting the supply of indentured labour from this country to Natal, has evoked a feeling of deep and wide-spread satisfaction, which cannot fail to have its effect on the general relations between Europeans and Indians in the country. Among matters bearing on the moral and material well-being of the people, the Government should lose no more time now in dealing with education in all its branches, in a national spirit—especially with mass education and technical education. The third requisite, on which it is necessary to insist, is that England should send out to India less and less of those who are not of her best. It should be realized that though the Indian average is still inferior to the English average and will continue to be so for some time, individual Indians are to be found in all parts of the country, who, in character, capacity and attainments, will be able to hold their own anywhere. And when Englishmen, inferior to such men, are introduced into the country and placed in higher positions, a sense of unfairness and injustice comes to pervade the whole Indian community, which is very prejudicial to the cultivation or maintenance of good feeling. Fewer and better men sent out from England, better paid if necessary, will prevent England's prestige from being lowered in India, and this, in present circumstances, is

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a consideration of great importance. The fourth and last requisite that I would like to mention is the extreme necessity of such Englishmen as come out to this country realizing the profound wisdom of the advice, urged on them some time ago by Lord Morley, that while bad manners are a fault everywhere, they are in India "a crime."

Mr. Gokhale concludes his paper thus :—

The only safe thing that any one can say about the future of India is that it is still enveloped in obscurity. But I believe wholeheartedly in a great destiny for the people of my land. We still retain many of those characteristics which once placed us in the van of the world's civilisation—the depth of our spirituality, our serene outlook on life, our conceptions of domestic and social duty. And other races that have from time to time come to make their home here have brought their own treasure into the common stock. The India of the future will be compounded of all these elements, reinforcing one another, but a long process of discipline and purification and real adjustment is necessary, before she gathers again the strength required for her allotted task. In this work of preparation, it has been given to a great Western nation to guide and help her. And if craven or selfish counsels are not allowed to prevail, England will have played the noblest international part that has yet fallen to the lot of humanity. When the men and women of India begin again to grow to the full height of their stature and proclaim to the world the mission that shall be theirs, a great stream of moral and spiritual energy, long lost to view, will have returned to its channel, and East and West, white and dark and yellow and brown—all have cause alike to rejoice.

How we wish that, instead of devoting the bulk of the paper to a discussion of political issues, Mr. Gokhale had given us his mind regarding the moral and social lessons that Englishmen in India have taught us and which Indians have tried their best to give to their rulers in vain.

## **INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY**

Sometime ago a highly interesting and informing paper on the Indian Currency Policy was read by Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., M.A., at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, under the auspices of the East Indian Association. This address has now been published in the current number of *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*. To compress into a half-a-dozen pages an article

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covering over fifty pages on such a stiff subject as currency is rather a difficult task. However, we try to give below a brief outline of Sir James Wilson's paper, leaving our readers to refer to the original article for all details :—

Until 1893 the currency in India was based on silver, and the unit of currency and of values was the rupee, weighing 180 grains, about the 92 p. c. of the metal of which it is composed being silver and about 8 p. c. alloy. Until 1893 the coinage of silver into rupees at the Indian Mints was free, and it necessarily followed that the value of a bar of silver was nearly the same as that of an equal weight of rupees.

The currency of the United Kingdom on the other hand is based on gold, the unit being the sovereign which contains eleven-twelfths of pure gold and one-twelfth of alloy.

Now, in the case of the two countries intimately connected as England and India are, one using gold and the other silver, the course of trade and of all monetary transactions must be considerably affected by fluctuations in the relative value of gold and silver. Still more important must those fluctuations be to a State which owes a debt payable in gold, while its income is mainly in silver. It is, therefore, necessary to see what, in fact, have been the changes in the exchangeable value of gold and silver. The rate between gold and silver has changed from time to time. The change has been most rapid in the last 20 years. In 1890 an ounce of gold could purchase 19 ounces of silver. Now it can purchase about 38. This means that *in the last 20 years gold has doubled its value in relation to silver*. Now, this must either mean that gold has increased in value in relation to all other commodities, or that silver has fallen, or that both processes have taken place. The last seems to Sir James Wilson to be the right cause.

There has been an enormous increase in the supply of gold, the present stock being nearly double of what it was 60 years ago. It might, therefore, naturally be expected that it would become less valuable in relation to other commodities, and that general prices measured in gold would rise rapidly. But the contrary has been the case. In the last decade ending 1910, a given quantity of gold bought in England 37 p. c. more of commodities than it bought 40 years ago. That is, *measured in commodities, gold has appreciated in exchange by 37 p. c.*

The case of silver has however been otherwise. Its supply has also enormously increased, the production of the last year, which was a record year, being double what it was 25 years, and eight times

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what it was 60 years ago. Consequently and unlike that of gold its value has depreciated. In the last decade ending 1910 a given quantity of silver bought in England 58 p. c. less of commodities than it did 40 years ago. In other words, *measured in commodities, silver has depreciated in value by 38 p. c.*

Here the question arises, why, although the supply of both gold and silver has increased, the value of gold has appreciated while that of silver has depreciated. It can not be due to any increase in the relative production of silver in comparison with that of gold. For, during the last 400 years the production of these two commodities has been in the proportion of 16 ounces of silver to 1 of gold. For the last 16 years the proportion of production has been about 11 ounces to 1 and for the last decade, 10 to 1. So the falling off in the value of silver in relation to gold must be due to a smaller increase in the effective demand for silver as compared with the increase in the demand for gold.

Now, so long as the Indian mints were open, the rupee (weighting 180 grains) possessed about the same value as 180 grains weight of silver. The value of a rupee's weight of silver fell year by year from 23d. in 1861 to 13d. in 1893, the year in which the Mints were closed. This means that the rupee which was valued at about 23d. in 1861 came to be valued at about only 13d. in 1893.

This naturally caused grave anxiety among the Anglo-Indian Officers who had to remit money Home, unsettled the foreign trade, and led to enhancement of taxation for supplying the rapidly-increasing rupee-equivalent of the Home Charges which have in all cases to be paid in sterling.

When the Mints were closed in 1893, the exchange value of the rupee began to go up on account of the diminution in the supply of rupees due to the stoppage of coinage, although the gold price of silver began to fall since then.

Below will be found the effects, as conceived by Sir James Wilson, of the closing of the Indian Mints with our comments thereon:—

1. It has steadied the rate of exchange and dissociated the rupee coin from the variations that take place in the gold value of silver.

This appears doubtful. The ratio of £1 to Rs. 15 accepted by the Indian Government nearly broke down after 1906. But rapid and great fluctuations have no doubt been avoided.

2. The sea-borne trade of India—both exports and imports—as well as the internal trade—has prospered greatly since exchange was steadied by the closing of the mints and has increased more rapidly than it did before.

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As regards this, Sir James Wilson's dictum is not borne out by facts in every case. As for instance, the Indian cotton mills have been hardly hit by this measure. Their chief customer is China who pays in silver. Before the closing of the mints the Chinese dollars could be freely coined into rupees ; but now they have to be sold as bullion. This suddenly caused a loss of nearly 40 p.c. to the Indian Cotton Mills.

3. The poorest classes of the population have been saved from a disastrous fall in their real wages, in the amount of necessary food and clothing they could earn. Had the mints not been closed, and had the rupee gone on falling in exchangeable value, rupee prices of food-grains must, in accordance with the law of demand and supply, have risen much higher than they have. and past experience shows that rupee wages would not have risen in anything like the same proportion.

But Sir James has not noticed that the Indian peasants have incurred a serious loss from another direction. On account of the closing of the mints, the millions of men who had invested their savings in silver ornaments at once lost a large portion of their capital, because these could no longer be coined into rupees, but had to be sold at the market as mere bullion, the value of which was much less than that of coined silver.

4. The rapid increase of the rupee equivalent of the Home Charges and the consequent increase of taxation have been stopped. India has to pay England in gold something like 1 crore 80 lakhs of pounds as Home Charges. If silver had not fallen in value, these Home Charges would have required only 18 crores of Rupees. If the mints had not been closed, India would have to pay now a little above 43 crores of rupees a year for her Home charges. At present she actually pays 27 crores of rupees a year.

The value of this gain is to a certain extent detracted by the fact that on account of the artificial limitation of the number of rupees in circulation, the purchasing power of the rupee has a tendency to increase. Therefore, the taxes paid by the Indians today represent more commodities than formerly. In other words, the amount of taxation calculated in commodities has increased.

5. The benefit which the grain producers would have gained on account of the rise of prices had the rupee been allowed to go down to something like 100. has been curtailed.

6. The unjust benefit which the debtor was enjoying at the cost of the creditor has also been reduced. A debtor who had borrowed 100 rupees when the value of the rupee was high found

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it possible to pay off his debt with 100 rupees when the value of the rupee became reduced. This means that he could pay off his debt by the sale of a much smaller quantity of commodities than it represented when he borrowed the money.

But while the disability of the creditor has been removed, an additional burden has been placed on the shoulders of those debtors who contracted debts at the time of the free mints. The value of their debts would now increase as payment has now to be made in the artificially appreciated rupees.

After this, Sir James proceeds to examine the machinery by which the Government maintains the stability of exchange at about 1s. 4d. per rupee. It is easy to prevent the value of the rupee from rising much above that rate. This is done by making the sovereign legal tender in India at the rate of 15 rupees, by guaranteeing to give rupees at the Indian mints in exchange for gold at that rate, and by agreeing to sell in this country bills on India at 1s. 4½d. per rupee, entitling the purchaser to get rupees in India in exchange for gold paid in London. But the difficulty is to insure that the exchange value of the rupee shall not fall appreciably below 1s. 4d., as it might do if there were too many rupees in circulation and no arrangements were made for withdrawing the surplus. If the Government were in a position to guarantee that any one could at any time obtain a sovereign for 15 rupees, this danger would be obviated, but to carry out such a guarantee at all times would require the maintenance of a very large reserve of sovereigns, involving great cost; and experience has shown that India can absorb an enormous quantity of gold without using much of it as currency.

The real safe-guard for the maintenance of the gold value of the rupee is the restriction of the number of rupees in circulation to the number actually required by the trade of the country. That number varies with the condition of trade. When trade is brisk, a large number of rupees is required; when trade is slack, a small number is needed; and if the number actually in circulation is more than is required at the time, there is a danger that they might become relatively cheap, and that their change value would fall below 1s. 4d. Under present arrangements, Government is more or less at the mercy of the public as to the number of rupees to be put in circulation, for it stands legally responsible to give rupees in exchange for gold. The process is very profitable to the Government, which can buy at any time a shilling worth of silver and make a rupee of it of the value of 1s. 4d., thus making a profit of

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more than 4d. on each rupee coined. During the years 1900-1908 the Government had coined as many as 100 crores of rupees and made a profit of 18 million pounds. But it has decided not to spend these profits and to keep it under the name of *The Gold Reserve Fund* in order to meet the cost of converting rupees into gold, when in future silver would be demonetised. This fund now with interest amounts to 19 million pounds.

By this process the Government no doubt makes an enormous profit, as was the case in 1907-1908 ; it also involves a great deal of danger. Ordinarily the export trade of India exceeds the import trade by about 15 or 20 million pounds per annum. But in 1907-1908 the value of the exports exceeded the imports by only 3 million pounds, and in the next year by only 5 million pounds. The consequence of this shrinkage in the excess of exports over imports was that there was a much smaller demand in London for rupees payable in India, and at the same time the slackness of trade in India itself made the demand for rupees for ordinary circulation smaller ; there was, therefore, a redundancy of rupees, and the exchange value of the rupee fell considerably and threatened to give way rapidly. To prevent this not only did the Secretary of State stop selling Council drafts on India and thus retain large quantities of rupees in the Indian treasuries, but the Government of India began to sell gold in London in exchange for rupees in India. At the same time, people in India, finding they had more rupees than they wanted, sent as many of them as they could and took gold for them. In this way the situation was saved. Sir James therefore thinks that the Government can never be too careful about rupee circulation in India.

In conclusion, he makes the following suggestions concerning the currency system :—

1. As regards its currency policy, the Government of India should continue to make it its main object to maintain the rate of exchange as nearly as possible at fifteen rupees to the sovereign, and should be prepared to incur considerable expenditure in order to secure still further the stability of exchange in all circumstances.

2. It should not bind itself to give gold for rupees or for currency notes, or in any way restrict the extent to which rupees are legal tender in India.

3. When it has acquired a sufficient reserve in gold, it should cancel its offer to give rupees for gold at fifteen rupees to the sovereign, and retain full liberty of choice as to whether it will give

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gold or rupees in payment of currency notes or of Secretary of States's bills on India. It should maintain the system of double legal tender of either gold or silver to any amount, and take full advantage of it itself.

4. It should announce that, so long as it has at least 15 crores of rupees in its possession, it will not coin any new rupees.

5. It should endeavour to meet any desire there may be for small sums in sovereigns throughout the country, by issuing sovereigns on demand from all important treasuries, but only in small amounts at a time. It should also continue to supply notes, and rupees everywhere on demand, except for large amounts, but retain the power to pay gold or rupees according to its own convenience.

6. Should the amount of coined rupees in the possession of Government long remain at or below 15 crores, it should coin new rupees, but not more than 10 crores in any one year.

7. Arrangements should be made for coining sovereigns in India, and for the tentative issue of a ten-rupee gold coin.

8. The Gold Standard Reserve should be held entirely in gold, and mainly in India. It should be drawn upon only when there seems a danger of the rate of exchange falling appreciably below 1s. 4d.

9. £ 1,100,000 should be borrowed and paid back to the Gold Standard Reserve.

10. Unless the import of silver into India falls off seriously, the Customs duty on silver should be gradually enhanced so as to obtain from it the maximum revenue possible.

We reproduce below some of the more important tables with which Sir James Wilson's paper is embellished and which no economist in India can do without :

ABSORPTION OF GOLD IN INDIA (ANNUAL AVERAGE IN  
MILLIONS OF £ WORTH)

Periods of Ten Years	Net Import	Production	Absorption
1841-1850 ...	0.6	...	0.6
1851-1860 ...	2.1	..	2.1
1861-1870 ...	6.0	...	6.0
1871-1880 ...	1.4	..	1.4
1881-1890 ...	2.9	...	2.9
1891-1900 ...	1.8	1.0	2.8
1900-1910 ...	6.0	2.2	8.2
Total for seventy years	20.8	3.2	24.0

# INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

## ABSORPTION OF GOLD IN INDIA (*Contd.*)

Year ending March 31	Net Private Imports	Govt. Exports	Production	Absorption
1891	...	4'2	...	0'4
1892	...	1'6	...	0'5
1893	...	—1'8	...	0'6
1894	...	0'4	...	0'8
1895	...	—2'7	...	0'8
1896	...	1'4	...	1'1
1897	...	1'4	...	1'4
1898	...	3'2	...	1'5
1899	...	4'3	...	1'6
1900	...	6'3	...	1'8
1901	...	5'0	4'5	1'9
1902	...	3'3	2'0	1'9
1903	...	6'4	0'5	2'0
1904	...	10'9	4'3	2'3
1905	...	12'0	5'6	2'4
1906	...	6'3	6'0	2'4
1907	...	9'8	...	2'2
1908	...	11'5	...	2'1
1909	...	3'1	0'2	2'2
1910	...	14'5	...	2'2
1911	...	16'0	...	2'5
Average of Ten Years				
1891-1900	...	1'8	...	1'1
1901-1910	...	8'3	2'3	2'2

## ABSORPTION OF SILVER IN INDIA

### Average Annual Net Import

Period of ten years.	Millions of Ounces.	Average Annual Net Import
		Millions of £ Worth at Rate of Exchange of the Time.
1841-1850	...	6
1851-1860	...	25
1861-1870	...	39
1871-1880	...	20
1881-1890	...	28
1891-1900	...	35
1901-1910	...	72
Total for seventy years...	225	423

# THE INDIAN WORLD

## ABSORPTION OF SILVER IN INDIA—(Contd.)

Year ending March 31.	Millions of Ounces		
	Net Private Import.	Net Import by Govt.	Total Net Import
1901	10	40	50
1902	34	5	39
1903	44	0	44
1904	43	36	79
1905	38	36	74
1906	29	56	85
1907	35	83	118
1908	53	45	98
1909	74	...	74
1910	62	..	62
1911	56	...	56

## Import and Export of Gold and Silver into and out of India by the Government.

Year ending March 31.	Gold Exported.		Silver Imported.	
	Millions of £ worth.	Millions of Ounces.	Millions of £ worth.	
1901	4.5	40	5.4	
1902	2.0	5	0.6	
1903	0.5			
1904	4.3	36	4.1	
1905	5.6	36	4.3	
1906	6.0	56	7.1	
1907	...	83	11.5	
1908	...	45	6.3	
1909	0.2			
1910	...			
Total for ten years	23.1	301	39.3	

## COINED RUPEES HELD BY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, OUTSIDE TREASURY BALANCES, IN CRORES OF RUPEES.

On March 31.	In Currency Reserve.	In Gold Standard Reserve.	Tot	Treasury Balances in India.
1901	9	...	9	16
1902	11	...	11	18
1903	11	...	11	18
1904	11	...	11	18
1905	11	...	11	16
1906	14	...	14	18
1907	14	6	20	15
1908	25	6	31	19
1909	31	16	47	15
1910	30	3	33	18
1911	26	3	29	21

## INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

### Rupees and Small Silver Annually Coined in the Indian

#### Mints in Millions of Rupees.

Year ending March 31.	Value of Silver received into the Mint.	Value of New Silver Coined.	Old Govt. of India Coins Recoined.	Net Addition to Silver Currency.
Average of ten years				
1871-1880	58	57	1	56
1881-1890	64	64	4	60
1891	129	132	1	131
1892	65	66	2	54
1893	123	127	2	125
1894	44	48	2	46
1895	1	1	1	
1896	3	3	3	
1897	7	6	6	
1898	13	10	6	4
1899	6	7	3	4
1900	21	22	9	13
1901	152	173	3	170
1902	33	51	13	38
1903	111	114	81	33
1904	133	165	54	112
1905	98	114	36	78
1906	137	200	31	169
1907	212	261	27	234
1908	122	181	24	157
1909	29	29	29	
1910	22	22	22	
Average of Ten Years				
1891-1900	41	41	3	38
1901-1910	105	131	32	99

Price (including import only) of bar silver in Bombay in rupees per 100 tolas, compared with price on or about the same date in London in pence per ounce.

End of March.	Price in Bombay.		Price in London in pence per ounce.	Difference of price in pence per ounce.
	Rupees per 100 tolas.	Equivalent price in pence per ounce.		
1898	71	30.3	25.5	4.8
1899	74	31.6	27.5	4.1
1900	73	31.1	27.6	3.5
1901	75	32.0	27.8	4.2
1902	67	28.6	25.1	3.5
1903	60	25.6	22.8	2.8
1904	71	30.3	25.5	4.8
1905	72	30.7	25.8	4.9
1906	80	34.1	30.0	4.1
1907	84	35.8	30.6	5.2
1908	70	29.9	25.6	4.3
1909	63	26.9	23.2	3.7
1910	70	29.9	24.1	5.8
1911	72	30.7	24.3	6.4

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## Seaborne Imports and Exports, including Treasure and Govt. transactions (Figures in Millions)

Year ending March 31.	Imports.		Exports.	
	Rs.	£.	Rs.	£.
1870	469	46	535	52
1871	399	38	576	54
1872	437	42	647	63
1873	364	34	566	54
1874	396	36	569	83
1875	441	41	580	54
1876	442	40	603	54
1877	489	42	650	55
1878	588	51	674	58
1879	449	37	619	54
1880	528	44	692	58
1881	621	52	760	63
1882	640	50	831	69
1883	655	55	845	70
1884	682	57	892	74
1885	696	55	852	67
1886	711	53	850	64
1887	728	52	902	64
1888	788	56	921	65
1889	832	55	988	66
1890	867	60	1,054	72
1891	939	70	1,023	77
1892	842	60	1,115	80
1893	833	52	1,136	71
1894	955	58	1,106	67
1895	831	45	1,171	63
1896	863	49	1,186	67
1897	892	54	1,089	66
1898	942	60	1,048	67
1899	900	60	1,202	80
1900	960	64	1,170	78
1901	1,050	70	1,215	81
1902	1,095	73	1,365	91
1903	1,110	74	1,395	93
1904	1,305	87	1,680	112
1905	1,440	96	1,740	116
1906	1,440	96	1,770	118
1907	1,620	108	1,830	122
1908	1,785	119	1,830	122
1909	1,515	101	1,595	106
1910	1,602	107	1,944	130
1911	1,735	116	2,163	144

## A GOLD CURRENCY FOR INDIA

Seaborne Imports and Exports, including Treasure and  
Govt. transactions (Figures in Millions)

AVERAGE FOR PERIOD OF TEN YEARS

		Imports		Exports	
1871-1880	...	454	41	621	56
1881-1890	...	718	55	893	67
1891-1900	...	896	57	1,125	72
1901-1910	...	1,396	93	1,635	109

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## A GOLD CURRENCY FOR INDIA

It might be in the recollection of our readers that in the last Calcutta Session of the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir Vithaldas Thackersay suggested that the Indian mints should be opened for the coinage of 10-rupee gold pieces. It has been given out that during the current Simla season the Finance Department will take up the subject and consider the desirability of introducing a gold currency in India. Mr. S. K. Sarma opposes this idea in the pages of the July number of the *Hindusthan Review*. He says :—"The question is not easy of settlement and must be discussed from many points of view. The opening of a branch of the Royal mints at Bombay for the coinage of gold had reached even in the days of Sir Clinton Dawkins the stage of receiving royal assent, but somehow it has made no further progress, and the royal assent has been delayed. Whether it was due to the jealousy of the mint authorities in England as we have been recently told or whether it was the India Office that really vetoed the proposal, the wisdom of introducing gold currency into India has been much doubted. Even the Anglo-Indian mercantile community in whose interests primarily the mints were closed to the coinage of silver did not appreciate the wisdom of introducing a gold currency, however much they desired fixity of exchange. Almost all the Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce opposed the scheme.

\* These expressions of opinion must undoubtedly have an effect upon the policy of Government and unquestionably the abeyance of the scheme is in consonance with the all but unanimous opinion of the mercantile community. It is remarkable as illustrating the rapid development of public opinion in this country that although the Anglo-Indian mercantile community was opposed to the coinage of gold currency 10 years ago, and, we fancy, sticks to it still, Indian opinion should veer round in favour of it. Especially in Bombay, among a certain class of men, the feeling is strong that we should

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adopt a gold standard based upon gold currency and give up the present exchange standard which we are maintaining. Sir Vithaldas Thackersay thinks that 10-rupee gold coins would circulate among the people to an extent that will ensure the safe convertibility of rupees into sovereigns—for convertibility is the essence of the gold standard. Where the gold is to come from, whether it will be tendered for coinage by the people and whether instead of circulating it will not go to swell the hoards—these are questions which Sir V. Thackersay has not cared to discuss ; but they are the fundamental questions that have to be discussed and adequately solved if the attempt is not to end in disastrous failure.

Of £15,419,163 worth of gold imported last year, only £1,772,301 were sovereigns and other British coins ; the rest must evidently have been hoarded or cast into ornaments. The total circulation of rupees must be about 220 crores, and even if 25 per cent. of the sovereigns imported went into circulation, which is assuming too much, the gold currency could not have been more than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. Having regard to the habits of the people, it is safe to assume that ninety per cent. of the sovereigns imported went into the goldsmiths' crucible or were hoarded rather than that they swelled the volume of the currency.

It is this ingrained tendency that led both Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Probyn to recommend schemes for the introduction of the gold standard without a gold currency. Both of them were convinced that if gold were put into circulation, it would soon be drained away into the hoards and their schemes were calculated to secure the benefits of a gold standard by taking every precautionary step against introducing gold into the currency. He contemplated the opening of a gold reserve office in London and two offices in Bombay and Calcutta. The London Office was to start with a capital, raised by loan, of say ten millions, and it was to be authorised to sell to all applicants rupee drafts for sums of Rs. 15,000 and upwards in exchange for sterling money at the rate of rs. 4d. which were to be drawn on the two offices in Bombay and Calcutta. Likewise the Indian Gold Standard Offices were to sell to all applicants sterling drafts on the London Gold Standard Office, payable on demand, in sums of £1,000 and upwards, in exchange for rupees at the rate of rs. 3d. per rupee. All rupees received by the Indian Gold Standard Offices were to be held in those offices to meet the rupee drafts drawn by the London Gold Standard Office. All gold received by the Government were to be sent to the London Gold Standard Office.

## ***A GOLD CURRENCY FOR INDIA***

If the gold standard reserve should decrease at any time to "apprehension point," *i.e.*, show a likelihood of becoming exhausted, it would indicate that the rupee currency was seriously redundant, or, in other words, that there were too many rupees in circulation, and it would be the duty of Government to curtail the currency. They should melt a portion of the rupees, held in the Indian Gold Standard Offices, despatching the bullion to London for sale there for sterling money, which should go to strengthen the London gold standard reserve. Should these sales of silver prove to be insufficient to preserve the gold standard reserve from extinction, it would be necessary to strengthen the fund by borrowing further on a temporary footing. This in fact was the serious drawback of the Lindsay scheme, and the Government of India declared that this involved unlimited liability to pay gold in exchange for rupees. According to this scheme the Government would be buying at a higher price than they are worth the rupees which they should melt, and it might so happen that the gold in the London Gold Standard Office might be extinguished by the loss incurred in giving gold for rupees in the Indian offices.

Mr. Lindsay's scheme can only succeed when the condition of the circulation has already reached the point where the redundancy, in an inactive season, is reduced to a small amount. Whether it would have succeeded in 1898 may be doubted, but it stands to reason that if the large coinage that followed was calculated to meet a genuine demand for the rupees by the expansion of internal trade the scheme might have been given a trial. There was not much chance of the gold in London Office being exhausted by the inert rupees surfeiting the Indian Offices and embarrassing the authorities. Before the mints were closed we had a circulation of 120 crores, on the authority of Mr. F. C. Harrison, and we have added to it about 80 crores since then. The fact that the brisk coinage was rendered necessary shows two things, namely, that there were not many hoarded rupees, for they would have been tempted to come out, and that instead of the silver currency being redundant it was rather just enough to meet the demand. Sir Fleetwood Wilson is of opinion that it is incontestable that a large quantity of hitherto inert silver currency has been brought into use during the last year or so, and, if it is true—and some of us may well doubt if instead of inert rupees coming into circulation, it was not rather that an exaggerated and panic-stricken coinage was undertaken within the last decade—and if the process goes on to the extent that no inert mass is left in the land, Mr. Lindsay's scheme might be adopted without any

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necessity being left for unlimited liability, that is to say, if unlimited liability was its only serious defect.

But that was not the only or serious defect of the scheme in the eye of the Government of India, and some of the reasons put forth by them might be read to-day with amusement in the light of recent experiences. Sir James Westland, who was then Finance Minister, observed that the distinctive objection to the scheme lay in the fact that the conversion fund which receives and pays gold is located in England. Consistency is by no means the besetting sin of the Finance Department, and we find the Financial Secretary in 1910 defending warmly what the Finance Member had condemned in 1898.

That was not the only heresy which the Finance Department has given up. Sir James Westland was opposed to vesting the Government with a sensible degree of control of the volume of the rupee currency and the Lindsay scheme involved the Government coining new rupees from bullion bought with gold from the Gold Standard Office at their option. But now by closing the mints for the private coinage of silver and reserving the right to coin on their own account, Government have reserved to themselves the right to meddle with the volume of currency. And they have freely exercised the right forgetting the very sensible and sane principle which Sir James Westland has enunciated.

In their despatch of 3rd March, 1896, to the Secretary of State, the Government of India clearly stated that their decision was to withdraw silver as much as possible and force the sovereign into circulation.

But inspite of this attempt on the part of the Government of India it would be pertinent to enquire why it was that there was no response on the part of the yellow metal to flow freely into the country and back again as the vicissitudes of trade demanded. The only condition assumed as necessary for the automatic ebb and flow of gold was the restriction of the rupee circulation to an extent that would ensure the fixity of exchange at 16½, and that condition was satisfied at that time. Not only did exchange stand high, but the trade found considerable stringency in the money market and protested very strongly against any attempt at melting down the rupees. An attempt was also made by the Government in 1900 to get a million and a quarter sovereigns circulated, but they all came back to the Treasuries and the banks, and the people did not take them. Having regard to the well known disposition of the people to hoard gold, that a million and a quarter sovereigns could not be made to

## ***A GOLD CURRENCY FOR INDIA***

serve the purpose of money, must give ample food for reflection. It was apparently not before the Government of India had made every effort to introduce gold that they commenced the era of brisk coinage to meet the demands of trade. If the gold standard were our destiny, Mr. Lindsay and those who thought with him that a goldless gold standard was the best for the country were evidently in the right.

How, under the circumstances, Sir Vithaldas Thackersay thinks that ten-rupee gold pieces will circulate passes our understanding. The attempt made ten years ago has ended in failure, and in spite of all the favourable circumstances for the ebb and flow of gold, in spite of the Government of India's resolution not to permit addition to the rupee currency, but get gold into circulation, gold did not come and rupees had to be coined. Are we better situated now to renew the experiment than we were ten years ago? No doubt there has been a heavy import of gold during the year and the import goes on merrily enough. This is accounted for by Sir Fleetwood Wilson by a change in the savings of the people. They are saving in gold while they were saving in rupees before.

## REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

### M. K. GANDHI

[1. *M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa.*—By Rev. Joseph J. Doke with an Introduction by Lord Ampthill. Published by the London Indian Chronical 1909.

2. *M. K. Gandhi, and the South African Struggle.*—By Dr. P. J. Mehta, Bar-at-Law, Rangoon. Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1911.]

We believe it was Mr. Gokhale who on one occasion described Mr. Gandhi as “a man amongst men, a hero amongst heroes, and a patriot amongst patriots.” Of such a man, any account, however small, is welcome. The brochure published recently by that enterprising firm, Messrs. Natesan & Co., of Madras is by no means a biography in any sense of the term, but is only a dissertation mentioning a few of the incidents of Mr. Gandhi's life. For a systematic account of Mr. Gandhi's life, character, and views we shall refer our readers to that most fascinating booklet which the Rev. J. G. Doke has placed before the public.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that some time ago Reuter supplied us with the following information :—

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter's representative, stated that the settlement contemplated the introduction at the next session of legislation repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907 and restoring legal equality as regards immigration. As a set-off to the suspension of passive resistance the Government recognises the right of passive resisters, numbering ten, to enter the Transvaal by virtue of their education, and reinstates the passive resisters who formerly had rights of residence. Government is also releasing the imprisoned passive resisters immediately and pardoning Mrs. Sodha.

Mr. Louis Botha, interviewed by Reuter's representative, gave details of the Agreement settling the Asiatic trouble and said he was greatly gratified thereby. He was sure Indians would do their part to help the Government to make things as pleasant as possible for them. He fully assured them that the Government entertained no hostility towards them, always remembering that they had determined not to admit any more, except as provided in the Agreement. He hoped Indians both in Africa and India would realise the great difficulty Mr. Smuts had in obtaining the concessions he had already made.

It will be seen from the above that the self-sacrificing labours and struggle of Mr. Gandhi and his brave colleagues have partially borne fruit and the one perennial source of irritation and indignity is to be removed at last. That a handful of Indians, residing in a foreign land, far away from their hearth and home and under hundred disabilities and disadvantages, have been able to force such an unsympathetic and even hostile—we beg

pardon of Mr. Botha—Government to recognise their rights and grant concession to them, show how noble and brave a stand the Transvaal Indians have been able to make so far. It also shows that after all physical force, however great, is not always capable of offering permanent resistance to the soul-force of even a few individuals, if the fight be in the cause of truth and justice. To understand the secret of success which the Transvaal Indians have been able to achieve against so many odds it is necessary first to understand the spirit in which the fight was undertaken. The following words of Mr. Gandhi will give us an insight into it :—

"No matter what may be said, I will always repeat that it is a struggle for religious liberty. By religion, I do not mean formal religion, but that religion which underlies all religions, which brings us face to face with our Maker. If you cease to be men, if, on taking a deliberate vow, you break that vow, in order that you may remain in the Transvaal without physical inconvenience, you undoubtedly forsake God. To repeat again the words of the Jew of Nazareth, those who would follow God have to leave the world, and I call upon my countrymen, in this particular instance, to leave the world and cling to God, as a child clings to its mother's breast."

Noble words these ; but nobler the man who never once neglected to act up to their spirit throughout the agitation ! "I am nothing, I am willing to die at any time, or to do anything for the cause," said Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Doke ; and this *anything* he actually did when he not only voluntarily courted the prison cells again and again, but also allowed his two sons to go to jail and sacrificed his little all for the sake of the cause.

Indeed, it is the transparent honesty and whole-hearted devotion of the leader of the agitation which has done much to bring it to a successful conclusion. Passive Resistance requires so much courage, determination and self-restraint on the part of each one of the community that it is neither an easy nor a safe thing to stick to it. It taxes the patience of the members to such an extent on the one hand and demands so much sacrifice from them on the other, that there is every moment a fear that the rank and file may ruin the cause either by breaking up into active resistance or by forsaking the struggle.

For a morally insufficient leader to lead such an agitation is an impossible task. The leader of such a movement must be above suspicion and above the ordinary run of men. He must be prepared to stake all and to lose all. By his character, capacity and intelligence he must be able to receive unstinted homage of

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his followers. And when we find that the Indian vegetable-sellers, fruit-sellers and hawkers in the Transvaal entered into the spirit of the campaign with as great self-sacrifice and devotion as any body of men in the world, when we find a common ignorant man of the street speaking smilingly in broken English, "if Mr. Gandhi say go to prison, we go," can we doubt that the personality of their great leader has not been the supreme force in all this ?

A more wavering, hesitating man in his position might have ruined himself and the cause as well. But it was fortunate that Mr. Gandhi was a passive resister not from policy, but from principle. What is miscalled Passive Resistance is a part and parcel of his life and religion. He explains his creed in the following words :—

"Passive resistance was a misnomer. But the expression had been accepted as it was popular, and had been for a long time used by those who carried out in practice the idea denoted by the term. The idea was more completely and better expressed by the term "soul-force." As such it was as old as the human race. Active resistance was better expressed by the term "body-force." Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or soul-force. All these teachers counted their bodies as nothing in comparison to their soul. Tolstoi was the best and brightest (modern) exponent of the doctrine. He not only expounded it, but lived according to it. In India the doctrine was understood and commonly practised, long before it came into vogue in Europe. It was easy to see that soul-force was infinitely superior to body-force. If people, in order to secure redress of wrongs, resorted to soul-force, much of the present suffering would be avoided. In any case, the wielding of this force never caused suffering to others. So that, whenever it was misused, it only injured the users, and not those against whom it was used ; like virtue, it was its own reward. There was no such thing as failure in the use of this kind of force. "Resist not evil" meant that evil was not to be repelled by evil, but by good ; in other words, physical force was to be opposed not by its like but by soul-force. The same idea was expressed in Indian philosophy by the expression "freedom from injury to every living thing." The exercise of this doctrine involved physical suffering on the part of those who practised it. But it was a known fact that the sum of such suffering was greater rather than less in the world. That being so, all that was necessary, for those who recognised the immeasurable power of soul-force, was consciously and deliberately

to accept physical suffering as their lot, and, when this was done, the very suffering became a source of joy to the sufferer. It was quite plain that passive resistance, thus understood, was infinitely superior to physical force, and that it required greater courage than the latter. . . . The only condition of a successful use of this force was a recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body, and its permanent and superior nature. And this recognition must amount to a living faith, and not a mere intellectual grasp."

As Rev. Doke says, the idea of Passive Resistance as a means of opposing evil is inherent in Indian philosophy. In old time it was called "to sit *dhurna*." Sometimes a whole community would adopt this method towards their prince. Bishop Heber wrote of it many years ago in his *Journal*.

"To sit *dhurna*, or mourning, is to remain motionless in that posture, without food, and exposed to the weather, till the person against whom it is employed consents to the request offered, and the Hindus believe that whoever dies under such a process becomes a tormenting spirit to haunt and afflict his inflexible antagonist."

So early as a child, Mr. Gandhi caught this idea from a Gujarati verse which purported to say:—"If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing. Real beauty consists in doing good against evil." Then came the lesson of the famous "Sermon on the Mount," which awakened him to the rightness and value of Passive Resistance. He says—

"When I read in the 'Sermon on the Mount' such passages as 'Resist not him that is evil but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven,' I was simply overjoyed, and found my own opinion where I least expected it. The *Bhagavad Gita* deepened the impression, and Tolstoi's 'The kingdom of God is within you' gave it a permanent form."

As may be imagined from the seed-thought planted by the Gujarati verse, Mr. Gandhi's ideal is not so much to resist evil passively; it has its active complement—to do good in reply to evil. Mr. Gandhi's great principle in life<sup>2</sup> has been to conquer 'hatred by love', and as Dr. Mehta says, he is probably the only one among living men who is able to practise this doctrine to the very letter. One instance, narrated by Rev. Doke who was an eye witness of the scene, will show how far he has been able to carry

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his principle into practice. On one occasion the Pathans had attacked him, striking him down and beating him with savage brutality. When he recovered consciousness he was lying in an office near by to which he had been carried. He was helpless and bleeding, the doctor was cleansing his wounds, the police officers watching and listening beside him, while he was using what little strength he had to insist that no action should be taken to punish his would-be murderers. "They thought they were doing right," he said, "and I have no desire to prosecute them." They were punished, but Mr. Gandhi took no part in it.

Truthfulness, fearlessness, selflessness, dogged determination,—these are some of the attributes which according to Mr. Gandhi are essential requisites for the service of one's mother land. Those men alone who possess these virtues can make ideal passive resisters.

Mr. Gandhi always acts up to the above principles and inculcates them upon those who come in contact with him. He manages to live on 15 rupees a month in the Transvaal where everything is expensive. In such a cold climate as that of Johannesburg, he takes too purely vegetarian meals, and takes no other beverage than pure water or milk. He usually takes his first meal at about one or half-past one in the afternoon. It consists mostly of fruits and nuts. The second meal comes off at about seven in the evening, and as a rule it is of his own cooking. He has given up drinking tea, coffee, cocoa, etc., as these articles are mostly prepared with the help of indentured labour. He generally performs his own domestic services, such as cleaning cooking-utensils, sweeping the house, making up his bed, etc. In these matters also he acts on the principle of equality for all and would not allow any one to render him such services as could be rendered for him by himself. His dietary is very simple, as a rule, consisting only of bread, vegetables and fruits, and he never allows himself anything that is not absolutely wanted for the preservation of health. In his younger days, he made various experiments on his person to find out the bare minimum required to keep the body and soul together, and ultimately he has hit upon this dietary. He believes that by meeting the bare necessities of life, the soul is better purified. In the bitterest cold he bathes in cold water and sleeps in the open verandah. Money has little charm for him. Rev. Doke says that his compatriots wonder at him and sometimes grow angry at his strange unselfishness. They say, "He will take nothing. The money we gave him when he went as our deputy to England he brought back to us again. The presents we made him in

Natal, he handed over to our public funds. He is poor because he *will be* poor." With all these virtues no wonder that his followers will love him with the love of pride and trust.

Neither is it strange that with such a leader at their head the Indian passive resisters in the Transval should render a good account of themselves in the fight in which they were lately engaged. Indeed, India may well be proud of her sons in South Africa. We have no room to record all the sufferings and hardships they gladly and voluntarily underwent for the sake of their conscience. For all these we shall ask our readers to refer to the pamphlet, *The Tragedy of the Empire*, brought out in 1909 by that noble-hearted Englishman, Mr. Polak. To put the whole thing briefly, it is calculated that, from the beginning of January, 1908, until the end of June, 1909, a period of 18 months, no less than 2,500 sentences of imprisonment, varying from three days to six months, have been imposed upon Indian settlers by the Transvaal Courts. The vast majority of these punishment have been with hard labour. Many men have been to gaol again and again, some as many as half-a-dozen times. They include boys of 16 and old men of over 60. They embrace the sick and the whole.

Very many men have been ruined in the struggle. Mr. A. M. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal and a well-known and highly-respected merchant, and Mr. Dawood Mahomed, the president of the Natal Indian Congress, and other leaders of their respective communities placed duty before everything else and have sacrificed all their material interests. While they were in jail their European creditors—most of the Indian business is financed by them—on failing to induce them to give up the struggle, pressed them for payment of their debts. Under the circumstances in which they were placed, they could not meet their demands. The result of it all was that their businesses were gone. They are now leading the lives of extreme privation.

Women as well as boys and girls have contributed their quota to the struggle in the Transvaal. Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha, the wife of Mr. Sodha, one of the staunchest passive resisters, dared to cross the frontier and was arrested at Volkstrust. Many poor and less prominent men have lost their all. Hawkers were arrested on their rounds, their produce were confiscated, and its value lost to them ; they have been prevented from collecting outstanding debts, and when released from gaol, after serving their sentences, it was

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impossible to find their debtors, or if found, too costly to compel them to pay.

A noble record this and truly, as *The Times of India* said not long ago, the Indian nation is being hammered out in South Africa !

In this struggle Mr. Gandhi has borne his full share of his sacrifice—perhaps more than his share. He had been thrice to jail, every time with hard labour.

As Mr. Doke says, " Mr. Gandhi is a dreamer. He dreams of an Indian community in South Africa, welded together by common interests and common ideals, educated, moral, worthy of that ancient civilization to which it is heir. This is the dream. His ambition is to make it a reality, or die in the attempt." It is for the advancement of this cause that he has founded a small colony of Indians called the Phoenix.

Mr. Gandhi also realised the necessity of some medium of constant intercourse with Indians throughout the South African colonies, and after mature thought a weekly organ was launched. " Indian Opinion " has done very fine service to the Indian community. Undoubtedly Passive Resistance would have been impossible without it. But it has never paid its way. During the first twelve months he had to supply about 30 thousand rupees from his own pocket. Even then the deficit was so large that it became necessary for Mr. Gandhi either to close the venture or to assume the entire charge himself. He decided on the latter course, and has borne the responsibility ever since.

Mr. Gandhi's religious views, and his place in the theological world, have been a subject of much discussion. A newspaper described him once as a " Christian Mohammedan "—an extraordinary mixture indeed. Some think that he is a Buddhist. Others imagine that he worships idols. Not a few believe him to be a Theosophist. But according to Rev. Doke his views " are too closely allied to Christianity to be entirely Hindu, and too deeply saturated with Hinduism to be called Christian, while his sympathies are so wide and catholic, that one would imagine he has reached a point where the formulæ of sects are meaningless." His conviction is that old Hinduism, the Hinduism of the earliest records, was a pure faith, free from idolatry ; that the spiritual faith of India has been corrupted by materialism, and because of this she has lost her place in the van of the nations. " I question," says Mr. Doke, " whether any religious creed would be large enough to express his views, or any Church system ample enough to shut him in. Jew and Christian, Hindu, Mahammedan, Parsi, Buddhist

Confucian all have their places in his heart, as children of the same Father."

This breadth of sympathy is, indeed, a striking note of the Passive Resistance movement. It has bound together all sections of the Indian Community.

To Mr. Gandhi, religion is an intensely practical thing. It underlies all action. Politics, morals, commerce, all that has to do with conscience are a part and parcel of his religion.

Such is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi—the unflinching worker in the cause of progress and the hero, not of hundred platforms but of thousand sacrifices.

All honour to such a man and welcome to any publication which contains even a fragmentary notice of such a life !

# ARTICLES

## IMPERIAL RULE IN INDIA

The consolidation of tribes into small states and of small states into large ones and ultimately into great empires is regarded as the characteristic of the political and social evolution of the world. India has seen the working out of such an evolution in all its different phases and today finds the development of the final stage in the imperial rule of Britain. Though numerous empires have been from time immemorial founded in our country, that of the British is unique in several respects and offers many interesting suggestions to the philosophic historian and to those observers who study the future with the help of the past. Although there are some points of similarity between the Indian empires of the past and the Indian Empire of the British, there are singular points of difference which make the two things look so unlike each other. A profitable comparison may also be instituted between this empire and the empires of Rome and Alexander. Such a study will help us in understanding clearly the nature of imperialism in general and the part it has played in shaping the destinies of mankind.

Never before in Indian history did an empire include the whole of this country with the adjoining island of Ceylon ; never before did India attain complete political unity. So that in point of mere extent the British Empire is larger than any other established in the land. Leaving for the present out of account the mythical empires of the famous six emperors, we find the Mauryan rulers to be the first of those that made a serious and successful attempt to bring all India under one sway. But even in the time of Asoka, when the empire reached the zenith of its power and prosperity, the southern portion of the peninsula and the island of Ceylon remained independent. So also was the case under Chandragupta II (Vikramaditya), the founder of the second great empire. Under Harsha in the 6th century, only the country north of the Vindhya was conquered, while that to the south was ruled by his famous contemporary Pulikesin II, the greatest of the Chalukyan rulers. So it is clear that none of the historic empires of ancient India ever succeeded in getting the whole country to be organised into one body-politic.

## *IMPERIAL RULE IN INDIA*

The Rajput empires of Delhi and Kanouj made similar attempts but only in vain. Even under the Mohammedan rule, for a very long time, the Rajputs in the north, the Bhamini kingdoms in the centre, and the kingdom of Vijayanagar in the south remained independent of the imperial authority, and it was only under Aurangazeb that the Sultan held sway over the whole land. Even then the extreme south was conquered only in name. The Maharatta empire was confined to the centre and the west, while the Sikhs did not go far beyond the Punjab. It was, therefore, left to the diplomacy and the military skill of the British to conquer the whole and establish the first real Indian Empire. The results of this political unity will be referred to below.

The work of unifying the diverse races inhabiting India and of completely merging the separate principalities and kingdoms in one great empire was a thing not appreciated and, therefore, not generally carried out by the empires in the past. Every king in those ages regarded it a pious and honourable duty to extend his power over the whole land, and perform a Rajasuya or an Aswamedha sacrifice. Armies were sent, the submission of the neighbouring princes received, and tribute obtained from them at the time of the ceremony ; but more often than not were the princes and their dynasties overthrown from power and their kingdoms converted into mere provinces. An empire in ancient India generally consisted of a number of small kingdoms, ruled by their own hereditary monarchs, with their own armies, laws and methods of taxation, and paying only a nominal tribute to the imperial sovereign and obeying his mandates only through fear of force. This seems to have been the fundamental weakness of the empires in those days ; and this also explains why they declined and fell so rapidly. When by death the mailed fist of the strong ruler—the founder of the empire was removed, the conquered princes awaiting for an opportunity revolted, for they had their own standing armies and they could depend upon the loyalty of their subjects. The people, guided by custom and tradition, were more loyal to the local prince than to the emperor living at a long distance. In fact, though the conquest of the whole country was very frequently carried on, consolidation, which is always a more difficult task, was never attempted. The central authority was always weak. There was no independent machinery of Imperial administration which could go on working even in the absence of a strong man at the helm of affairs. Those empires were more like loose federations without

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the federal idea before them. They resembled the Holy Roman Empire of the middle ages.

Attempts and very successful ones were made by the Mughal emperors at consolidation by destroying the influence of local monarchs and overthrowing their dynasties, and by converting their kingdoms into mere provinces and by appointing to rule over them governors who were direct servants of the emperor. The power granted to the governors was immense. In central India, in Rajputana, in the Deccan and the south and in the Maharatta country, kings still remained and ruled and when the imperial grip was a little bit relaxed, they formed by themselves the centres of local revolt and rebellion.

So that the perfection of the machine of imperial administration was left to be achieved only under the British rule. The whole country has not only been conquered and politically united, but as a result of the overthrow of lesser chieftains the people now-a-days recognise their rulers not as heretofore in a king of Bengal or a king of Gujrat but in the Suzerain power. The army and the navy, the collection of revenue and its expenditure, are under the complete control of the central authority ; and there is no danger of any governors becoming independent with their own armies and their own courts as frequently happened in the Mughal empire. But then, it may be said that there are still many native states ruled by feudatory princes with a large amount of sovereign authority accorded to them. However, when we understand how powerless they are in themselves, how in their policy they are guided by the resident advisers, and how they are deprived of armies and of status in international affairs, it may be said that they represent a form of landed aristocracy as the peers of the realm do in England ; and if this comparison appears to be rather painful and demeaning, they may be said to resemble the kings of Bavaria, Saxony, etc., in the modern German Empire with little power to do harm to the central authority though with great opportunities to do good to their own subjects. So taking all these into consideration, we may conclude that in point of efficiency of administration and of the strength of central authority, the imperial rule in India at the present day surpasses that of all the empires in the past, Hindu or Moslem. Not only has political unity been achieved but all elements of permanency are being given to it.

The result of this complete effacement from the map of India of all independent kingdoms, of this recognition by the people of the country that their rulers are the British and the British alone, and

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that their interests are bound up with the permanency of the British rule, is of very great significance to the future of the country and her people. Though they are divided by differences of language, of custom and of religious creeds, yet since they have common interests to fight for, they realise today that they all form the members of a single nationality and that they should direct their attention and their efforts towards national advancement. The political unification of the people, the spread of common laws, the existence of common courts of justice and similar political circumstances have given birth to an Indian nationality. Full scope has been given to the process of nation-making in India and we may now say that it is nearing completion.

From another point of view the imperial rule in India at the present day seems to offer us advantages which were not dreamt of by our ancestors under the Mughal or the Hindu Empires. The British empire is a democratic empire. The ancient empires were all of them monarchical in character. In fact, the concept of empire was bound up with monarchy and could not exist without this particular form of government. However, in this age of ours there are existing side by side the universal phenomena of empire-building and the progress of democracy. Not only this. The work of empire-building is still being carried on by nations which are most democratic in character. England is in the forefront of these nations ; and the United States is following her close. Russia may at first sight appear to be an exception but that is not really the case. For have we not seen how the thirst for empire reacted on the central Government during the last five years and how she is also becoming democratic ? So that in future with the advancement of humanitarian ideals, of ideals of liberty and of equality, the work of empire-building would not cease but democracy would make immense progress. The political evolution of the world requires federalism of a comprehensive sort or federal-empires. The precedent set by the British empire in regard to her self-governing colonies is likely to be widely followed. And empires in which the central government confines itself to the discharge of the most essential functions, while allowing a large amount of freedom to the component parts to work out their own laws and forms of justice—that will become the rule in the future. With the progressive enlightenment of the masses in every country, no other form of government could last.

Whatever may be the result of the controversy as regards the existence of popular government in ancient India, it is quite

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certain that democratic and representative government as we understand at the present day and on the scale it exists in western countries was unknown to our ancestors. Sovereign assemblies, deliberative as well as executive, with full freedom of discussion did not exist in old-world States. We have therefore to agree that both the theory and the practice of popular government are being learnt by us from the West. The British nation loves democracy and worships liberty. It granted democracy and liberty to the self-governing colonies of the empire. And there is a public opinion growing in extent and influence that democracy is not the peculiar birth-right of western nations but the Oriental nations also are fitted to enjoy it. Up till now India was denied a share of the political privileges granted to the other component parts of the empire. But the fact of the establishment of legislative councils, of their enlargement recently, and of the recognition of the claims of political bodies like the Congress by the Government, coupled with the promises made by three successive sovereigns of England and many of her leading statesmen, reveal to us a condition of the British mind willing to grant us a large measure of liberty and freedom when as we deserve time comes. The empire cannot remain democratic in one part and autocratic in another, for this would lead, as in the ancient Roman Empire, to the establishment of autocracy throughout or to the disruption of the empire itself. From the present state of affairs both these alternatives seem to be improbable. The empire will continue to exist, but the constitution is bound to change. When the change comes, India is sure to enjoy the liberty which is now the monopoly of the self-governing colonies.

This is a point of dissimilarity between modern imperial rule in India and the imperial rule of the past.

The empire of the British is foreign to us in a sense in which the Mughal and the Afghan empires were not ; and the benefit we derive from the British rule is to a large extent due to its continuing to remain foreign. The Mohammedan empires were so only in their origin. And when once they were established, the Mohammedans became naturalised in India, made it their home, and imbibed all the elements of Hindu culture, so that after a time the empire may be said to have become indigenous. There was much Rajput blood in the Mughal emperors, and Hindu blood in the other Mohammedan princes ; for the former married Rajput wives, and many among the latter were converts from Hinduism. Therefore the Mahommedan empires were Indianised sooner or

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later. The political ideals and the nature of the administration of the Mohammedan empire differed very little from those of the Hindus.

Another point to be noticed in this connection is that the effects produced by Mahommedan rule in India were neither very remarkable nor very widespread. But for the Saracenic architecture, the growth of the Urdu language, and the rise of a number of religious reformers, it may be said that that this rule has left no trace of its existence in this country. This is the opinion of one great historian of mediæval India. One of the causes for this meagre influence exercised by the Mohammedans appears to be the absence of a continuous flow, into the midst of the people and into the country, of those Moslems receiving inspiration directly from Iran, Arabia and Turkey,—the seats of muslim civilisation. Fresh currents of Islamic culture were not to be had, and the old ones were so much mixed up with Indian culture that they could not influence the people very much. It will thus be seen that though in origin the Mahommedan empires were foreign, they did not continue to be so for a long time.

That is not the case with regard to the English in India. Those who come here stay here only for a short time. They do not want to make India their home. They are the latest products of European civilisation; they come here after receiving their education from the great masters of learning in the British universities; and by their frequent visits to their motherland they always remain in touch with the great movements—political and social—of Europe. They are, therefore, representatives in our country of a culture foreign to us and one which continues to be foreign. Those who come into contact with us—whether they be few or many—whether they are officials, missionaries or merchants—possess fresh vigour and energy and, therefore, are best fitted to influence us, and it is, as we all know, the influence of these that we are feeling every day in our universities, our industrial concerns and in our every-day life. It is in this sense that the British Empire continues to be foreign. Here it is that it differs materially from the Mahommedan empires.

If we begin to study the deeper effects produced by the imperial rule of Britain in India, we find that they closely resemble those results that were the outcome of the conquests of Alexander and the foundation of an empire by him. Alexander conquered a territory which had developed a very high type of civilisation; the British also found India famous from time immemorial for its culture. In the empire of Alexander the influence of Greece was

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spread far and wide. In the Museum of Alexandria, in the schools of Antioch, in the palace of the Parthian emperors, in the far distant kingdom of Bactria, Greek art and literature exercised a profound influence. The ideals of the east were modified by contact with the west ; the cities of Alexander became centres of popular government ; the construction of roads and the opening of the highways of commerce made of western Asia a political and commercial unit. Out of this intermixture of civilisations and ideals rose a religion, an art, and a philosophy which was the pride of the ancients in the early centuries of the Roman Empire.

Have we not as the outcome of the British Empire similar results in India ? What activity is there at the present day which cannot be directly or indirectly traced to the influence of British rule and to our continued contact with that vigorous race ?

During the last fifty years western culture has been spreading throughout the land ; and one great change that was produced by this is a correct conception of what progress means. For a long time we were in the habit of regarding ours as the best of lands. A sort of philosophic contentment and a sentimental love of the *status quo*—these were the ruling characteristics of our people. The progress of the individual and of the race in all directions and even the thought of it was repugnant. Ours then was an ideal of resignation. But now having come under the influence of western culture, we have learnt to look at things with a deeper insight. Under the spell of modern civilisation with its various forms of activity and material progress we have also begun to admire ideals of progress, of citizenship, and of artistic creation. A cry has arisen everywhere that there is a need of reform in social relations, in religion, in morals, and in every branch of human activity. It may be that the masses are still blind to these new forces, but in the new leaders of the people and in their every-day life they are quite visible. " Throw off lethargy, work hard and be energetic, for progress requires all this "—this is the guiding principle of the time.

Again it is our continued contact with a highly efficient industrial civilisation that has given rise to so many economic problems. We have begun to understand the close connection existing between moral progress and material prosperity. We realise now that our poverty has a great deal to do with our backward condition in many directions. Every Indian statesman and publicist is now engaged in solving these important problems of protection, industrial organisation, currency and so on.

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It now becomes clear to us what the nature of modern imperialism is, and how many new problems are the outcome of it. It essentially differs from the imperialism of the past. The British rule has thus a claim to our everlasting gratitude for having given birth to these problems of nationality, democracy, industrial progress, etc. How it could lay claim to a higher title if it only extended its sympathy and help to the solution of Indian problems by the Indian people in the best interests of India herself.

M. Venkatarangaiya

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Money was in use in India in the very earliest times of which we have record. At the very dawn of history we find the Indian people already well advanced in civilisation. They were at the time actually entering upon what is called the manufacturing and commercial stage. Such a state of society implies exchange, and exchange implies the use of money.

The great antiquity of Indian money is proved from various sources, the chief amongst which are (a) the most ancient accounts of the population and condition of society in India ; (b) the Vedic writings ; (c) the code of Manu ; (d) the Buddhist works ; (e) numismatic and other archaeological remains ; and (f) comparative philology.\* It is believed that the standard of money was essentially and permanently of copper, but gold and silver† coins were used as adjuncts to or multipliers for the copper coins. The sovereigns of India did not claim or enforce the prerogative of coining gold or silver. Various other substances, such as clay, lacquer and shells (cowries) were also used for exchange.

During the Mahomedan rule a reform of the currency was undertaken, and attempts were made to make silver the standard of money. At the same time the rulers prohibited the coining of gold or silver by private persons. Mahomed Tughlak entertained a new scheme of finance, in pursuance of which he at first debased the silver coins and ultimately issued copper pieces, which were to circulate at the nominal value of silver coins.‡ But this bold scheme, which was a notable and instructive monetary experiment, failed. The discovery of America and increased commercial re-

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\* Del Mar, *History of Money*, p. 58.

† Historians believe that silver was in the earliest period more valuable than gold.

‡ This experiment was really a forerunner of the modern system of paper money.

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lations with Europe led to an influx of silver into India in exchange for spices and gold ; and Akbar the Great once more adopted silver as his standard, but his scheme did not wholly succeed.

During the Mahomedan rule coins were struck at various places, and they were of different weights. In the seventeenth century the East India Company also began to coin coins for use in their factories. As soon as the Company became the virtual rulers of the country they formed the idea of making the currency uniform. This, however, was realised by gradual steps. The first step that was taken was to replace the old miscellaneous coinage by four denominations of rupees and fewer kinds of gold coins. In 1835 a uniform currency was introduced for the whole of British India. The rupee, which weighed 180 grains and contained 165 grains of pure silver, was made the standard coin. Smaller silver pieces of the same standard were also coined.

India was thus at this time a silver-standard country.\* Silver was received in the Indian mints without limit when tendered for coinage. Consequently, the value of the rupee in gold depended on the gold price of the silver bullion. The discovery of new silver mines and the demonetisation of silver by many civilised countries caused a heavy fall in the value of silver. Between 1871 and 1893 the exchange value of the rupee fell almost continuously, and the Government apprehended a further fall. The rate fell from 2s. in 1871 to 1s. 3d. in 1892. Although for internal purposes it did not matter much, yet in the trade relations of India with gold-standard countries it produced very bad results. The violent oscillations in the rate of exchange upset trade conditions and hindered the development of India by foreign capital. Besides, the Government of India suffered great loss in making remittances to meet its obligations in England. The number of rupees required for defraying the sterling expenditure in England increased with each fall in the exchange rate of the rupee. The Government had also to pay compensation allowances to the British officials to make good the loss which they suffered. All this rendered necessary a considerable increase of taxation. The violent fluctuations in the value of the rupee made the preparation of the Budget an exceedingly difficult task. In view of this embarrassment, the Government tried for a number of years to promote a system of international bimetallism. But when their

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\* In the eighteenth century the East India Company first adopted the gold standard, but in 1793 the standard was changed from gold to silver, which latter metal remained the monetary basis until the closing years of the last century.

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efforts became ineffectual they appointed, in 1892, a committee, under the presidency of Lord Herschell, to consider and report on the matter. In accordance with the recommendations of the committee, it was decided, in 1893, to close the mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver; but the right was given to the public of demanding from the Government rupees in exchange for gold at the rate of 15 rupees for £1 without limit of amount. The exchange value of the rupee thus ceased to coincide with the price of silver, and was artificially fixed at 1s. 4d. Silver ceased to be the standard of value, though it continued to be used as the chief material of currency.

In 1898 another committee was appointed, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Fowler (afterwards Lord Wolverhampton). The Fowler Committee reported in 1899.\* They were in favor of a gold standard, and they recommended that the decision reached on the recommendations of the Herschell Committee should be maintained, and that the English sovereign should be declared legal tender in India at the rate of one sovereign to 15 rupees. Their recommendations were accepted by the Government. The rupee, however, continued to be legal tender to an unlimited amount. The intention of the Government was to introduce the gold standard, and many people thought they were actually introducing it. What the Government really adopted, however, was what may be called the gold-exchange standard.† Gold is not used by the people for ordinary transactions—it does not circulate to any considerable extent in the form of coins.‡ The bulk of the metallic currency consists of coins which circulate at an artificial value far greater than their intrinsic value. The Government makes this currency exchangeable with gold in the international money market.

The immediate object of the closure of the mints was to raise the value of the rupee by restricting the supply. In 1893 the rupee stood at 1s. 2½d. The Government set itself to the task of raising it by 1s.6d. In this, however, they were disappointed. The restriction of supply caused apprehension in the minds of the people, and brought into

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\* Vide the Report of the Fowler Committee.

† The Government did their best to encourage the circulation of gold, but the effect was just the reverse of what they desired. Here was a practical illustration of the currency maxim that the popularity of a coin varies inversely with the anxiety of the possessor to part with it.

‡ The gold-exchange standard should be distinguished from the "limping standard" which exists in France. The former differs from the latter in that (1) the Government of India keeps up in support of the exchange an elaborate mechanism, which is not required in France, and (2) in France there is a large circulation of gold, whereas in India the circulation of gold is very small.

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circulation the hoards of rupees, and the quantity which would otherwise have been used for artistic and ornamental purposes remained to swell the total silver currency. Rupees which were outside British India also naturally sought the Indian markets. The first result of the closure of mints was, therefore, that the rupee fell in value.\* The Government stood out for a while, but in the end was compelled to sell them for about ls.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. During the next few years the policy of abstention from coinage was resolutely persisted in. The value of the rupee continued to fall till in January, 1895, it reached the minimum of  $12\frac{1}{2}$ d. After that date it rose by gradual steps till in 1898 it stood at par. Since that time the value of the rupee has not fluctuated in value to any considerable extent.†

This currency experiment has been the subject of criticism of various sorts. The admirers of the system claim for it great and unqualified success. Experience shows, say they, that the system is perfectly stable, and great developments of trade and industry have proceeded under the system ; it has settled the finances of the Government and has made possible the remission of a considerable amount of taxation ; and, lastly, the wisdom of the measure is proved by the fact that many other countries have followed the example of India in this matter. Its detractors point to the inelasticity of the system as a great defect. In busy seasons an increased currency is required, which in a dull season, that is the interval between the harvests, leads to an inflation of the currency from a want of automatic regulation, and thus raises prices. They think that it is advisable for the Government to have to do as little as possible with the currency. Further, they hold that in the case of a grave crisis it is quite possible that the system will completely break down. As for the remission of taxation, it is said that there has really been none, for the remitted taxation represents the additional amount that is taken from the tax-payers by an artificial appreciation of the rupee.‡ “There seems apparent,” says an able writer, “in the policy now pursued a disposition to secure tactical advantages at the expense of the strategy necessary to ensure permanent success.”§

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\* This immediate result was foreseen by Professor J. S. Nicholson (*vide* his article entitled the “Indian Currency Experiment” in the *Contemporary Review*, 1893).

† In 1898 there was a rather marked fall in the value of the rupee.

‡ The amount of taxation remitted since 1895 has been 5 crores of rupees.

§ An article entitled “India’s Monetary Condition” in the *Economist Journal*, December, 1910.

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The alternative suggested by some is the adoption of the gold standard in its entirety. But it must be remembered that India is a poor country, and that gold would be an inconveniently large standard for the bulk of the people.\* Others advocate a return to the old system. In order to do so some means must be found by which to prevent a recurrence of the state of affairs which made the adoption of the gold-exchange standard necessary. Bimetallism† is a third alternative, but it cannot be successful unless it is accepted by at least a majority of the civilised nations.‡

In order to keep up the gold-exchange standard and to prevent great fluctuations in the value of the rupee, the Government sells one rupee in India for rs. 4  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. paid in London, and for rs. 3  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in London paid in Calcutta. They sell one rupee in India for rs. 4d. paid in India. They also buy a rupee in India for rs. 3  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. payable in London. For these transactions a reserve is kept in gold in London and in silver in India.

In accordance with a recommendation made by the Fowler Committee it was decided that, with effect from the 1st of April, 1900, the net profit from the coinage of rupees should not be treated as revenue, but should be held as a special reserve, and sent to England for investment in sterling securities. Up to 1906 practically the whole amount was remitted to England and appropriated to the purchase of British Government securities, the interests realised being added to the fund and invested; but in that year it was decided that a portion of the reserve should in future be held in silver in India.¶ In 1907-08 and 1908-09, in consequence of a further decision, half the profits on coinage was to be applied to capital expenditure on railways, but the application of this decision has now been temporarily suspended.§ No coinage

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\* Among Indians, Sir Vitthaladas Damodhar Thackersey is the chief advocate of the gold standard. He advises the Government to open a mint for the coinage of sovereigns in India and to introduce smaller gold pieces.

† Mr. J. S. Nicholson, in his *Money and Monetary Problems*, has tried to prove that bimetallism is both advantageous and practicable. On the other hand, an eminent authority like the late Sir Robert Giffen held that bimetallism was unattainable, and if attained would be dangerous.

‡ The gold-exchange standard has been adopted by Austro-Hungary, the Philippines, Mexico, and the Straits Settlements. China remains now the only civilised country with a silver currency.

§ There is considerable difference of opinion as to the propriety of this step. Some think that the ground for having part of the reserve in India is merely sentimental, and therefore not at all strong; others, on the contrary, go so far as to suggest that the whole of the reserve should be held in India.

¶ It would certainly be inadvisable for the Government to spend any portion of the reserve until it reaches at least double its present size.

§ *Moral and Material Progress of India*, 1908-09, p. 20.

## THE INDIAN WORLD

was undertaken in 1908-09. On the 31st March, 1909, the reserve stood as follows :\*

Sterling securities	...	£ 7,414,510=	about 11½ crores.
Silver (coined rupees in India)	...	10,586,734=	" 15'9 "
Cash in England	...	469,818=	" 70 lakhs.
Due from Treasury balance in India	...	344=	" 5160 "
Total		£18,471,408=	about 28 crores.

The total amount of existing currency may be estimated at about 160 crores.

In 1896 a reform of the currency was undertaken. The "1835" rupee ceased to be re-issued, and in 1901-2 similar orders were given with respect to "1840" rupees. In 1906 bronze coins were issued as tokens for small transactions, and they are now gradually superseding the old copper coins. In 1909 one-anna nickel pieces began to be coined; and it is now in contemplation to issue half-anna nickel coins.

Under the Acts of 1839, 1840, and 1843 the Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras were authorised to coin Notes payable on demand. But the circulation of the Notes was practically limited to the Presidency towns. An Act of 1861 repealed the previous Acts and provided for the issue of a Paper Currency through a Government Department by means of Notes of the Government of India. Since then there have been no Bank Notes.

Under the Paper Currency Act, 1905, Paper Currency Notes of the following denominations, viz., Rs. 5, Rs. 10, Rs. 20, Rs. 50, Rs. 100, Rs. 500, Rs. 1000, Rs. 10,000 are issued to the public. Notes are issued in exchange for silver coins in every Paper Currency office. There are eight circles of issue having their headquarters at Calcutta, Cawnpore, Lahore, Bombay, Karachi, Madras, Calicut, and Rangoon respectively; and the Notes so long were legal tender only within the particular circle from which they had been issued. The Government were not so long legally bound to cash any Notes outside their circle of issue; but as a matter of fact, they were cashed in any Government Treasury, if they were not for very large sums, and also by the Presidency banks. The reason for this restriction was that if Notes were cashable in all circles the cost of carrying rupees from one part of the country to another would fall on the Government, and a considerable reserve would have to be kept at each centre to meet the demands for cash.

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\* There is a tendency in certain quarters to regard the gold standard reserve as an asset against the public debt. But this view is certainly erroneous.

## THE INDIAN CURRENCY

In 1909 the five-rupee Note, which had previously been made legal tender throughout India, was declared to be legal tender in Burma. The growing popularity of the universal five-rupee Note led the Government to further universalise the Paper Currency, and in 1910 the ten and fifty-rupee Notes were made universal. The hundred-rupee Note has also been declared universal with effect from the 1st of April, 1911.

The law requires that a Paper Currency reserve shall be held against the Notes equal to their full value ; securities of the Government of India and the British Government may be held as part of the reserve up to a limit of 12 crores of rupees (£8,000,000), of which the British Government securities may not exceed one-sixth of the amount ; the remainder must be held in gold and silver coin or bullion. On the 31st of March, 1909, the value of Notes in circulation was Rs.454,875,000 (£30,325,000).\* The constitution of the Paper Currency reserve on the same date was as follows :—†

Gold	...	...	...	£1,523,414
Silver coin	...	...	...	20,759,425
Silver bullion	...	...	...	52,465
Securities of Government of India	...	...	...	6,667,000
Securities of British Government	...	...	...	1,333,000

It may not be out of place to briefly describe here the mode by which remittance is made from India to England. The Secretary of State for India requires money in London for meeting the expenses of his office and various other charges ; and many merchants in England want to send money to India. The whole transaction is easily made by means of Council Bills, which supersede the necessity of transferring and re-transferring bullion. Every Wednesday the Secretary of State offers bills for a certain amount for sale, and invites tenders from those who wish to remit money to India. If there is a brisk demand, the prices realised are comparatively high ; if the demand is dull, the bills are sold at comparatively low rates. The bills are sent by the buyers to India, where they are cashed by the Indian Government.† Those merchants who want to avoid the delay of seventeen or eighteen days which the bills take to reach India may purchase telegraph transfers, for which they have to pay slightly higher rates.

Pranathanath Banerjee

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\* In 1910-11 the average net circulation of Notes, after eliminating the holdings in Government reserve treasuries and in the balances at the head offices of the Presidency banks, was Rs. 40 35 crores (*vide* Budget Statement Speech of the Finance Member, 1911).

† *Moral and Material Progress of India*, 1908-09.

## A GLIMPSE INTO THE ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

### THE MUSK DEER (*Moschus Moschiferus*)

The musk-deer is a native of the cold regions of Central Asia and can be found almost every where from the spurs of the Himalyas to Peking. The climate of Calcutta is therefore not agreeable to it. For this reason it is brought into the Zoological Gardens at Alipore only in the cold weather. The authorities keep it very carefully and give it every day the bracing air of the morning from sunrise to eight o'clock. Before the hot weather sets in, it is sent back to its native country. In its habit, though not in structure, it somewhat resembles the chamois, whose leather, going by the same name, is so well-known to us as a household necessity. It is shy and timorous. Through the kindness of the Superintendent of the Gardens the first day it was shown to me behind the Reptile House in a small neat and tidy caravan, well protected and placed in a cool shaded enclosure, it was found too shy to present me a full view of it from head to foot. So it withdrew to the farthest end of it. Its canine teeth, specially those of the male, are not merely prominent but projecting, whereas in the living specimen that I carefully examined in the Zoo they were not so. This made me see it once more and this time more closely and minutely than I had done before. It is, therefore, superfluous to add that the following lines are the result of the attentive observations taken at two different periods. The Superintendent himself took me last time to the musk-deer. In his company I found it let loose in a crib. Having shaken off its natural shyness, it came closer and closer to us as if in response to his call in English till we could pat it. I was then placed in a position to examine the object of my curiosity to my heart's content. The fur on its body is pepper-salt gray and thickly set. The older it grows, the colour changes into black or to some shade of it. Male or female, the musk-deer has no horn. There is a secretion in the naval region, which is very strong-scented, if used in a large quantity and possesses medicinal property. The musk, as it is called—hence the name of the animal—forms a valuable article of internal commerce and trade carried on by the Nepalese, the Bhutanese, the Abors and other hill-tribes with India. The round musk-bag is taken, sewed, dried and sold. The genuineness of the musk is tested by the Ayurvedic physicians and other experts by burning a particle of the contents of the bag, the vapour of which emits the scent of the musk.

## ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

### THE FOUR-HORNED DEER (*Tetraceus Quadricornis*)

In another crib of the cool shaded deer enclosure, of which mention has been made before, is kept the four-horned deer. Its size is small and colour fawn. It is larger than the undeveloped young musk-deer. Nature has given it two pairs of slender antlers—one frontal, the other crown—as the most formidable weapons of defence. She asserts herself. Though there is no necessity for making use of the frontal pair, she urges her keeper to constantly level it against the wooden partition of the crib lest it should fall into disuetude. The consequence is that it has become broken and blunt. The other pair on the crown is uninjured. This shows that it is much less used than the frontal pair, as an offensive or a defensive armour. Like a caged lion it is restless, and paces to and fro the whole length of its cell. It is lovely to look at ; but, as I have said above, formidable of approach. Danger is courted in the guise of loveliness. It has the significant Indian name of *charsingha*. In Dhera Dun it is called *Choka Doda*, in Chota Nagpore, *Chaorang*.\*

### THE WAPITI DEER (*Cervus Canadensis*)

What is called the stag in the Eastern Hemisphere is called the Wapiti Deer in the Western world with the difference that the latter is a foot higher and the most stupid of the *cervidae*. It is mostly found in Canada.† Hence the name italicised above, as given by naturalists. Its cry is half way between the “belling” of the stag and the braying of the ass.‡

### THE FALLOW DEER (*Dama Vulgaris*)

I would crave the indulgence of the public when I beg of them the liberty to christen in Bengali this species of the *cervidae* as the *chita harin* from the white spots in a ground of yellowish brown colour. In doing so I would say that I have no pretension whatever, much less a presumption, to an unerring knowledge of the subject. But be it understood in this connection that the christening is not a mere figment of imagination but a differentiation from others. In a more polished terminology it may also be called the *Kshettra Mriga*, from the fact of the semi-domesticated state in which it is found pasturing in English parks. Its palmated antlers are cylindrical at the base. The male lives apart from the female except during the hot season, when mating is a matter of indispensable

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\* Colonel Alexander Kinloch's "Game shooting in India and Thibet.

† *Encyclopædia Britannica*

‡ *Ibid.*

## THE INDIAN WORLD

necessity. And the latter scarcely brings forth more than two fawns. Fondness for music characterises the Fallow Deer.

### THE ELK OR MOOSE DEER (*Alces Malchis*)

The Elk is the largest of the horn-shedding quadrupeds living. Measured from the shoulders it is taller than the horse. And its palmated antlers are much bigger and more spreading than those that have been given an account of, however brief it may be, under the preceding sub-head. Its habitation is not in this country. It is widely distributed in an area covering the north of Europe and Asia, east Prussia, Caucasus and other countries lying between the same latitude and longitude. Its palmated antler is so large that a porter cannot carry it with ease, weighing as it does from 50 to 60 lbs. By the fifth year of its age the tines grow to fourteen in number and attain full length. It carries them so adroitly that they are not entangled with branches and twigs. It has a hairy, teat-like, elongated excrescence under neath the neck similar to that which some of the Indian goats have. Its meat is considered a great delicacy and the tongue and the nose are highly prized.

### THE ROE DEER (*Capreolus Capra* or *Capreolus Capreolus*\*)

The range of the Roe Deer extends over the British Isles, the greater part of continental Europe, the south of Sweden and eastern Syria. One of its chief characteristics is that it never forgets its track while out grazing. In order to waylay it this characteristic is taken advantage of by the sportsmen and hunters. It is an expert in swimming. Professor Bischoff Geissen says that the ovum of the doe develops in December, when it mates. Before that it never seeks the society of its mate.

### THE BARKING DEER OR MUNTJAC (*Cervulus Vaginalis*)

The Muntjac is found in the forests of India and China, where four kinds of it are met with. Properly speaking, it is a native of Java. In the Himalyas it is known by the name of *hakur*, and in Nepal and the neighbouring states by the name of *Ratwa*. In the Gardens it is labelled as the Barking Deer. Colonel A. Kinloch wonders how it has got the name—Muntjac. I submit it is an abbreviation of the compound word, mountain jackal. Its voice and the barking of a dog are nearly alike. This is why it is called the Barking Deer or Mountain Jackal or Muntjack.

### THE MOUSE DEER (*Tragulus Memmisa*)

I am told that the Mouse Deer is the smallest of the *cervidae*. Fine Mouse Deer are being exhibited in the Gardens. . I found

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\* J. G. Millais's *Mammals of the British Isles*.

## ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPÖRE

them to be the smallest of all I have seen there. One of them was basking in the Sun, hard by the railings of the enclosure, when I saw them. The pretty little thing seemed not to be shy at all, or it would have fled from me. Their colours are fawn and brown. They are fed with gram and greens.

### THE SPOTTED DEER (*Cervus Aris*)

The absence of any mention of this species of the deer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and its similarity to the Fallow Deer, which it resembles in shape and size, made me at first to pass it over altogether. But a reference to other encyclopædias,\* under the article *Aris*, and the small useful guide compiled by the Superintendent placed me in possession of all necessary informations on the subject. In India the doe is called the *Chital*, and the buck the *Jhank*.† It is well distributed from the sub-Himalyan and Terai regions to Southern India and on the east as far as the Sunderbands and on the west to the confines of the United Provinces. The state of confinement is nothing to it, as it breeds very freely in the Gardens. It is spotted and its colour is fawn. There is a narrow patch of black on the back and the under limbs are snow-white. The doe is hornless. The buck bears slender horns, which are sharp-pointed and somewhat branched, whilst those of the English Fallow Deer palmated as we have seen. It is nocturnal in its habit as it generally lives in deep forests with water close by. With the help of the spots on its body it eludes the keen vigilance of the sportsman. The male spotted deer display courage in the defence of the young and the gentler sex, though on the whole like most other, it is timid and shy and gentle and capable of being domesticated and bred even in some parts of Europe, say, Britain and France. It is widely distributed in the neighbourhood of Nepal, but not in Sikim, in Rajputana, in Assam, Orissa, Sunderbands and other parts of India. It ascends to a height of 4000 feet.

### THE SAMBAR (*Cervus Aristotelis* or *Cervus Divicolour*)

Throughout India it is also called the *Sambar*. In Dhera Dun it goes by the name of *Mahamuia*, and in the Himalyas by the name of *Jurao*. It lives in deep forests. Its tail and horns, like most others, are short. It is a good mountaineer, as it ascends the Himalyas to

\*Chambers' and Harnsworth's Encyclopædia and J. G. Millais' "*Mammals of the British Isles*."

†Colonel A. Kinloch's "*Game Shooting in India and Thibet*."

## THE INDIAN WORLD

1000 feet. Ceylon, Burmah and India, excluding the Punjab, Sindh and Rajputana, are its habitations.

### THE JAPAN DEER (*Cervus Sika*)

Is a hardy animal. It breeds freely in the Alipore Gardens. Not long ago there was here also a living specimen of a Formosan Deer.

### THE HOG DEER (*Cervus Porcinus*)

Its Hindustani name is *Para*. Why it has got this odious strange name is more than I can tell. It bears in no way any resemblance to the hog. I do not know whether it wallows in the mud like the hog. If it does, I have never seen it doing so. It is found in India, Burma and Ceylon and occupies the same tracts as are roamed over by the *Sambar*. The doe has no horn. What the bucks have is short, branched, and sparsely hairy. In the same enclosure the inquisitive visitor is delighted to find the hybrid crossed between the hog-deer and its spotted cousin. The hybrid is restless and has faint spots on a brown ground.

### THE MANIPURI DEER (*Cervus Manipurensis*)

It differs from all other deer in its having a mane-like fur all around the neck. Coloration is darkish brown; tail, short. It has a toddling gait so that it may keep up the balance of its heavy tines. It is exhibited in the same spacious grassy paddock of the Gardens where the four land tortoises are. And none do any harm to each other.

### THE REINDEER (*Trandus rangifer*)

Unless something be said of the Reindeer, however meagre may the account be, a paper like this on the *Cervidae* will be left incomplete. What the camel is to the desert lands, the reindeer is to the ice-lands. The Arabs highly prize the yields of the camel. And to the Laplanders and the Russian Northerners every particle of the produces and products of the reindeer, which is their only motive power, is of paramount use in order to keep body and soul together. The horn of the reindeer both branches off and palmates. It is rather like the Elk than any other deer. It ranges over the boreal region of both the Old and New Worlds from Greenland and Spitzbergen in the north to New Brunswick in the south. In Scandinavia it has been domesticated. Its draught-power enables it to draw a weight of 300 lbs (about 4 maunds). It is remarkably fleet and forbearing. God has endowed it with hoofs broad and deeply cleft. They

## ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

are admirably fitted to pace over the bleak lands of ice and snow with ease for 100 miles and draw the sledge. There are several varieties of the reindeer differing in size and in the form of the antlers. According to many writers the American reindeer are a distinct species. It is divided into two varieties—the barren ground caribon and the woodland caribon. In summer the Lapland deer live on young shoots of the willow and birch and in winter, on the moss named after them and other lichens, which are dug out of deep snow with hoofs naturally fitted for the purpose. The American reindeer generally make their movements in large incautious herds. For this reason they are easily preyed on by the Indians, to whom they afford food, clothing, tents, tools and the like necessities. Let linguists give what derivative they may to the word, 'reindeer'. Of the several I am humbly of opinion that the one *reino*—pasture, and English *deer*—is most appropriate, though I would like to derive it from the English words, 'rein' and 'deer', that is the deer which is reined to a sledge.

### THE ANTELOPE

Nothing is further from the truth than to classify the Antelope with the Deer, which it bears some affinity to. It is idle to add that the one is quite different from the other. It belongs to the section *Cavicornia* or hollow-horned ruminants. An antelope has a pair of hollow, annulated, tapering, sharp-pointed horns. Those of the deer are deciduous. The sheep and oxen have horns similar to those of the antelope, while the cervian horns are, as has been shown in the preceding paper, branched off into tines and, in most cases, palmate. It is not generally known that the curious white-tailed gnu and the gazelles are all antelopes, of which there are eleven kinds. They are not deer, which they are in most cases mistaken for. What are the chamois, the nilghau and the koodoo? They are antelopes and nothing else.

### THE INDIAN ANTELOPE (*Antelope Cervicapra*)

Hard by the small Carnivora House at Alipore is the paddock of the Indian Antelope. The English name—Black Buck—is therefore a misnomer. In Bengali it is called *Krishna Sar* or *Kul'sar*. And why? Because the colour of the upper part of its body is darkish brown till it gradually shades itself into pitch-dark, and that of the lower part of it is whitish brown. In shape it resembles a goat, though sturdier and larger in size. Its chief armour of defence is its ringed long tapering pointed horn. It seems to be bold and does not

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

fear the approach of man. It is found throughout the plains of India from the foot of the Himalayas to the southern extremity, excepting the Malabar Coast, the Eastern Ghats and Lower Bengal and abounds in the United Provinces and the highlands of Central India. The Tibetan species has a less curved and thinner pair of horns.

### **THE BEATRIX ANTELOPE**

A part of the enclosure at Alipore intended for the musk-deer, the four-horned deer, the white-tailed Gnu and the Anoa, is partitioned out for the Beatrix Antelope. It inhabits Arabia and, I am told, Persia. The couple kept in the Gardens are stout. The upper part of the body is white and the lower, brown. It has straight, receding, tapering, ringed horns and resents the approach of man. At the sight of me the stronger and stouter of the two levelled its horns with impotent rage against the iron fencing. It would have certainly gored me to death but for the obstruction. As a proof of its viciousness I would say that one of its horns has broken by striking it against the fencing. Its keeper guardedly looks after it. Its companion took no notice of my approach.

### **THE GAZELLE**

Under one common name we have the Arabian Gazelle (*Dorcas Gazella*), \* the Tibetan Gazelle or Goa (*Gazella Picticaudata*) and the Indian Gazelle (*Gazella Bennettii*). Byron sings of the beauty of the eye of the Gazelle in his *Corsair*.

**Nakur Chandra Biswas**

\* Major H. S. Palmer's Sinai.

# The Progress of the Indian Empire

## PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

### BENGAL

On the first of July last passed away from amongst us one of the most straightforward publicists whom it has been the privilege of Bengal to give to India. Mr. Narendra Nath Sen—we believe the title of a Rai Bahadur conferred upon him by the indiscretion of Sir Andrew Fraser did more injustice to his position and dignity than anything else that could be conceived—was a man of singular honesty of purpose and determination of character. In his earlier days he was one of the most prominent leaders of the popular party, and if he had not cared to be a recluse, popular honours would have come to him in showers. But he was a man of a different temperament, and rewards and honours he did not bargain for in his devotion to public duty. Latterly, when age began to tell upon his health and he began to lead a practically retired life, he very often made wrong guesses about the aims and objects, including the motives, of the patriotic party of Bengal. Thereby he did more injustice to himself than the party he attacked and the people whose motives he impugned. We consider all these later aberrations of Mr. Sen as defects of his judgment, and no man who ever knew him in flesh and blood could ever think that he deserted the popular cause for any but the most patriotic motive.

What, however, should have been Mr. Sen's chief claim on posterity—his invaluable services to Indian journalism—was spoilt by himself when unfortunately he was advised to accept a subsidy from the Government for conducting a weekly vernacular newspaper. That was almost a suicidal step, and it is no secret that the criticisms that he invited by this measure hastened his death by many years. It is so sad to think of the death of so valiant a champion of public cause and of so towering a personality in Indian journalism.

Whether for good or for evil, Sir Edward Baker has perhaps left Bengal for good, and though Mr. F. W. Duke has been selected to keep the throne at Belvedere warm for his successor, it is an open secret that no Bengal civilian is likely to come back to take Sir Edward Baker's place. *Capital* has been circulating the rumour that Mr.

Death of Mr.  
Narendra Nath Sen

Change of the  
Head of Govern-  
ment and Partition

## THE INDIAN WORLD

Duke would be the last Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and whether Sir John Hewett comes to succeed Sir Edward Baker or not, the next ruler of Bengal will have the superior dignity and status of a Governor. If this be true it must involve a modification of the measure known as the Partition of Bengal. What *Capital's* authority may be for such a rumour we do not know. But we have no doubt that if British statesmanship mean to deal fairly with India and intend to right her wrongs the present Partition must go. If King George V. should go away from Calcutta without doing anything of the kind, there would be a sense of disappointment rankling in the breasts of the Bengali people which no ceremonies at Delhi or pageants in Calcutta would possibly efface.

Before another fortnight passes from today, the Calcutta Improvement Bill will be one of the laws of the land. Of the many contentious points in the measure, the Government has already expressed its desire to allow appeals to lie before the High Court in certain cases, and it is just possible that some concession may also be made by way of compensation to poor and middle-class landlords in Calcutta. At any rate, we do not think that there will be much fight over the Bill, although so many as 700 amendments will be proposed in the next session of the Council.

When about four months ago a reception committee was organised in Calcutta with a view to give the king a royal reception on his arrival in the metropolis, many prominent men were excluded from the committee and such noblemen as the Nawab Bahadur of Mursidabad and the Maharaja of Durbhanga were kept at arm's length. All this might have been due to jealousy or to lack of foresight or to the absence of any organising skill. But anyhow a sense of deep disappointment and bitterness was caused and almost a public scandal created. As time is wearing out and the date of the royal visit is approaching, great efforts are being made to close up all ranks. Already a supplementary list of additional members of the Executive Committee has been published, and we find in this the names of many of our prominent men including Babu Moti Lal Ghosh and Ray Yatindranath Chaudhury who were not taken in at the first instance. These lists are, however, conspicuous by the absence of the names of the leading members of the Indian Association, which is undoubtedly one of the most constitutional and prominent public bodies of the City. If anybody desires to keep out the leading men of the Indian Association from such an organisation, the effort

## **PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL)**

ought to be defeated. We hope, however, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who is the Secretary of the Indian Association and a member of the Executive Committee, will come forward with an explanation to the public in the matter of this exclusion.

A most extraordinary feature of public life in Bengal manifested itself in the enthusiasm and interest displayed by the Indian and European public in the recent semi-final and final matches for the I.F.A. Shield tournament. But more extraordinary than even this was the victory of an Indian team over two successive British military teams. It is indeed a matter of sincere congratulation that a Bengali team has after all succeeded in beating down white competition even in a game which is not the Indian's national. This victory of the Mohan Bagan team completely proves the fact that, given equal conditions, the Bengali will beat the Britisher all along the line. The football triumph of the Mohan Bagan team is, therefore, a significant record of Bengali genius. England had better look to her laurels even in her own national games.

**N.B.** From the next number, this section will contain notes from Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Allahabad and Dacca, besides those for Bengal, regularly every month.  
**Ed., I. W.**

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

No scheme of our national progress can be complete which does not provide for an adequate system of education and a well defined programme of social advance. **A SCHEME OF INDIAN NATIONAL PROGRESS** The cultivation of politics may be a very attractive feature in the intellectual equipment of a people. But no people can live, move, and have its being in an atmosphere of politics only. In a country situated like India, the mere cultivation of politics has a risk of assuming a destructive form; for, constructive politics is outside the sphere of an Indian politician's activity. Consequently, politics naturally degenerates in India into mere academic controversies, and gives one no better opportunity in life than merely to hit hard and to be hard hit in turn.

It is, therefore, absolutely imperative that at least a large section of our educated community should divert their attention to fresh fields and pastures new. In other civilized countries, national activity finds vent in education, social reform, and industrial progress. Here, unfortunately, the educated man is either a politician or a money-earning machine. He generally has a very narrow horizon, and his activity is limited to his professional engagements or to amateurish efforts in the field of politics. The cause of education, the cause of social advance, and the cause of industrial progress are to him matters of not much concern. He does not think that it is worth one's while to give one's serious attention or to make any serious efforts to broaden the basis of our educational, social, and industrial outlook.

At the end of every year, as mere adjuncts to the Congress, educated Indians hold social and industrial conferences to discuss what can be done to improve the social and industrial condition of India. As yet these conferences have achieved nothing, nor even moved a step forward in advance. Excepting passing any amount of pious resolutions and producing papers on all conceivable phases of industrial development, absolutely nothing has been done to advance the cause of social reform or industrial renaissance. We frankly confess that this is not the right way to go to work, and that the only thing wanted to push

## **EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS**

forward these causes is to set noble examples and demonstrate the results of useful experiments. In this particular matter, the Social Conferences have been morally guilty of having never proved the strength of their convictions. And as for any industrial progress, people will never take to any line of work kindly unless it is demonstrated to them satisfactorily by experiments as to what can be done in those lines. Mere talk, therefore, in advancing the cause of social reform is as futile and barren as the idea of inducing people to divert their occupations in life by merely academic lectures.

In another matter, however, we have not begun to talk as yet. At one time about 4 or 5 years ago there was no doubt, in Bengal at least, some anxiety shown to develop a course of national education. Somehow or other the organisers of that movement got themselves entangled with the catch-words, 'on national lines and under national control,' and the idea involved in that phrase has since then obsessed the authorities of what has grandiloquently come to be described as the Bengal National Council of Education. It has now been reduced to a very tiny institution, and there are not many people even in Bengal to sing its pæans and none so poor as to think it worth his while to spend any powder and shot over it. Of course, the time is not yet to write its epitaph ; but every man who has his eyes wide open can see how the institution is sinking. Its only classes which still draw students are the technical ones which, since the amalgamation with it of the Bengal Technical Institute, have become the only place for indigenous technical instruction in the metropolis. It is, therefore, evident that the idea of developing a system of education in India 'on national lines and under national control' has failed, and what is more unfortunate, nothing else has been put forward to take its place. Practically, therefore, there is now a void in our educational activity, and excepting pressing with Mr. Gokhale for the further diffusion of elementary education, we do not seem prepared to think out our educational destiny with much seriousness. What a subject this for mournful pessimism !

Personally, we do not regret the collapse of the idea of education being conducted in India on 'national lines and under national control.' That was a mad idea from the beginning, and it was still greater madness to be spending money and energy to materialise that idea. The fundamental proposition to remember in this connection is that education, of all things

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in this world, can never be nationalised, and that if anything needs universalisation it is education. Unless one is prepared to make education as wide as the world, as wide as the universe, he had better not dabble in it at all. What is wanted in education above everything is an assimilation of the spirit, of the culture, and of a knowledge of the condition of things of all countries and of all ages. Rome and Sparta, Marathon and Thermopoli, Austerlitz and Waterloo, Suez and Panama, Newton and Galileo, Edison and Crookes, Lister and Koch have as many and varied lessons to give to us as the best system of education on 'national lines'. In education you can shut your door against no knowledge,—science or metaphysics, history or philosophy, arts or literature. The idea of limiting education to merely 'national lines,' as we have described it, is a mad venture, and the time has no doubt come when the promoters of the Bengal National Council of Education must look facts in the face.

We really want a system of education developed in India, independent of official control if needs be, and organised with the help and co-operation of all the communities in the empire. Now is, therefore, the time to protest against the idea of either having a Mahomedan University at Aligarh or a Hindu University at Benares. The seats of learning in Europe, whether in England or in the Continent, have not developed because of their association with this or that Church, this or that people. These Universities have succeeded, only because they have tried their best to universalise knowledge as much as possible and to throw open their doors to all branches of the human race. The idea of a denominational College or University in India is, therefore, not only out of date, but mischievous in principle. And the people who are helping the formation of a Hindu and Mahomedan University are, therefore, doing as much harm to the cause of education as to the best interests of India.

Speaking at a meeting at the Crystal Palace on July 3 last, Lord Midleton presiding, H. H. the Aga Khan made the straightforward pronouncement that "on historical, sentimental, moral and religious grounds, the Indian Mussulmans are bound to incline to self-organisation and self-expression." In a small brochure published by the Hon. Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya entitled "the Hindu University of Benares: why it is wanted and what it aims at," we find the following significant passages:—

"Let it be firmly impressed on the mind of every Hindu that

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in the organisation of the Hindu University lies the best hope for the social advancement and the national uplifting of the Hindu community. Let every soul among them feel that not only the progress and prosperity but also the character and honour of the Hindus are involved, in the success of this great educational undertaking. And it may safely be predicted that every man and woman among them will contribute whatever of time, energy and resources he or she can, to build up the proposed Temple of Learning on the banks of mother Ganga in the holy Kashi of Vishveshwara."

Though it is difficult not to appreciate the 2nd, 3rd and the last object of the proposed Hindu University,\* one can find out at once that it is intended to be a counterblast to the Aligarh movement; and as *divide et impera* seems for the time being to be the guiding policy of the Indian bureaucracy, both the Aligarh and the Benares schemes have been blessed with the good wishes of the *Pioneer* and some of the rulers that be. Are there many Hindus or Mussulmans in India who do not see through the obvious trick of this support?

May we not be permitted to inquire in this connection if it is not feasible to get together the heads of all communities in India to organise and establish a central, non-official, non-denominational seat of learning in India, be it a College or University? Now is the time to discuss the proposal and enquire about its feasibility. If the Aligarh and Benares University are ever brought into being and are allowed to create and foster racial prejudices between the two great communities inhabiting this land, the hand of Progress shall be put back many a century in India. Now or never should, therefore, be writ large in the minds of those people who have any anxiety to advance the educational cause of India from a purely scientific and a dispassionate point of view.

As for social reform, we commend to our readers a move

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\* The objects of the University have been thus formulated :—

(i) To promote the study of the Hindu Shastras and of Sanskrit literature generally as a means of preserving and popularising for the benefit of the Hindu in particular and of the world at large in general, the best thought and culture of the Hindus, and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India.

(ii) to promote learning and research generally in arts and science in all branches.

(iii) to advance and diffuse such scientific, technical and professional knowledge, combined with the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous industries and in developing the material resources of the country; and

(iv) to promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.

## THE INDIAN WORLD

ment which has been recently set on foot in Calcutta to get young men from the colleges to take a vow as never to get themselves married before they are of 25 years of age and to girls who are not above 16. We do not know if many young men who are now coming forward to take this vow will stick to their pious determination. But yet it is a noble ideal, and if one dozen of men at least will stick to the vow, that would be a great step forward in social advance. If our young men come to think today that girls must not be wedded at all before they are sixteen, they will naturally be drawn to the next stage to-morrow that no girls should be wedded at all before they are educated. We do not quite understand what is exactly meant in these days by female emancipation, but we believe that unless and until the moral, social and intellectual horizon of our women are broadened to the same extent as that of our men's, we shall not be able to make any headway. The trite expression, woman's cause is man's, conveys a great lesson of practical philosophy. That is one of the supreme lessons which ancient India gives to us and modern Europe inculcates upon us. The education of women, together with the proposal of their marriage after they have ceased to be mere girls, forms a very material item of the programme of our social advance, and anybody or section of people who help in this cause deserve well of their country and people.

But this does not exhaust our social problem, for under its wide cover come multitude of national weaknesses and shortcomings. To some of these, we have referred over and again in these pages and space forbids us to recapitulate them in the present article. One thing to which we are anxious to draw the attention of our readers to-day is the paramount importance of the Bill introduced into the Imperial Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu for amending the Act III of 1872. If the Bill is allowed to be passed, it will rank much higher in the social history of India than even Lord William Bentinck's suppression of *Suttee* and infanticide, or Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's Re-marriage of Hindu Widows' Act. Educated Indians, therefore, who feel that no national progress is possible without a proportionate social advance and that the right of conscience is a great privilege worth having must come forward to give it their whole-hearted support.

As soon as the existing difficulties for inter-provincial and inter-religious marriages are removed, the system of caste will

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naturally fall to pieces like a house of cards ; and with caste will gradually disappear from our body-politic and social organism all those impediments to progress which still make us an unrecognised people on the face of the earth. The great problems of education and that of the depressed classes will also get themselves naturally solved as a consequence of the removal of all artificial barriers that now stand between man and man in all the different stratuon of our society.

A few words regarding our industrial activity and we shall have done. It is difficult to say at the present moment whether India will ever become a manufacturing country in the sense in which Japan or England or the United States are ; nor can it be welcomed with open arms should that day ever come. It is, at the present moment, almost universally recognised in all industrial countries that in factory towns what is gained in money is generally lost in character. We are, therefore, not quite sure if it is quite the right thing for us to go in wholesale for manufacturing activity, and it is well to draw the attention of all patriotic Indians to see what can be done to develop the agricultural and mineral resources of the country by introducing the processes of scientific and intensive cultivation with regard at least to the principal of our agricultural produces and by a system of survey and exploitation of all our mineral wealth.

We must not, however, be understood to say that we should not press forward for further industrial development in India. We must, however, proceed very cautiously, for one cannot be too careful in such matters. The economic and industrial conditions of India offer food for considerable reflection, and unless one feels his ground pretty sure, no one should launch himself in any enterprise for the purpose of merely making doubtful experiments. Money is very shy in India and must not be further scared away by the indiscretions of adventurous company-promoters. At the same time, efforts must be made to induce the Government to abandon its present attitude of *non possumus* and to introduce into our fiscal system a measure of Protection for at least some of our nascent and struggling industries.

A few months back we quoted with great approval Mr. Valentine Chirol's strong support of a measure of Protection for India. Now we have great pleasure in reproducing a few observations on the same subject made by a responsible Anglo-Indian organ. The *Englishman* says :—

“Before he is much older, Mr. Montagu will probably discover

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that Free Trade is not only distasteful to the general body of informed opinion in India, Native or European, but that it is incompatible with the professed desire of the British Government to develop the economic resources of the country. India is finding, as every other country young in industrial pursuits found long ago, that ample development is impossible so long as infant industries are open to destructive competition from abroad. Better education, scientific development,—these are all very well in their way ; they are easy to talk about ; but the well-established and protected foreign competitor gives the well-educated scientific individual little opportunity for putting his theories into practice. Free Trade is demonstrably impossible for India."

But we are afraid the present liberal Government will never cease to worship at the shrine of Free Trade. It is, therefore, a hopeless matter to expect the English Government to grant to India either any modicum of fiscal independence or a measure of protection ; the next best thing for us is to press for a measure of Preference. Even if India could obtain preferential treatment from England for such of her industries as have been indicated by Professor Lees Smith, a very encouraging progress could be made in our industrial development. To this end we must direct our energy in the future in and outside the Council Chambers.

### **NOTICE**

From the next issue of the *INDIAN WORLD*, we shall commence the publication of a series of critical and biographical sketches of the lives and works of all such eminent Indians of today who by deed, thought, example, culture and brilliant parts have contributed to the glory and greatness of contemporary life. The first two articles will be devoted to the lives of Mr Surendranath Banerjee and Dr. P. O. Ray.—*Ed., Indian World.*

## DIARY FOR JULY, 1911

### Date

1. Rai Bahadur Narendra Nath Sen died this evening at his Calcutta residence at the age of sixty-eight.

The Senate of Bombay University cancelled the degrees of Bachelor of Arts conferred on K. C. Karve, V. D. Savarkar, K. G. Khare, and V. M. Bhut, who were convicted and sentenced in the Nasik murder and conspiracy cases.

2. A largely attended meeting of the members of the Depressed Classes Mission was held to-day at Poona with Sirdar Coopsawmy Moodaliar in the chair and adopted resolutions in support of the Elementary Education Bill.

3. Reuter wires that the Bill introduced by Mr. Montagu in Parliament to amend the Indian High Courts Act of 1861 empowers the Government to increase the number of Judges in the High Courts in India to twenty and to create chartered High Courts in provinces where they do not exist.

A Simla wire informs that the High Courts Bill now before the House of Commons when passed into law will remain for some time to come as merely an enabling measure, as it may be confidently stated that the Government of India have no immediate intention of creating any new High Court either in Dacca or elsewhere.

Mr. Montagu gave a dinner party at the House of Commons to-day in honour of the Indian Princes.

4. Mr. Montagu's Bill to amend the Government of India Act of 1858 gives the India Office powers which the Treasury possesses to give pensions to widows of officers.

In the House of Commons, replying to Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Edward Grey said that the project of construction of a railway from Russia to India *via* Persia had been submitted to him. The Imperial Government would not oppose such a railway if it was satisfied that British and Indian interests would be adequately protected. He was unable to give particulars of the scheme at present.

The Bengal Government issues a *communiqué* recording the appreciation of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of the public services of the late Rai Norendra Nath Sen Bahadur.

5. The Calcutta Corporation adopted a resolution expressing deep sorrow at the death of Rai Bahadur N. N. Sen, and referred the consideration of the Elementary Education Bill to the Special Committee which was appointed in 1909 to consider the question of Primary Education.

6. This afternoon, in the presence of a number of Shillong residents, Sir Lancelot Hare publicly laid the foundation-stone for an enlarged and improved system of water supply for the station.

Reuter wires :—Mr. Montagu's Bill to amend the Indian High Courts Act of 1861 also enables the Indian Government to appoint from time to time temporary Additional Judges of High Courts for a period not exceeding two years. The second Bill, relating to pensions, has been withdrawn.

Reuter wires that the re-appointment of Sir John Edge and Mr. Ameer Ali to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council entitles them to a salary of £400.

Reuter wires from Johannesburg that Judge Sir J. Wessels, dealing with an application of a Mohammedan woman, decided that nobody could bring into the Transvaal more than one wife. The Indians protested to General Smuts, pointing out that polygamy was a recognised institution in India, and trusting that the former practice would be continued despite the judge's decision.

## THE INDIAN WORLD

7. A Simla wire informs that it is notified that nitrate of lime, calcium cyanamide, and mineral superphosphates are exempted from import duty leviable under the Indian Tariff Act.

The Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu had a long interview with Lord Crewe to-day respecting general affairs in India, and urged particularly that some measure be taken in connection with the Coronation Durbar to strike the imagination of the people and arouse their enthusiasm and loyalty. Lord Crewe said these representations would receive very attentive and careful consideration.

8. The Chief Court of Lahore pronounced judgment in the Amritsar murder case and acquitted the Rani Shaheba and her two associates of the charge of murder.

9. Rai Bahadur Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari who was for a long time the Secretary of the British Indian Association and editor of the *Hindu Patriot* died to-day at Benares.

At a Mahomedan meeting at Lucknow a resolution was adopted to the effect that there should be separate electorates for the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis.

10. The Indian Social Club of London gave a luncheon in honour of Sir K. G. Gupta on the occasion of his knighthood. The Gaekwar of Baroda presided, and Mr. Montagu, together with a large company of Indians and Anglo-Indians, were present.

11. A press *communiqué* states :—To meet the convenience of some non-official members, His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to direct that the first meeting of the Legislative Council shall be held on Monday, the 11th, instead of on Friday, the 8th September, 1911, and the subsequent meetings on Monday, the 17th, and Friday, the 21st idem.

12. The Conference of Orientalists met at Simla under the presidency of Mr Butler.

The main questions discussed were the preservation and improvement of ancient learning, the encouragement of Pandits and Maulvis and libraries and the cataloguing of manuscripts.

Three persons including two Mahomedan Daffadars and one Hindu were shot dead at Sonarong within the Munshigunj Sub-Division in the district of Dacca.

13. In the House of Commons, replying to Colonel Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that the decision of the Secretary of State approving the general lines of re-organisation of the Indian Political Department had been conveyed to the Indian Government, who were now working out details. He hoped it would be possible to make these public soon.

In connection with the appeals of Narayan Pandurang Mehendale and Vassudes Vishwanth Athale, convicted by the Sessions Judge of Satara of conspiracy to wage war, collecting arms and exciting disaffection against the Government and sentenced to three and a half years' and five years' imprisonment respectively, the Bombay High Court confirmed the convictions and sentences.

The Conference of Orientalists sat again to-day under the presidency of the Honourable Mr. Butler. The Conference decided to recommend the constitution of a central institute for advanced Oriental studies at Calcutta. Amongst other matters, questions regarding the existing courses of study, of scholarships for such study, were also discussed.

14. The Orientalists assembled again to-day under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Butler. The question was discussed of widening the scope of the subject matter prescribed for the high proficiency and degree of honour examinations. Other subjects of a miscellaneous kind were also discussed. The Conference then resolved itself into two Sub-Committees, one dealing with examinations and the other with detailed proposals for a central institute of Oriental studies and research, and with kindred subjects, including a proposal to have an international Conference of Orientalists in India in 1913.

14. Mr. Laurence Currie is appointed as a member of the Council of India in place of Sir James Mackay, who resigned on his elevation to the peerage.

15. A Press *communiqué* says :—The Government of India understand from the information received from Peking that the Chinese ports will be closed to uncertified opium with effect from to-day.

A Simla wire informs that the Right Honourable Amir Ali, in reply to the letter of the Hon'ble Mahomed Sha Ali, the General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League, has cabled his support of the latter's view regarding the inadvisability of compulsion in the provision in Mr. Gokhale's Bill and the opinion of the London Muslim League, to the effect that compulsion should not be resorted to.

A public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Benares was held to-day in the Town Hall to accord their support to the Hon'ble Mr. Basu's Civil Marriage Bill. Pundit Ramashankar Missra, retired Collector and Magistrate, presided.

18. This evening His Excellency Sir George Clarke performed the opening ceremony of the new Agricultural College situated on the outskirts of Poona.

The Mahomedans of Delhi held a meeting in which they condemned mixed election and urged for separate representation of their community.

19. Reuter wires that pursuant to Article 3 of the Opium Agreement, China has requested prohibition of importation of Indian opium into Manchuria, Szechuan, and Shansi. The request is not likely to be entertained until proof is forthcoming of compliance with Article 7 in Canton.

Burma's first Agricultural and Co-operative Conference was opened yesterday at Mandalay by the Lieutenant-Governor before a large number of delegates.

The steamer *Persia* to-day shipped £300 000 worth of gold to India.

20. A wire from Lahore informs that the Punjab Municipal Act has received the assent of the Viceroy.



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# THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. XIV ]

SEPTEMBER—1911

[ No. 78

## NOTES & NEWS

### GENERAL

#### Death rate in the Punjab

The rates of male and female deaths in the Punjab for the last 3 years are as follows :—

			Males.	Females.
1908	...	...	47'9	54'02
1909	...	...	30'25	31'65
1910	...	...	31'96	34'82

The excess of female mortality over that of males is therefore a standing feature of statistics, though the rates vary every year.

#### Factories in Madras

During the year 1910 the number of factories, falling within the scope of the Indian Factories Act, increased by 20 in the Madras Presidency, of which 15 were in the mofussil. The total number of factories was 201. The daily average number of operatives rose from 50,314 to 54,344. There was an increase in the number of women employed in factories from 5,259 to 6,302. The number of children employed fell from 4,801 to 4,725. The number of accidents reported fell from 364 to 242.

#### Christians in Madras and Ceylon

The annual statistical return of Christian Missions in Madras and Ceylon for 1910, published by the South India Missionary Association, contains the figures for thirty different societies or Churches. The total Christian community is given as 734,798, an increase during the year of 22,437. The most disappointing feature is the fact that only 98,005 Christian children were in school less than 1 in 7 of the Christian population, and that in this respect there was a decrease of 1,018 during the year. The contributions of the Indian Christians towards religious purposes amounted to

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Rs. 373, 259, an increase of Rs. 6,061 for the year. This comes to about 8 annas per head per annum.

### Education in Travancore

It will be seen from the following figures that the State-grant to Education has all along been on the increase in the Native State of Travancore :—

					Rs.
1905-6	...	...	...	...	6,56,823
1906-7	...	...	...	...	6,96,830
1907-8	...	...	...	...	7,19,922
1908-9	...	...	...	...	7,41,764
1909-10	...	...	...	...	7,60,364
Revised Estimate for 1910-11	...	...	...	...	8,50,000
Budget Estimate for 1911-12	...	...	...	...	10,72,000

### Indian Immigration in Malaya

Arising out of the 1910 reports of rubber companies, some of the ill-informed, though well-intentioned, Home papers (says the Penang correspondent of the *Times of Malaya*) are making capital out of the alleged growing scarcity of labour in the Straits and Federated Malay States, apparently ignoring the fact that this problem is usually governed by purely local conditions that may of themselves suffice to deter a steady influx of new coolies. While one estate, by reason of its healthy environments and humane treatment of coolies, may attract Indian immigrants in increasing numbers, another estate, almost next door, may be practically boycotted for reasons that ought not to exist. Of course, some instances do occur where the prevailing conditions are all that are desirable and yet difficulty is experienced in the matter of labour, justifying to a certain extent lamentations of the fact in the annual report. But speaking in the abstract, the labour problem on estates is one that is bound to solve itself in time, and there is absolutely no call for alarmist statements in the London Press. When the statistics for the current half-year are published, it will, I feel confident, be found that there is a gratifying increase over the previous two half-years. Of late extra British India boats have arrived with coolies only, and even now the accommodation at the new quarantine station is crowded to excess.

### Education in British India

The number of colleges for males in the whole of British India in 1909-10 was 174, an increase of 12 over the previous year,

But the figure of 1908-9 was lower by 7 than that of 1907-8, and still lower by 4 than that of 1905-6 which again was lower by 2 than that of 1900-1. The number rose from 108 in 1885-6 to 133 in 1890-1, to 154 in 1895-6 and to 175 in 1900-1, but then began a set-back, and the figure of 1909-10 was still less than that of 1900-1. The number of colleges for females steadily rose from 2 in 1885-6 to 12 in 1905-6, then it fell to 10, and again rose to 11 in 1909-10. The number of schools for males rose from 90,739 in 1885-6 to 118,234 in 1909-10, and the same for females rose from 4,719 in the former year to 12,498 in the latter. Including private institutions, both for males and females, the total number of colleges and schools in 1909-10 was 170,469 against 122,367 in 1885-6. The number of male students at college in 1909-10 was 29,187 and of female students 342. In 1885-6 the number of the former was 10,507 and of the latter only one. The number of male scholars in public schools was 4,802,339 in 1909-10 against 2,771,763 in 1885-6, while of female scholars the numbers for the respective years are 763,906 and 197,603. In all kinds of colleges and schools in 1909-10 there were males and females together, 6,211,918, against 3,325,080 in 1905-6. The total expenditure on education from all sources was Rs. 6,88,21,231 in 1909-10 against Rs. 2,40,62,494 in 1885-86. The amount is made up as follows :—

From				Rs.
Provincial Revenues	...	...	...	2,34,81,243
Local and Municipal Funds	...	...	...	1,27,01,318
Fees	...	...	...	1,85,69,735
All other sources	...	...	...	1,40,68,935

### **Indian Archaeology**

The annual report of the Director-General of Archaeology, for the year 1908-09, gives an interesting account of the work of conservation, fresh acquisitions, and exploration throughout India. In the field of exploration strenuous work was done by the Department and their energies were directed towards the discovery of the famous Kanishka Stupa, near Peshawar, some-time ago. There can be no question, remarks Mr. Marshall, that these are the actual relics referred to by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tshang, in his account of Kanishka Stupa. The second important work of exploration which the Department made was the discovery of a unique record relating to the Greek rulers of the Punjab. This find of historical interest was made on the

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site of the ancient city of Vidisa in the Gwalior State. A discovery of popular interest resulted from the further excavation of the palace of Akbar in the Agra Fort. It appears that at some time subsequent to the completion of the Jahangiri Mahal a replica of its facade was erected across the western end of Akbar's zenana, the two facades together presenting an imposing frontage of 430 feet in length. During the year under review the total expenditure of the Department was about Rs. 569,388, of which Rs. 101,440 were allotted to Local Government to assist them in special archaeological work. A sum of Rs. 227,832 was spent on the Archaeological Department and Rs. 333,382 were spent on conservation and excavation including grants-in-aid from Imperial revenue.

### **Press in India**

The number of printing presses in British India in 1909-10 was 2,736. The following figures are interesting and suggestive as exhibiting comparative progress :—

1885-6	...	was	...	1,094
1890-91	...	"	...	1,489
1895-96	...	"	...	1,906
1900-01	...	"	...	2,198
1905-06	...	"	...	2,380
1907-08	...	"	...	2,571
1908-09	...	"	...	2,594

The number of newspapers published in 1909-10 was 726. This number was less than the number published in 1908-9 (738), in 1907-8 (753) and 1905-6 (747). In 1885-6 the number was only 471, which rose to 547 in 1890-1, to 613 in 1895-6 and to 655 in 1900-1. The number of periodicals fell from 406 in 1885-6 to 330 in 1890-1 and rose to 463 in 1895-6 to 520 in 1900-1, 793 in 1905-6 and 1,062 in 1907-8, but fell again to 895 in 1908-9 and further down to 829 in 1909-10. The number of books in English or other European languages rose from 734 in 1885-6 to 2,112 in 1909-10 and those in vernacular from 7,990 in the former year to 9,934 in the latter.

### **The Growth of Literary Activity in India**

The growth of literary activity in this country during the past thirty years is shown by the figures just published in the series of Statistics of British India. The number of presses has increased from 751 in 1879-80 to 2,736 in 1909-10. Thirty years ago there were 328 newspapers; in 1909-10 in spite of

Press Acts there were 726. There were also 829 periodicals as against 322 in 1879-80.

The increase in the publication of books is still more remarkable. In 1879-80 the number of English books published was 523; in 1909-10 it was 2,112. Books in Indian languages have increased from 4,346 to 9,934. A closer inspection of the figures shows that in the case of newspapers and books the period of greatest activity was between 1879-80 and 1889-90, the increase of newspapers in that decade being 60 per cent., of English books 75 per cent., and of Indian books 95 per cent. On the other hand periodicals showed the greatest increase in the decade ending 1909-10.

The province with the largest number of newspapers is Bombay which has 160. The United Provinces come next and then Madras and the Punjab, Bengal being only fifth on the list. Bengal, however, is easily first in the production of books, of which in 1909-10 it published 3,146. Madras which comes next published only 2,085, while Bombay is content with 1,140. Religion is the theme of the greatest number of books, 3,057 volumes being devoted to this subject as against 525 works of fiction.

### **The Indian High Courts Act Amendment Bill**

The following is the full text of the Act just passed in the English Parliament to amend the Indian High Courts Act :—

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—

1. The maximum number of Judges of a High Court of Judicature in India, including the Chief Justice, shall be twenty, and section two of the Indian High Courts Act, 1861, shall have effect accordingly.

2. The power of His Majesty under section sixteen of the Indian High Courts Act, 1861, may be exercised from time to time, and a High Court may be established under that section in any portion of the territories within His Majesty's dominions in India, whether or not included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another High Court; and where such a High Court is established in any part of such territories included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another High Court, it shall be lawful for His Majesty by Letters Patent to alter the local

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jurisdiction of that other High Court and to make such incidental, consequential, and supplemental provisions as may appear to be necessary by reason of the alteration of those limits.

3. Subject to the provisions of section two of the Indian High Courts Act, 1861, as amended by this Act, regulating the number and qualifications of judges, it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to appoint from time to time persons to act as additional judges of any High Court for such period not exceeding two years as may be required, and the judges so appointed shall, whilst so acting, have all the powers of a judge of the High Court appointed by His Majesty under section two of the said Act : provided that such additional judges shall not be taken into account in determining the proportions specified in the *proviso* to that section.

4. The salaries of any judges or temporary judges appointed under this Act shall be paid out of the Revenues of India.

5. This Act may be cited as the Indian High Courts Act, 1911, and shall be construed as one with the Indian High Courts Acts, 1861, and the Indian High Courts Act, 1865, and this Act may be cited together as the Indian High Courts Acts, 1861 to 1911.

### **The Cost of the India Office**

The 'Home' Accounts of the Government of India published last month give some interesting details of the cost of the India Office. In the superannuation and retired list, owing to the death of 10 pensioners and others, a sum of £2,789-17-6 will cease to be disbursed. As against this, 12 persons have been newly brought into the list owing to age, ill-health or abolition of office and their pensions and allowances amount to £2,246-11s. There is a net decrease of £543-6-6, the amounts of expenditure for the present year (1911-12) and the last year being respectively £43,060 and £43,603. In the India Office the total number of persons employed, including the Secretary of State and Members of Council, has increased from 658 to 660 and the cost of their salaries from £154,956 to £156,283 representing a net increase of £1,327. Out of the 13 Councillors, 7 receive £1,200 each and six £1,000 each. The latter also receive Indian Civil Service annuities of £1,000 each. Among the first 7, one receives an Indian Military pension of £1,000 and a good service pension of £100 and one an Indian Military pay of £700 a year. Six Secretaries receive £1,200 each while six Assistant Secretaries receive £800-50-1,000 each. There are about 40 clerks with salaries varying from £800 to £70 and their aggregate cost amounts to £16,454 as against

£13,020 the cost of 12 Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries. One of the eight senior clerks on £800 receives an allowance of £300 as Private Secretary to the Secretary of State and one of the ten junior clerks is the Assistant Private Secretary and Precis Writer and draws an allowance of £150. The Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State receives £800 inclusive of a consolidated travelling allowance of £200, but is allowed an 'unemployed pay' at £1 a day. The rest of the establishment may be grouped together thus :

	No.	Cost.
Accountant-General's Office	62	£20,991
Registry and Record Dept.	67	12,950
Miscellaneous officers	22	11,028
Office keepers and messengers	58	6,158
Housekeeper, house-maid, etc.	23	2,166
Store Dept.	137	33,487
" Temporary Establt.	180	13,372
Contingencies of India Office		15,000
"         "         Store		12,200
Office of the Auditor		6,962

It may be added that a large number in the Store Department are pensioners of the Indian Service.

## **COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL**

### **Joint Stock Companies in the Punjab**

The Report of Joint Stock Companies, Punjab, 1910-11, states regarding Companies with share capital, that twenty new Companies have been registered during the year, but they have hardly started work, as paid up capital reported comes so far as only to twenty-four thousand. Seven companies with a paid up capital of over two lakhs twenty-six thousand have ceased to exist. There are 149 Companies in existence, the nominal capital being 580 lakhs or p.c. lakhs less than last year.

### **Indian Cloth**

In commenting on the Annual Review of Trade, the *Times of India* has the following :—" There is moreover indirect evidence of the stronger position of Indian cloth in the home market. The total production was the largest on record and increased by seventy five million yards or 7·8 per cent. But the increase in the exports (of Indian cloth) was only five and a half million yards, showing

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the quantity consumed in India to have grown by nearly 70 million yards. This is an encouraging sign, at such a time, and strengthens the conviction long held by our most enlightened mill-owners, that the backbone of the industry ought to be found in the home market."

### **Timber Resources of India**

The forty-sixth statement dealing with the moral and material progress and condition of India, just issued by the India Office, dwells at some length on the subject of forests. Among the measures of conservancy are the prevention, so far as possible, of the fires which devastate the forests, the plantation and reproduction of timber and firewood, the maintenance of a supply of seed-bearing trees, and the regular reproduction of the more valuable kinds of timber. At present the reserved (including leased) forests cover an area of about 90,000 square miles, and there is scope for further reservation in Madras and Burma. Outside the reserves there are about 157,000 square miles of State forests, including 16,000 square miles of protected forests. Some part of this area will eventually be brought within the "reserve" area, and all of it is, with more or less completeness, managed and worked for the benefit of the people and of the public revenue. The limited areas of private forest, except where they have been leased to the Government, are being gradually exhausted; and few private communal or village forests have been successfully brought under conservancy. In each province a very few of the most valuable timber trees are declared to be reserved, and can only be felled under special licence. In Bengal the areas of reserved and protected forests are respectively 4,248 and 3,713 square miles, representing over 6 per cent. of the area of the province. The yield of timber was about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet, and the outturn of fuel  $30\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet. The areas of reserved and protected forest in the United Provinces are 3,947 and 9,099 square miles respectively. Much work was done during the year in examining and demarcating the more important forests and ascertaining their capabilities. The yield of the forests was  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet of timber,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet of fuel, and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  million bamboos, besides minor produce. The resin and turpentine industry in the Naini Tal and Jaunsar divisions gave good results, partly due to a rise in prices. Plans are being formulated for restocking areas affected by the great drought. The reserved forest area in the Punjab comprised 1,955 square miles including 110 square miles under military or other control. The

protected forests aggregated 5,223 square miles, while there are 1,332 square miles of unclassified forest and 369 square miles of leased forests. The outturn of timber was about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet, while the fuel outturn was nearly  $23\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet. In the North-West Frontier Province the reserved forest area is 250 square miles, besides 121 square miles of civil protected forests. There was an increase in the outturn of produce, the quantities being 586,000 cubic feet of timber and 281,000 cubic feet of fuel. The reserved forest area in Burma was increased by 2,110 square miles to 25,691 square miles; the unclassified forests, much of which will ultimately be brought under cultivation, covered 113,007 square miles, an increase of 2,139 square miles. The majority of the teak bearing forests are now being managed under working plans or girdling schemes. The number of teak trees girdled was 112,600, and the quantity of teak extracted was 284,600 cubic tons, including 234,600 by purchase contractors, an increase of 14,500 cubic tons due to a favourable floating season. Of other timbers 302,300 cubic tons were extracted, besides 325,600 cubic tons of fuel. The area under teak worked by the Department is being strictly curtailed in favour of the system of extraction by firms under purchase contracts. The total area of forests in the Central Provinces and Berar was 21,436 square miles, including permanent reserves of 20,620 square miles, and unclassified forests 816 square miles. Special attention has been given to the making of roads which will facilitate the utilization of forest resources. The amount of timber removed during the year, chiefly by private persons, was about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet; that of fuel about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet. In Eastern Bengal and Assam the forest area included 6,483 (an increase of 166) square miles of reserved and 4 miles of protected forests, or about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the total area of the province, and 22,752 square miles of unclassified forests. The gross yield of the forests amounted to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet of timber and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet of fuel, besides 34 million of bamboos and minor produce. The total area of forests in Madras is 19,612 square miles, of which 18,769 square miles were classed as reserved forests. The yield of the forests is three and two-thirds million cubic feet of timber and  $21\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet of fuel, besides 39 millions of bamboos and minor produce. In Bombay the area of the reserved forests is 23,769 square miles, while that of the protected forests is 1,348 square miles. The yield of timber was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million cubic feet, of fuel 39 million cubic feet, and of bamboos 8,700,000. The area of reserved forests in the Andamans is 161 square miles, while the

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area of unclassed State forests and waste lands is 1,791 square miles. The outturn of timber was 503,000 cubic feet (of which 222,000 cubic feet were exported), of fuel, 1,103,000 cubic feet and of bamboos 1,193,000.

### **BANKING NOTES**

#### **The Indian Specie Bank, Limited**

The net profit of the Indian Specie Bank, Limited, for the half year ended 30th June 1911 amounts to Rs. 10,83,006-5-8 including the sum of Rs. 6,84,353-12-8 brought forward from last year's accounts. The Directors have resolved to declare an *ad interim* dividend at the rate of seven per cent. per annum free of Income Tax on the paid-up capital of Rs. 15 lacs, which will absorb Rs. 2,62,500 and to carry forward the balance, Rs. 8,20,506-5-8 to the next account.

#### **The Punjab National Bank**

The net profit of this Bank, after defraying all expenses and paying interest to depositors, is Rs. 1,18,426-14-11 being about 25 per cent. per annum on the Bank's paid-up Capital. To this may be added Rs. 18,129-6-2 brought forward from last half year, making a total of Rs. 1,36,556-5-1. A branch of the Bank has been opened at Ludhiana during this half year, and another has been decided to be opened at Calcutta.

# SELECTIONS

## MR. GOKHALE ON PUBLIC LIFE

The following is the text of a speech delivered recently by the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale at Madras :—

Gentlemen, this is not by any means my first visit to Madras, and this is not certainly the first time that I have been the recipient of your kindness and favour. Demonstrations such as this serve to bring only too vividly to one's mind the utter disproportion between what little one may have done, what one may have endeavoured to do and the amplitude of generosity and recognition which an indulgent public almost always bestows upon workers in the country's cause. While, therefore, this demonstration and this reception on the one hand almost humbles me, on the other, I admit it is to me a great encouragement in that it means not indeed that every one, every detail, of my labours during all these years has been acceptable to you, but that you are not unwilling to put the stamp of your approval on the spirit of those labours. If I am not putting an unduly high interpretation on this reception in saying this, I can assure you that I desire nothing higher or better, and assure you further that your good-will binds me further as by bonds of steel to the service of our common motherland.

### WHAT IS PUBLIC LIFE ?

Gentlemen, I have undertaken to speak to you on the needs and responsibilities of public life. I do not wish to begin my discourse by any attempt to present to you a scientific idea as to what is meant by public life ; at the same time, it is desirable to have a fairly general and clear idea as to what is meant by the expression ' public life.' We all know that a certain part of our life may be regarded as purely personal life, and beyond that there is another part which may be called the family life ; and beyond these two, there is a third part which we may well describe as our public life. Now, our personal life and family life are easily understood by every one of us ; but public life is not so easily understood, and, therefore, I will say a few words more on this public life before I take up the rest of my argument. It requires two conditions to be fulfilled before any life can be described as

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public life. In the first place, it must be for the benefit of the public. That is comparatively simple. But there is another condition that must also be fulfilled, and that is, it must be a life shared and participated in, if not by the entire public, at any rate by a very large number of people. For instance, a man who builds a tank or endows a city with a hospital or confers some other favour upon his fellow-beings is a public benefactor ; he does good to the people. What he does is for the public benefit, but that is not a question of public life. What he does is no personal profit, but is intended for the good of the community. His action does not, however, form a part of the public life of that community. These two conditions, therefore, have to be fulfilled before any sphere of life can be described as public life, namely, that the object of public life must be public benefit, and that life must be shared in by a large number of people, if not by the entire public. Now, gentlemen, there is one thing about this public life that I would like to say before I proceed to a comparison of this public life of ours with what it is elsewhere. As we advance from a personal form of government to a more democratic form of government, the public life of India assumes more and more importance. At the present moment, I think it is safe to say that the strength and character of India is largely determined by the strength and character of the public life of India. We may well accept this as a test, and if you want to find out where we stand as regards our character and capacity as a community, I think we should be justified in finding out where we stand in regard to public life. In regard to personal and family life, there is not that disproportion between us and the Western people. If we want to make fair comparison between the two in personal life, while there are certain advantages which Western people may claim, there are certain other advantages which our people may claim. On the whole, it would be difficult to say on whose side the balance of advantage lies. Even as regards family life, while there are great blots in our social system which every true well-wisher of the country must deplore, still there are things in our social system and family life to justify us in saying that a comparison between our life and that of the other people will not be wholly unfavourable to us.

### **PUBLIC LIFE IN THE WEST**

But when you come to the question of public life, we have to admit and admit at once that we are very far behind the people of the West in that respect, that we have been in the past almost

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altogether deficient in public life, and that a beginning has now been made and we are fairly progressing ; but, still as life stands to-day, we are behind the people of the West in that particular respect. If you turn to the achievements of the people of the West in public life, you will have to roughly consider them in three spheres. There is first of all what may be called the sphere of national public life ; secondly, the sphere of what may be called political public life ; and, thirdly and lastly, there is the sphere of what may be called social and humanitarian public life. Now as regards the first, the national public life, the question implies your relations with other countries, whether you have to act as a nation in conjunction with, or in competition with, or in conflict with, other countries. Now the achievements of Western people in this connection are well known, and so far as we are concerned we were not able to show much in this respect in the past. We are certainly not able to show anything at the present moment. We have hardly anything like national public life in this country, but it will come, and I fondly and most earnestly look forward to the time when the day will come, when we shall play a worthy part in the national public life, the same as other people do. But, for the present, we must all admit that there is no scope for us in this direction, that there is no national public life for us as such. I will, therefore, put aside that sphere as such and turn to the remaining two *vis.*, political public life and social and humanitarian public life. The political life of the people concerns itself mainly with the relations between the government and the people, the relations between those who exercise authority and those who have to submit to that authority.

Analysing further, you find that in most of the Western countries this public life has taken the form first, of securing liberties, political liberties that they are bound to enjoy at any particular moment ; secondly, of widening the bonds of freedom, of acquiring more political liberties ; and thirdly, of discharging efficiently those responsibilities which always come with political liberties. You will find that the achievements of the Western nations in this sphere have been very high, and it is desirable that our people should study what the Western people have done in this sphere before they can hope to emulate or excel them in that sphere. In regard to the third sphere, the social and humanitarian sphere, we have first of all to consider what are the standards of social justice accepted by the people whose case we are considering, and when we come to consider the humanitarian sphere we have got to analyse what the

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relations of the different classes of the community are to one another, and how far those who are better placed understand to try to perform their duty to those who are less favourably circumstanced than themselves. These are the different spheres, and of these, as I have already mentioned to you, I propose to deal with the second and the third spheres so far as India is concerned. The achievements of the people of the West both in the second and third spheres have been altogether remarkable. The humanitarian movement of the eighteenth century in the West has done more for the people of the West in some respects than even their struggle for political freedom. If we understand correctly the value of the dignity of man as man, if we understand the value of social freedom, if we understand the injustices and the disabilities placed upon any section on the score of birth or sex, if we understand all these things correctly, if we are fired by that enthusiasm which always comes from a keen sense of injustice, if we put our shoulders to the wheel and try to set these matters right, then I say we shall have done something in the social and humanitarian sphere. A beginning has been made and there is an awakening in this land such as there never was. We are, at any rate, ashamed of many of the social injustices which we deplore on all sides of us ; only we do not take up with energy, necessary energy, the work to remove those injustices.

### **PUBLIC LIFE IN INDIA**

But my object to-day is not so much to speak even of this third sphere, namely social and humanitarian public life, as to speak of the second sphere, namely the political public life of our people. I use the expression 'political public life' in its largest and widest sense. Gentlemen, this political public life of ours must be understood both in connection with our past and also with the work that lies before us in the future. No hasty judgment on the condition of our public life would be of much value. I know there are people who are inclined to throw up things in despair, and say there is no hope for the people who are behind, as our people sometimes are behind. There are other people who seem to imagine that because a new awakening has shown itself, the whole problem that we have to deal with will be solved almost in no time, and that as they have awakened themselves to a new responsibility, everything would be all right. I want you to realise that our public life, its responsibilities and disabilities, and the work that lies before it, and all that is connected with our public life, must be understood only in relation to our past and in relation to our future. I mention this point, I insist upon it and emphasise

## **MR. GOKHALE ON PUBLIC LIFE**

that point, because this public life is, comparatively speaking, a plant of new growth in this land and you must not, therefore, expect a very tender plant to have that strength which you find in more sturdy growths. To those that are inclined to be impatient, I would say : 'Have a little more patience, because while a beginning has been made that does not mean that the end has been reached, and the end may be a long way off. There is a good deal of time to be spent, though in the end we may come up to the standard which we all appreciate so much in other land.' To those, at the same time, who are inclined to be easily self-satisfied, who think that they have occasionally to deliver a speech on public questions or occasionally to take a little interest in public matters and that the whole of their responsibility is there ended, I would say : 'Think of the future that lies before you ; think of the work that lies before you, think of the vast space that has to be covered before you can hold your heads up among the civilised people of the world ; think of the vast amount of work that lies before you before you can really claim to be human beings possessed of any self-respect. Do this and then you will see there is not that room for easy self-congratulation which some of us see in the existing state of things.' Having made these two preliminary observations, I will now deal with our public life as it is. While I deprecate undue pessimism, at the same time, you must understand where we actually stand, understand our defects and deficiencies and also understand what our defects really are, because unless we understand these things, these things will not be set right. This public life, as I have already pointed out, is a tender plant of new growth ; but that does not mean that it does not receive at our hand that sustenance which it requires or that sustenance which it is our duty to give to it. You may consider our public life in various fields, from Councils of the country down to the village unions, in the municipal councils and local bodies, in the press and the platform, and in the various movements which we have inaugurated for the education of public opinion. In all these fields, we may examine what exactly we are doing in public life, what is the strength and what is the weakness of that public life.

### **PUBLIC LIFE AND PUBLIC SPIRIT**

When you come to consider these matters, the first thing that strikes you is that our public life is weak because our public spirit is weak. The two things are closely bound up together. Our public life is, on the whole, not strong because our public

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spirit is not what it is in other countries. What is meant by public spirit? There are certain root ideas that underlie the expression 'public spirit'. The first idea is that that man alone can claim to be animated by public spirit who is prepared to sacrifice personal gain, personal comfort, and personal convenience for the common good. This, I think, is a most elementary proposition to lay down. Public spirit, as I repeat, requires that you should subordinate considerations of personal gain, personal convenience, and personal comfort to the good of the community which you want to serve. But this is not sufficient by itself, though that is all important. There is another consideration which has come to be indispensable there. That is, we should be prepared to subordinate our own personal judgment in the consideration of public matters to what is necessary for the common good. I have found in my twenty-five years' experience of public life that while men are willing to sacrifice money and thus forego personal gain, and while they are willing to take trouble and give up personal comfort and personal convenience, they find that the sacrifice of personal judgment is a much more difficult thing to do. Our main difficulty in public life springs as much from reluctance or, I would put it in stronger terms, from a constitutional incapacity of our people to subordinate personal judgment to the common good. Our main difficulties spring as much from this as from our indolence, sloth, selfishness, or unwillingness to part with money and so forth. Gentlemen, these two considerations are involved in the true conception of public spirit. You must be prepared—I may repeat it for the third time—to sacrifice personal comfort, personal convenience and personal gain for the common good. More than that, we must be prepared to set aside our own judgment as to what should be done if it is necessary in the public interests that it should be done. We must distinguish between matters of conscience and matters of judgment. In matters of conscience, a man is justified, not only justified but is bound to stand up, as one against the whole world if necessary. But in matters of judgment there is no such responsibility. In matters of judgment it is often based upon experience, and the views of the leaders should, as a rule, prevail. Unless we are prepared to subordinate our judgment, common action becomes impossible, and unless there is common action, effective action is impossible. In public life there can be no public spirit unless we learn to subordinate our judgment to the judgment of those above us, of leaders of public movements, who are entrusted with the responsibility

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of leading us. These two considerations involved in genuine public spirit are not having a sufficiently strong hold upon us. Remember that the question of co-operation and discipline which is bound up with the success of every public movement is bound up also with this question of public spirit. Unless there is due submission on the part of the followers to the views of those who for the moment happen to be leaders, unless we are willing to make the self-sacrifice necessary for the success of a movement, we cannot expect any great results to accrue from any movement. Moreover, remember that the instinct of our people for co-operating with one another and for discipline has not always shown itself in the past. If we want to render a better account of our public life, this weakness of ours will have to be overcome. We shall have to co-operate with one another better, we have to recognise the value of discipline better, than we have been in the habit of doing in the past. That is not my own experience, but it is the experience of all. It is the case of everybody trying to pull on each side. When you are trying to roll a huge stone uphill, you will find some men pushing it side-ways and another set kicking it down, so that you find that there are different people giving it a different impetus. It is the same with public life. Taking the municipalities and the councils where there is some show of co-operation, if you look a little beneath the surface, you will find that different men are pulling in different ways. That is because the conception of public good is not the dominating idea of their work. Gentlemen, I am pointing out these difficulties to you not because I undervalue the work that is being done amidst great difficulties, but I am anxious that better work than what is now being done should be done, and it is in the hands of the younger men to show that better work than what is being done at present will be done. In our public life there are not only these inherent difficulties which may roughly be summed up in the expression, 'defect of character and capacity,' but there are certain outside difficulties which are truly of a formidable character ; and it is in connection with these difficulties our public workers have specially to realize their responsibility so that they may be able to give the best that is in them, in these difficult circumstances, to their country.

### **THE RULERS AND THE RULED**

Gentlemen, it is not necessary for me to dwell on the exceptional situation of this country. In the inscrutable dispensation of Providence two races with divergent and different civilizations, with different traditions and with different temperaments and attitudes

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of mind have come together, and howsoever they may have come together, we have to recognize the fact that they have to get on together. All this imposes a great and special responsibility on either side. I would, therefore, point out to you that our difficulties do not end there. Even taking our own people themselves into consideration, the diverse creeds and races, of which our population is composed, these diverse creeds and races constitute no small difficulty in our way. We have to take note of the fact that those who are entrusted with authority in this country are of foreign origin. Their main interests are in their country. But we have at the same time to remember that the population of this country is not homogeneous, that it is torn by divisions and dissensions which are all the more acute because they sometimes arise from considerations of race and creed, and no public worker and no man who is anxious to take a part in public life in this country will be justified in putting out of mind either the one or the other of these two considerations. I lay this proposition down as a safe proposition to make in the present state of things. What may happen in the future of course is not given to man to prophesy. But in the present state of this country no true progress can be achieved unless these three sides that I have spoken join together. Our population may be divided into Hindus and Mahomedans, and for the moment the other communities may be left out of account. Unless these three sides join hands, no real advance can be made. Our progress, therefore, in this country depends upon the harmonious co-operation, first, between the rulers and the ruled, secondly between the two communities of which the ruled are composed. I do not think that any one of us will stand up and contest the correctness of this proposition. Now, it is easy to lay down a proposition like this. It is easy to say that all sides should co-operate and that they should be in harmony, and there would be no progress unless there is harmony. But the question is how to secure this co-operation and harmony. As long as self-interest is the dominating factor in the affairs of men, and as long as people will be guided not only by what is just and fair but by passions and prejudices, so long the difficulties will arise in securing the co-operation which is very necessary for the progress of this country. There are certain broad considerations which may be suggested to you all, so that each one of us in his own sphere may try to facilitate this work of co-operation and may try to work in practice for a common purpose, and when we work for the common purpose that we have in view, then we shall

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have the strength which is necessary to overcome these expanding difficulties that lie in our path.

### **DUTY OF RULERS**

As regards our rulers, I would like to say one word to them from this platform. I would like to say to them that if, on any account, or, for any reason or by any means, they allow a suspicion to be created in the public mind of this country, as regards the character and intentions of their rule, then no amount of loyalty, no amount of spirit of co-operation on the part of the people will help them long. If the rulers will not see to it, if the members of the ruling race, non-official as well as official, will not clearly realize that, it will not do for this vast population to entertain a distrust as to the real character and the ultimate purpose of the British rule in this land; if they do not clearly realize that, then I say to them that they have failed signally in a most responsible situation. But as long as they do that, as long as they do not lower the flag which has been raised in the past by some of their most eminent men, as long as they recognise that this rule exists for the welfare of the people of India, that the object of this rule is gradually to raise the people to a position of equality with those who are now in a position of authority, so long as this purpose is kept steadily in view, so long as this flag is not allowed to be lowered by selfish considerations, so long will the ruling race be performing its part on the whole fairly and well.

### **DUTIES OF THE RULED**

On the other hand, speaking to our own countrymen, I say this. We are bound by obligation; one obligation involves another. It is a reciprocal obligation. The rulers must accept the obligation of which I have spoken. On the other hand, our own people, especially the educated classes, must accept a corresponding obligation; that is to give no room by word or deed for any questioning of our loyal acceptance of this rule. If we allow any ground for any distrust or any suspicion in the minds of our rulers like that, then the whole plant, the whole tree of confidence, is torn up by the roots at once. They are a very few men in this country and their minds can easily grow anxious, and if their minds should grow anxious, they are armed with such powers that they can use them not only to prevent what is wrong but also to prevent sometimes what is not wrong. That is only natural. In the same place we should make worse mistakes. I am only stating the situation as it is and we have to realize it. Therefore, it is a great, solemn, and supreme responsibility that resta

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on our leaders, leaders of public opinion in this land, not to give the slightest or the smallest room for suspicion to be engendered in the mind of the ruling race about our loyal acceptance of this rule. Having done that, the whole requirement of the situation is roughly satisfied on our part. We owe a duty not only to the rulers who have established order and unfurled this high flag, but also to our own country. In a sense the rulers will have no cause to complain, if there is perfect tranquility and perfect quiet in the land, and if there is no stir or any breath on the sea of public life ; if we accepted our lot as it is, said not a word, but went on paying our taxes and doing our ordinary work and said nothing about our rights, I do not think that the ruling authorities will complain. But that does not mean that we shall be doing our duty to our country. We must not allow any suspicion to cross their mind as to our loyal acceptance of this rule. This rule which we have accepted is indispensable for our own progress and any disturbance of it means really throwing everything into the melting pot. Having taken care not to give room for that kind of suspicion, we have to see to it that we do our duty by our own country. That is to say that we have to build up the strength of our people so that they may be able to discharge all the responsibility which may ultimately devolve upon them. In our own public life, roughly speaking, we have to do three things. We have to build up the strength of our own people in public life, teach them the habits of co-operation and habits of discipline and spread among them the ideas of our rights : and then we have to bring this strength to bear upon the Government so that the bonds of freedom in this country may be widened, so that concessions might be followed by other concessions till at last we are able to hold our heads high like other people in other lands. We have to bring to bear strength upon the Government so that they may move with the time. We have to see that such responsibility as has been given to us or as may be given to us is properly and efficiently discharged by us. Take the case of local bodies which are the real nurseries of local self-government. If we do our work properly and well in municipalities and local boards, it will not be possible for those who are for progress to say 'we have given you the chance, but what are you doing with it ?' We resent this argument when it is used, but we have to admit that there is a great deal of force in the argument. We are not by any means satisfied with all the requirements of public life in the local bodies, and what is happening there may also happen in other fields and in other directions, if further

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responsibilities are conferred upon us. We have, therefore, got to see to it that such responsibilities as are conferred upon us are properly and efficiently discharged by us. This is the three-fold work that lies before us in our public life. To sum up again, we have to build up the strength of our own people. How is it to be built up? You cannot build up the strength of our people in a short time. It is bound to be a slow work. But it should be a steady and strenuous work. Every one of us must now devote ourselves to this work altogether. I will deal with this part of the subject towards the close of my address. We must go about among the people, point out to them how other people are governed, point out also the advantages of their having a larger voice in the administration of their own affairs, impress upon them the responsibility which such self-government involves, and try to prepare them by the spread of education in a true sense among the people. Try to prepare them for this responsibility that we may expect good of them in the future. So far as the Government is concerned, you must remember that it is a British Home Government and it is accountable to the British democracy. That fact should inspire us with hope and also give us clearly the idea that many of us have not of the slow manner in which this Government is bound to move. In England, every reform has been very slowly achieved. The Government does not care to move on until it realises that movement is absolutely necessary. The Englishman is here six thousand miles away from his land, but he has brought with him his instincts and traditions. Unless the Government sees clearly that there is, beyond the shadow of doubt, evidence absolutely, that a further step in progress is necessary, you cannot expect the Government to move of its own accord. The mistake that many of our people make is this that, by newspaper articles or speeches on platforms, Government would be brought to their view. Government is not moved by this. They are ready, they are anxious, to understand the value of the suggestions. Unless you fully satisfy them, you cannot reasonably expect Government to move. The Government is to work under the British democracy, and anybody who knows anything about British democracy will understand that it is largely swayed by the considerations of humanity and justice. Anybody who understands that, will see that if we are only patient and persistent, this Government will ultimately be bound to accept the justice of the claims, provided they are just. We have, therefore, first of all to build up the strength of the people in public life and bring that strength to bear upon the Government. The people of

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this country must govern for themselves one day ; that is the law under Providence, I may say a few words on this towards the close of my address. I am not speaking of the near future ; gradual progress will lead to that goal, no matter how distant it be. We are not intended by Providence to always remain as a subject race—that is by no means possible. If we believe in Divine justice such an arrangement can never be attributed to the Creator. We may assume that our destiny will be the same in spirit as it has fallen to the lot of other countries, a position of self-respect and dignity, and that a position of honor among the nations of the world is also in store for the people of India. What then is the position ? The movement of the world in the East and West is towards representative government on a democratic basis. I hope you will realise clearly the meaning of that. The days of personal rule even in the East are over ; the days of personal rule in the West have long been over. The East and the West have come to stand so far as that matter is concerned on the same platform. We have to take advantage of the lesson, and we have to shape our course accordingly. The goal that we should keep in view, therefore, is representative government on a democratic basis. No longer government for a class whether it is for a class of Europeans and Indians, no longer government for a class or section of a community such as Mahomedans as against Hindus or Hindus as against Mahomedans if possible. Government by representatives of all and government in the interests of the whole community, that is the goal that has to be kept in view. Progress towards this goal has got to be made under British Rule. That is the other consideration that must constantly be kept in view. How is this to be achieved ? It is to be achieved in this way. The rulers have promised us of their own accord absolute equality with all the races in this land. We must put forth our best effort zealously to secure that equality, equality not only among Indian, but equality as between Indians and Englishmen in this country. That equality is not to be confined to cases that come before law courts, but equality in regard to every thing including the form of Government which the Englishmen have got for themselves elsewhere. That then is the goal. Approach towards that goal is to be long. The realisation in practice of that equality which has been promised to us in theory by our rulers will only come slowly. You must remember that a great deal depends on yourselves. If we are not their equals to-day, it is because our average is much lower than their average, and there cannot be any equality so long as the averages

differ. We should never lose sight of that fact. I want you to try and build up a higher average in this country and build up that strength which is necessary before we can claim our equality with the rest of human beings, which shall be ours if we are only true to ourselves. There is nothing impossible under British rule. If we only constantly keep in view these considerations in practical affairs, we shall endeavour to secure equality not only with the Englishmen in this country, but also in regard to the form of government which they have established for themselves everywhere else. This then is the direction in which we have to move. Our whole public work must be directed towards this end, towards the building up of our strength which can only come from a steady and persistent discharge of our public duties. Every man who has to work in the municipality as it is, and every man who does his work unselfishly, contributes to the strength of the people ; every man who tries to impress our rulers with a sense of fairness and justice of our claims and of the sense of our capacity to manage our affairs, contributes to the strength of the people. We have to build up this strength in a variety of ways, and we have to bring this strength to bear upon the rulers and then further progress is a comparatively simple affair.

**THE HINDU-MAHOMEDAN PROBLEM**

There is one other consideration which the situation suggests, and which I must mention to you and that is in respect to our attitude towards the rulers. It is fairly clear because even if we were not so minded, our rulers are armed with authority which can compel our attention to duties in regard to them. The position is not quite so clear as regards the divisions among ourselves and the temptation when you are hit to hit back, the temptation to magnify small differences, the temptation to indulge in quarrel and conflicts which are best to be avoided. That temptation is almost inevitable with the bulk of our people. It is no use minimising matters. This Hindu-Mahomedan question at the present moment is a most anxious one, not so much on this side because the Mahomedan community is a small one, but in certain provinces where they are in a numerical majority. This problem is one of acute gravity and it is the merest commonplace to say that unless we go on well with one another, Hindus and Mahomedans, there is really no progress possible for either of us. I do not want to apportion the blame, I have never done it, and I will not do it on this occasion. It always takes two to make a quarrel. This is a safe proposition. I say this further, that those

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who put forward exaggerated claims for themselves as also those who resist just claims coming from the other side equally make matters difficult for both sides. There is a great deal of this at the present moment and what we require now is that a few men on either side who are willing to undertake the work should see that the small differences that separate us are kept merely small, and that a constant endeavour is made to compose them and to see that the common points which bind us together are constantly and steadily kept in view. This is a matter of very great importance at the present moment. There are sectional organisations being formed everywhere. The temptation to form a sectional organisation is very strong. I went a few days ago to Allahabad, and I found the whole air there astir with this race feeling. What right and what political concessions that we should get for the people, and how we were governed, as these were minor matters to be brushed aside. The thing that embittered the people most is the feeling that those people have got more seats than they should get, and that these people are asking for more than they should get. On the one side, the feeling was that these people resist what we ask ; we were at one time rulers of the land and we should get more than these other people. Questions like that embittered the relations, social and personal, to such an extent that many thoughtful men are filled with grave apprehensions as to the future of the relations between the two communities. As to public worker he owes a responsibility not only to the present but to the future. These men who take sides in these quarrels contribute their share to embitterment.

The whole question becomes necessarily complicated and failure is certain. But they are urged on by failures till they entirely lose sight of what is due from them to the people of the country. The future of the country depends pre-eminently upon harmonious co-operation between Hindus and Mahomedans. You cannot get rid of either the one or the other. The two have got to settle down and stay together in this land and, therefore, they must work together. Without this all hopes of a common nationality and all the advantages of self-government that come in with common nationality are idle dreams to our people and, therefore, public workers must never lose sight of them, that they owe a duty to the future of their country, and that they should do their best not to emphasise these differences but to compose them as far as possible. If at times passions are so roused that you are unable to do anything helpful, and if you can do nothing to compose these differences, hold your peace ; in any

case do not say anything or do not do anything that will embitter the situation any further. A recognition of this essential duty is necessary before our public life really gathers that strength which it is necessary that it should acquire. Torn among ourselves, we cannot build up any strength and cannot bring any strength to bear upon the Government, and are unable to discharge our duties in the nurseries of self-government, and the whole thing will be in the feeble and chaotic state in which we shall content to be as we are to-day. These are the responsibilities of public workers.

**STUDY OF PUBLIC QUESTIONS**

There are one or two other things that I want to mention : that is specially in connection with the reforms that have been recently granted. There is no doubt whatsoever that those who understand public affairs will at once recognise that these reforms have given great opportunities for the creation and for the building up of public opinion in this country, if nothing else. What we say in the Councils may or may not affect the rulers. I know it does affect the rulers and that very considerably. As a matter of fact, I found in days even before the reforms came, what we said used to have effect and influence upon the rulers, and what we say now naturally carries much more weight, not only because our numbers are large, but because there are wider powers conferred upon these Councils than they possessed before. You must deal with the ruling race as it is ; it is a hard-headed race ; no mere appeal to sentiment will go a long way with that race. What is necessary is a careful and deep study of public questions. Our public men have begun to acquire such a study. But you cannot take up that study when for the first time you go into the Council. Many of our men who are following their ordinary professional work in their life come forward and get themselves elected to the Council, and then they take up that study of public questions. Mind you, I find no fault with them, because in the past there has been no public life. But this must now cease. Only those who are acquainted with public questions and can deal with them with that weight and dignity which is necessary in the Councils should be sent to the Councils hereafter. If they know their subjects well, what they say will go much further with the ruling race than what they may say on mere sentiment. If public men are to study public questions, then the responsibility rests with the senior workers of this country to provide facilities to younger men for studying public questions. There are no such facilities anywhere at the present moment. Unless our younger men take up the study of public questions, by

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the time they come to play a leading part in public affairs it will not be possible for them to acquire that firm acquaintances with public questions that is desirable.

Therefore, it is a new duty which our public men have to recognise if they want to do their work properly in Councils, in local bodies, even in the press. Public questions must be studied much more carefully and deeply than have been in the past. Facilities must be provided for younger men in order that they may take up the study of public questions as soon as they can. Gentlemen, I have really spoken more than I intended and I think it is time that I should bring my remarks to a close.

I have dealt with the difficulties of our public life as we see them, and I have also mentioned briefly the extraordinary difficulties that lie in our path. In fact, those difficulties are greater than confront any other people on the face of the earth. I have pointed out to you also the special responsibilities that rest upon our workers firstly, as the result of the abnormal situation of the country, and secondly, as a result of temporary and existing causes. Now, I will say one word in conclusion and then I will bring my remarks to a close. I have just now pointed out that our difficulties are much more formidable than those of any other people. Our path is not on level ground ; it is uphill and there is every discouragement in our path. We have got to face this, we should not be cast down and depressed by constant failures in our attempts. I have more than once said in other places, and I think I may repeat it here, that we have to realise that in our present state we can do work to our country as much by failures as by success. We cannot do more than what is possible in the existing circumstances, and we are answerable to God and man if we do not do all that is possible.

### **WANTED YOUNG MEN**

But one requirement of the situation above all others is this that a sufficient number among us should come forward and take up the work of public life for its own sake exclusively. You remember that the expression 'public service' has been used in the past to represent the Government service. A man in public service means usually a man who is an official. All that has to alter for our people now. The meaning of public service now for our people should be voluntary service in the interest of our fellow-beings. Government service should be dethroned from the place which it has held from our hearts all these years, and the real service should be installed in its place, and this is

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possible only if a sufficient number of educated young men come forward to take up the work of the country in the spirit in which it ought to be taken up. Nowhere else are public affairs left exclusively to men whose whole time nearly is taken up with professional avocation. What will you think of a proprietor who employs a manager who spends the whole of his time in gardening and goes only in the evening to the factory and gives a few orders, or again what will you think of the manager of a press who does other work during the day and turns off to the press only in the evenings ? There is no business in that kind of thing. We have now got to make a business of our public life, we have now got to make a business of our public service. Young men must come forward to take up public service for its own sake, expecting nothing beyond one's own satisfaction and nothing less than a proper and efficient discharge of the service. This is the supreme requirement of the situation. I do not want to be unjust to those who are doing their best amidst difficulties. The earlier generation has done valuable work by clearing the ground. They have laid the foundation on which we should build the superstructure. The work of the coming generation is this work of superstructure, and this work is really not possible unless a sufficient number among us come forward to take up public life for its own sake. Look at the Members of the House of Commons. Many of these are men of means, but some of them are not men of means, and yet they exist solely and simply for public work. Surely there are enough number among our educated men who possess means of their own. There are many among us who are well provided for by industrious parents who have laid by a store for them ; many of the parents have spent the whole of their lifetime either in Government service or in professional work, and they have well provided for their sons. There is no reason why these young men should allow their sense of filial duty so far as to make them walk exactly in the footsteps of their parents. They may now claim to judge for themselves as to how best they will utilise the education they receive and how best they will serve the country which requires their service.

### **ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN**

To the young men of means I say this, and I shall continue to say it while there is breath in me. Go and take up the work of the country, take up public service in the sense in which I have described it for its own sake ; think of the vast country that we have, think of the cares that have been bestowed upon it ; think of the

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position which the human beings of this country are capable of ; and think of the work that has been done to the country. This is a vast work, this is a vast mountain which requires vast force to move it, and this cannot be supplied by a few men working here and there or a large number working in spare odd hours. Therefore, a great special responsibility rests on youngmen of means to come forward and take up the work of the country in that spirit of devotion which the country has a right to demand at their hands. If they do all that, I have no misgivings about the future ; I have enough faith in our own race, in the intelligence, in the capacity of our race. Young men of this country have got to be true to themselves. If they do this all else will come in its own time and so we shall discharge that duty which we owe to ourselves out of our self-respect, and so we shall discharge that duty which we owe to those who have to come afterwards and so we shall have done that duty which we owe to our ancient land which has given us birth and which all of us love so well.

### **INVESTMENTS IN INDIA**

The commercial and industrial evolution in India has, when the conditions, social and economic, obtaining in the country a century ago are taken into account, proceeded at a very extraordinary rate. People rarely attempt to realize what the conditions were, and are apt to criticize adversely the present administration of the country because its economic development does not appear to keep pace with that of the nations of the West. It will be necessary, further on, to criticize the policy of the British Government in India in respect of several matters ; but it is imperative, if such criticism is to be effective, to understand the circumstances of the country and to appreciate the conditions, social, political, and economic, which differentiate it, in respect of industry and commerce, from any of the nations with which adverse critics usually compare it.

Let us take, for example, the common criticism that, under our rule, the indigenous industries of India, which used to furnish so large a proportion of her exports, have dwindled or disappeared. Now those industries were, for the most part, connected with the production of articles of luxury—cloth of gold, embroideries, muslins, and so forth ; the surplusage, in fact, of the indigenous manufactures for the wealthy. Articles of daily consumption by the people at large (apart, of course, from certain food stuffs) have.

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never formed the staple exports of India. And, apart from certain raw materials (such, for example, as nitre) which India produced and other countries did not, it may be said generally, and with sufficient accuracy for present purposes, that, owing perhaps partly to the absence of a national organization, but, as will be suggested, probably far more to the social traditions and instincts of the people, until the East India Company systematised matters, there existed neither a regular export trade from India, nor organized popular industries within India.

In a continent where the village was the social unit, where communications were precarious and difficult, and where the organising influence of a central power was felt only intermittently and then but seldom as an effort towards the well-being of the community at large, such industries and handicrafts as had been evolved, were designed primarily towards the service of the small fraction of the community in the immediate neighbourhood. Only at the large centres, such as the Mughal Court at Delhi, did circumstances lend themselves to a comprehensive scheme of industrial organization. Again, the insecurity of all property, continuing through hundreds of years, had induced in the people habits which were most unfavourable to any wide diffusion of commercial enterprise. Since nothing was safe outside the personal control of the proprietor, property in the shape of money or valuables was invariably hidden away instead of being invested in profitable venture. The same feeling of insecurity tended to limit the scope of industry to the supply of strictly local needs. The advent of the East India Company's systematic rule to a certain extent modified outward conditions, but did not really touch the inbred traditional instincts of Hindu society. Improved administration, especially on the coast line and at the chief ports of the country, encouraged larger speculative operations by the trading castes of the community, with whom, in its earlier years, the Company chiefly came in contact. For the first time, through the agency of the East India merchants, a regular market was opened up outside India for India's raw material, and the risks incidental to supplying that market was minimized by the improved administrative machinery introduced into the Company's provinces. But even so it was, broadly speaking, raw material alone that was exported. Indigenous manufactures were undreamt of on a large scale, and the Indian brokers and large Indian landlords of Bengal were those who chiefly benefited by the commerce. The East India Company wanted dividends, and were naturally interested rather in quick returns than in prospective advantages to be derived

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from far-reaching measures designed for the commercial and industrial regeneration of India ; and the improvements in government were consequently aimed rather at achieving the former than at aspiring to the latter.

With the substitution of the Crown for the Company all this was modified, and considerations of commercial profit and loss ceased to be of direct interest save as an index of the prosperity or the reverse of the country at large ; and a perusal of the *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie* will show what a difference in outlook this must have meant. Commerce now became the concern of private enterprise primarily, to be fostered by the Government with regard to the general well-being of the people. Greater attention was directed to agricultural interests, and measures were concerted for their promotion. Indigenous industries came under consideration, and it was observed with concern that changes in Europe, incidental to the vast expansion in the use of steam machinery, with the concomitant cheapness in output, had resulted in flooding India with imports—especially of woollen and cotton materials—which were rapidly killing off home manufactures. Simultaneously, certain other exports of raw materials declined. Nitre, already referred to, ceased to be needed for the manufacture of explosives in Europe, consequent on chemical discoveries there ; while, in spite of increased facilities and security of communication and the extension of railroads in India, it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain the competition of Indian exports of raw material generally to Europe. All these circumstances insensibly tended towards a reorganisation of the industrial conditions of the country, and, as a first indication of the change, resulted in the establishment of the jute mills in Bengal and the cotton mills in Bombay, which may be said to have been the first great stride in the direction of Indian industrial development, apart from agriculture and railways. Meanwhile, the possibilities of India in respect of agriculture had undergone great expansion under the impetus of British capital in Behar and Assam in the north-east, and in the Neilgherries in the south, where Englishmen had introduced the cultivation of tea, coffee, and indigo. English capital was thus finding its way into India, not only for the development of agriculture, but also for the establishment of indigenous industries, for the jute mills of Calcutta (unlike the cotton mills) are practically all the result of British enterprise.

With this influx of capital, however, arose circumstances which must now be briefly explained in order to make clear why, in any

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survey of India as a field for investment, it is necessary to discriminate between British India and Native States. As early as 1798 it had been found necessary to prohibit British subjects from lending money to Indian Princes (Statute 37, Geo.III., cap. 142, sec. xxviii.) without the consent of the British Indian authorities, as considerable mischief had previously resulted from the practice. The restriction continued in force until 1882, when it was relaxed in the particular case of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Company, when permission was given to the Nizam's Government to negotiate direct with an English financial house. Owing to suspicions of fraud on the part of the Nizam's agent, matters eventually came before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, who, in 1888, tendered advice, as a result of which it had to be laid down, as a general principle, that whenever a Native State decided upon an undertaking, the prosecution of which required a financial arrangement with capitalists, the Government of India would, in protection of the interests of the State, negotiate with the capitalists the necessary instrument. Analogous to this, and, in part, for similar reasons, have been laid down certain restrictions upon mining and railway enterprises in Native States. Without going into particulars of policy, it must suffice here to say that Native States are required to inform the political officers of all contemplated concessions in regard to minerals, and that the local government's sanction is required to exploring and prospecting licenses even when these are drawn up in certain authoritatively prescribed forms. If, however, there is any deviation from these forms, or if the licenses confer any right on the licensee thereafter to apply for and obtain a mining lease of a portion of the area in question, the sanction of the Government of India must be secured. Mining leases in Native States all need the sanction of the Government of India. The reason why it is necessary to emphasize this point is that Native States, while recognising that, in regard to negotiation with capitalists not their own subjects the protection of the Government of India is valuable, regard the disability in the matter of independent negotiation of prospecting and exploring licenses, and of the grant of mining concessions, when these do not concern foreign capitalists, as an infringement of their prerogative, which, rather than submit to, causes them to prefer, not infrequently, to forego the prospective benefits arising from the opening up of the natural resources of their States. It is not proposed, in this article, to discuss the justification for restrictions which have their root chiefly in political considerations, especially as it is believed that

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the Government of India are fully alive to the drawbacks incidental to their policy in this matter ; but no paper dealing with some of the openings for investment of capital in Indian enterprises could afford to overlook a restriction which must vitally affect the embarkation in industrial enterprises in a very large area of the Indian peninsula.

Reverting to the general theme, we had arrived at the point at which the flow of certain Indian exports of raw material was beginning to diminish or disappear, owing to successful substitution of cheaper equivalents, while cheaper imported manufactured articles were succeeding in stifling some of the Indian handicrafts—such as weaving. Hitherto no direct reference has been made to two matters of the utmost importance to our subject, namely, the mineral products of India, actual and potential, and railway enterprise and construction. The general trend of the economic and industrial evolution of India, though profoundly modified by, was in essentials independent of, the latter ; but the exploitation of the most important of India's mineral resources proceeds, as will be shown, almost hand in hand with the development of railway communications. For example, coal, though known to exist in many parts of India, would probably never have been worked to the extent of its present production but for the railway demand, nor except for the facility afforded by railway transit could it have been profitably delivered at the ports. Again, iron ore of high grade occurs with sufficient frequency in the Indian area but it can only be worked profitably provided fuel is easily and cheaply accessible ; and this condition as a rule postulates railway connections. Apart, however, from the effect of these in relation to particular industries, the profound influence which they have exercised over the general economic situation can hardly be overstated. India, from being (as it still is politically) a patchwork of heterogeneous nationalities and races, has become, economically, and to some extent industrially, a homogeneous whole. Where a failure of the crops in one part of the country used to cause local devastation only, it now influences the economy of the whole country. Starvation and misery are indeed averted in the affected locality, but at the cost of a rise in prices from Peshawar to Cape Comorin. Again, the development of new industries on a large scale in India appreciably modifies the distribution of the population and is exercising a perceptible influence upon custom and caste tradition ; and all these factors inevitably affect conditions from the point of view of foreign capital.

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But, apart from the changes above referred to, which have come automatically in the train of a strong administration applying modern improvements to the service of the ancient civilization of India, the most vital and far-reaching of the reforms, from the commercial standpoint of recent times has been the substitution of a gold for a silver standard of currency. It is almost impossible to realize to-day the disturbance to commerce and industry which accompanied the violent fluctuations in exchange which took place between the years 1887 and 1897. With the rupee varying between 1s. 2d. and 1s. 11d., and the checks on business which were an accompaniment of these fluctuations, capital was necessarily deterred from Indian investments, and the exchange banks and brokers were the only people who profited. A perusal of books such as "The Industrial Competition of Asia," by Claremont Daniell, will give some idea of the vital importance of the question as it presented itself to thinkers in the nineties, and will make clear the extent to which the uncertainties of those days operated to prevent investment in India. Such investments under the then conditions could only be speculative. To-day, however, the sovereign is current in India just as it is in England, and fifteen rupees is its constant equivalent, with the result that the investing capitalist in England knows precisely, subject to bank discount, the position in which he stands, and the liability which he incurs, in relation to any Indian project.

With these preliminary explanations it is now possible to give, in brief outline, under their several headings, some of the industries, projects and enterprises which are deserving of greater attention at the hands of British capitalists than they have received in the past. It has already been shown that undertakings of a commercial or industrial nature in Native States stand upon a somewhat different footing from those in British India ; and the necessity for discrimination in this matter will be emphasised anew in the appropriate place. Disregarding this distinction for the moment, it seems convenient to divide our subject into two main headings, namely, *first*, the existing industries which are capable of large development, and *second*, the undeveloped resources of the country. In regard to the first heading it will further be necessary to discriminate between those which are controlled or directed by Government and those which are administered by private enterprise.

### EXISTING INDUSTRIES

**A.—Under Government Control.**—In the forefront of this heading come railways, Port Trust and Municipal loans, and certain agricul-

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tural products, such as opium, hemp, drugs, tobacco, and so forth. The construction of railways in India was largely the work of private companies, but under a contract with Government by which the latter, after the lapse of a specific period, had the option of purchase—an option of which the Government of India have availed themselves. For convenience, however, the railway systems continue to be administered by the companies' boards. Railway extensions, on the other hand, apart from those undertaken by the larger railway systems, have largely been the work, in recent years, of private business firms, notably Messrs. Killick Nixon and Co. in Bombay and Messrs. Martin and Co. in Calcutta; the extension, when constructed, being usually worked by the larger railway system with which it is connected. A glance at the map of India will suffice to show that, even away from the desert areas, huge spaces still remain unserved with railway communication, and that there is ample scope for extension. And here it becomes necessary to advert to the controlling authority. In a country like India it is obviously necessary that railway communications, which, besides being of commercial and industrial import to the country, are also of vital concern politically, should remain, in the last resort, under the control of the governing authority. It is also of moment that railway schemes should be scrutinised in the most careful possible manner with a view to avoiding hasty and ill-considered extensions. To the investing capitalist such scrutiny is of value as assuring him that a given project is essentially sound.

There is, however, a wide gulf between cautious investigation and the intolerable and unjustifiable delays which have sometimes characterised the administration of projected railway extensions in the past. Where a scheme, as is often the case, involves traversing foreign territory (*i.e.*, a Native State) there are, of course, questions of a political character involved which afford a reason for some delay, but there are instances of procrastination on the part of the Government of India in the past which are not susceptible of reasonable explanation and which cannot fail to have had a most discouraging effect upon those who, whether from a philanthropic or a purely commercial point of view, have been desirous of furthering the extension of railway communication in India. Perhaps the worst instance on record is the Barsi Light Railway which I opened in 1903, and which had been more than ten years before the Government of India before its construction, which occupied ten months, was sanctioned. Yet the Barsi Light Railway, designed to serve the cotton industry of the Deccan, was one of those small

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extensions which are bound to be a profitable venture, while the political issues involved were of the simplest character. It is not, however, necessary (though it would be quite easy) to multiply instances of this character. Lord Curzon quickly realised the necessity for reform in railway control, and instituted a central Government Railway Board, with a constitution designed with a view to the more rapid disposal of business, and there has been considerable improvement latterly, though complaints of delays and needless correspondence are still heard. These, it is to be hoped, will become fewer, and in any case there has been no period, since railway construction was first commenced under the inspiring administration of Lord Dalhousie, when projects for extension received more prompt and businesslike consideration at the hands of Government, or offered a more certain return in interest on capital than is the case now. In no country, it may confidently be said, are people quicker to avail themselves of increased facilities of communication, both for themselves and their produce, than in India, and even in the small province of Kathiawar, which, for political reasons upon which it is not necessary to enter here, is a fiscal entity by itself, debarred from profiting by the free trade within the continent of India, efficient railway administration would produce an all-round interest on capital expenditure approaching 7% or 8%. There is thus unlimited scope for railway enterprise of a profitable kind in India. It has occurred that when railway schemes were being considered that there has been a disposition on the part of the official authority to let the outside capitalist have the least promising undertakings whilst reserving for Government those of assured good prospects. This is naturally a policy that does not encourage the investor, and it is to be hoped that wiser counsels will now prevail.

Of Port Trust and Municipal loans it is not necessary to say much. Such concerns as the Bombay and Calcutta Port Trusts are as safe, and probably as efficiently administered, as are the affairs of any corresponding bodies in Europe ; while the municipal corporations of the Presidency towns command the fullest confidence in the money market.

Except in respect of those products of agriculture which were originally started by British capital, such as tea, indigo, coffee, etc., there are practically none which have been the subject of foreign investment. Opium is, in any case, doomed ; but its doom is a matter of vital concern, not so much to the private capitalist, Indian or foreign, as to the Native States of India. Though the

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matter is not directly relevant to the subject of this paper, the serious effect of the abolition of the opium cultivation upon the revenues of several Native States may be emphasised. It was recently pointed out in the *Times* that opium had been cultivated from a date long anterior to our rule, and if its prohibition is to cripple the resources of any State surely it is our duty to share the loss ; and the direct loss to the Native States will be a heavy one. The States were not consulted in our policy, and Government should see that we in India do not practise philanthropy at the expense of others, however fashionable the policy may be at home.

However, opium cultivation does not come within consideration here, nor does that of hemp, sugar or, except indirectly, tobacco. The cultivation of tobacco has not been the subject of investment so much as its preparation and manufacture ; and in respect of the latter, though there is doubtless room for further enterprise, especially in improvements in preparation and manufacture, such as will enable Indian cigars to compete more successfully in the open market with Dutch and other products, there is probably little necessity to draw more particular attention to this subject here.

**B.—Private Industries Independent of Government.**—It is only possible to give a very incomplete list, and a very general description, of the industries under this heading which are appropriate as investments for British capital. Allusion has already been made to the great jute industry of Calcutta and Bengal, and to the flourishing cotton-spinning and weaving mills of the Bombay Presidency. It was stated that the former was almost exclusively the result of British enterprise and represented British investments. The cotton mills of Bombay, on the other hand, are to a far larger extent the property and enterprise of the Indian mercantile community. It must not, however, on that account be supposed that these are worked exclusively by Indian capital, or are independent of British investments. The exchange problem has been solved and a gold standard has been introduced ; there is practically a continuous demand for money for financing the Bombay cotton mills, and a  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  return can be counted upon on what is, if ordinary care be taken, an absolutely safe investment.

Indigo planting has been killed as a profitable investment by the discovery of chemical substitutes, though fresh experiments are reported to have been made recently with a view to enable the natural dye to compete successfully with the synthetic product ; but it remains to be proved whether the results will restore indigo cultivation to its former prosperity. Under the

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heading of Agriculture, there remain only tea and coffee planting which have been the goal of British investments. Climatic reasons are doubtless in part responsible for this. The Englishman thrives in the climate where coffee and tea are grown better than in the burning plains of Central India. It is, nevertheless, difficult to appreciate the reasons which have restrained the English investor from interesting himself in the cultivation of cotton or wheat. It is true that the Indian ryot is a skilful agriculturist who has not much to learn in regard to the mere routine production of his crop ; and he is content with a small profit on his labour. He is, however, not an economical nor an enterprising individual. All the experiments which have been made with a view to improving the quality of the cotton of India have been conducted by Government, and it is more than doubtful whether, when effected, they are made the most of by the Indian cultivator. That a profit is to be made on cotton cultivation on a considerable scale is beyond question, and that the investment of capital to that end would be beneficial to India as well as to the investor, cannot be doubted. Since it pays the ryot to give, on what is known as the *bhag batai* (revenue in kind) system, one-half of his crop to the landlord, and since the Government rent demand is often not more than one-tenth of the value of an average crop, it is reasonable to contend that cultivation on an extensive scale would show a substantial profit.

While the greater part of the mineral wealth of India must be considered under the heading of undeveloped resources, there are three products which no longer come within that category. The development of coal-mining in India is one of the most remarkable events in the industrial history of the country. In 1885, barely a million tons of coal were produced ; twenty years later the output amounted to 8,417,739 tons ; in 1906 the quantity rose to 9,783,250 tons, with a pit-mouth value of approximately £2,000,000 ; and the annual output is now well over ten million tons. Ninety-five per cent. of the production is utilised for the domestic industries of the country, and, since only 30%, or less, of this is consumed by railways, it may be inferred that there is a steadily increasing demand for coal in furthering other industrial developments. The greater part of the total output comes from Bengal, but the production in the Central Provinces and in Hyderabad (Deccan) shows a steady increase. Coal is known to exist also in Rajputana, Cutch, and in other localities, and there appears to be a good prospect of considerable further development of the industry. The boom

which accompanied the exploitation of coal between 1903 and 1906 has somewhat subsided ; and as the inflated prices which ruled for a time have gone back, the industry may be said to be in a normal stage of development, and, with reasonable caution, to afford an opening for very profitable investment. The second mineral product, in the development of which great strides have been made, is petroleum. It is but twenty years since the first deep wells were drilled in Burma. Sir Thomas Holland, in his "Sketch of the Mineral Resources of India"—a booklet which is invaluable to those interested in Indian development—shows that between the years 1902 and 1906 the production of petroleum increased from 56½ to 140½ million gallons ; and that, while the local consumption of petroleum has enormously increased, the imports of foreign oil have shown a fairly steady decline from 76½ million gallons in 1903 to 63¾ million gallons in 1907. As it still pays, in Burma, to work hand-dug wells, it is clear that there is ample scope yet for the further development of the industry ; and although exports are as yet comparatively small, and fluctuate owing to commercial agreements between the companies and trusts concerned in the oil trade, it is safe to predict that in Burma, where, as Sir T. Holland says, the conditions for oil production "have been ideal," there is a great future for the industry.

The third mineral product of importance which no longer comes within the category of undeveloped resources, is gold, for the total value of the gold produced in the Kolar goldfields in Mysore, since workings began in 1886, now amounts to over thirty million pounds sterling. In actual value of annual output the gold mining industry in India still holds a lead over coal, although only by assigning pit-mouth prices in estimating the value of the latter. Within the past ten or twelve years prospectors have been busy prospecting for gold over the whole area of what is known as the Dharwar system, and development, with good prospects of a remunerative output, is now in progress there.

### **UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES**

It is, however, in respect of the undeveloped resources of India that there is the greatest scope for enterprise. In a paper such as this it is only possible to indicate a few of the many directions in which the investment of capital is likely to be profitable not only to the investor but to the country at large, and it is no part of my purpose to include consideration of the mere speculative projects. Just as we have seen, in considering the existing industries of our great dependency that, whereas there has been no great expansion

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of agricultural enterprise in respect of indigenous produce, it has been possible to develop the cultivation of products foreign to India, such as tea, coffee, &c., and that, in the process of such development, it has been the privilege and advantage of English capital to initiate the innovation, so in respect of undeveloped industries it is now necessary to lay some stress upon the prospective importance of rubber cultivation, in the hope that its development in the Indian region may be furthered by British enterprise and may receive the encouragement it should do at the hands of the local governments in India. Since it has already been demonstrated that several varieties of rubber thrive, and can be profitably cultivated, in Burma it might have been legitimate to include rubber cultivation under our first heading, along with tea, indigo, &c. ; but although it is over thirty years since Para rubber was first introduced into Burma, the rate of development of its cultivation, partly owing to the action of the local governments, and partly through ignorance on the part of the general public as to the progress of the experiment, has been lamentably slow ; and, the great opening afforded by the vastly increased demand for the product has not as yet called forth the requisite enterprise in experimenting in the cultivation in those parts of India which seem adapted to it. It is to be feared, however, that this is at least as much the fault of the governments in India as of the British and Indians who might be expected to develop the industry. Reference has already been made to the inordinate delays on the part of the authorities which used to mar their administration in respect of railway development, and it will be necessary to comment further on upon the same handicap imposed upon the development of some of the mineral resources of India. Here it becomes a duty to protest against the altogether extravagant delays of which the Government of Burma has been guilty in disposing of applications for rubber grants. Eight months—no less !—is considered the normal period requisite to enable the authorities to come to a decision on a simple application for a grant of land for the purpose, and even this interval is often exceeded. Were rubber a new and dangerous explosive there might be some excuse for such procrastination in determining whether it should be cultivated or not ; but it is not even the case that no provision has been made in the regulations for it. Rules were drawn up on April 27, 1906, and amended on August 30, 1910 ; and, whatever may be said as to the merits of the regulations, they at least present no features of such complication as would account for, or justify, the delay of practically a year in adjudicating

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upon applications to operate under them. As to their merits, however, a word is necessary. Rubber cultivation in Burma upon a large scale is comparatively recent. It promises to develop into an industry of great importance both for Burma and India. In its early days one would have expected from the authorities an encouraging and sympathetic attitude, however hedged about with safeguards protecting the rights of the State in the future. But it will be found that the Government of Burma take power to levy a rent of Rs. 25 an acre per annum ! It is true that this is the maximum figure ; but since it far exceeds the rates levied on land anywhere in India, except perhaps in a few places in Native States where Malwa opium\* is grown, there is little doubt that the possibility of being assessed to such a rent is having the effect of deterring many Europeans and Burmans from entering upon an industry of great possibilities. It is to be hoped that the Government of Burma may see its way to modify its attitude in regard to what may become a factor of no small importance in the commercial development of Lower Burma, and that other local Governments in India may extend a more sympathetic treatment to the subject. There are many tracts in Southern India, and perhaps in Assam and parts of Bengal, where it is probable, in view of the experience gained in Burma, that rubber may be profitably cultivated, and it seems to be a field for investment well worthy of consideration. A good idea of the process and of the conditions necessary for success may be gained by a perusal of Mr. Ryan's " Notes on the Cultivation of Rubber," published last year by the Myles Standish & Co.'s Electric Press, Rangoon.

The leather industry in India is one which has by no means reached the limit of its expansion. Cawnpore, which has witnessed the rise of this trade on a large scale, is perhaps still at the head of it ; but large tanneries exist in several centres, notably in Bombay, where Sir A. Peerbhoy has developed a large, prosperous and growing industry. Hides are plentiful and cheap ; and though not perhaps of European quality, are now worked up to a state of finish which renders it difficult to distinguish between the indigenous and the imported product. No fewer than 38,000,000 hides and skins were still exported from India in 1907-8, and, so long as that is the condition of affairs it is safe to assume that there is room for a large expansion of the tanning and leather industry.

It is, however, chiefly in respect of metalliferous minerals that there seems to be an almost unlimited field for development in India. It is impossible in a paper of this description to

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attempt to give an exhaustive account of the possibilities of the case, and I must again refer to Sir T. Holland's sketch as giving the most authoritative account of the possibilities of India as a field for the prospector. Here it must suffice to indicate briefly the development that has taken place in the discovery and production of iron and manganese. In regard to iron in particular, great and important progress has been made since 1904 commencing with the discovery of rich ore bodies in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces and in the Mayurbhanj State. These are now in process of development by a syndicate organized by the late Mr. Tata, a Parsi merchant of great enterprise and commanding business ability. Large steel and iron works are in process of construction, and promise to become a most important factor in the industrial evolution of the country. There is no reason to suppose that this industry is not capable of vast development. Iron ore occurs with frequency in many parts of the Indian peninsula, and the discovery of other places where conditions are favourable to a profitable development of the industry is probably only a question of time and enterprise.

When it is stated that it was only twenty years ago that the first attempt to exploit the manganese deposits of India was made, and that in 1907\* "India probably turned out a larger quantity of high grade ore than any other country," it will be realized, not only that the mineral development of India is still in its infancy, but that a very rapid return awaits the judicious investor who will turn his attention to this aspect of commercial enterprise. But in connection especially with manganese, the feature which offers the greatest scope for improvement is the unprofitable manner (to India) in which the product is disposed of. Practically the whole of the ore is exported direct, and worked up in Europe and America. Here there would seem to be a large field for a scheme of profitable manufacture. A large area of manganese-bearing country lies within the limits of Native State territory; and it is with special reference to schemes of development in those limits that advertence was made earlier in this paper to the restrictions on the liberty of action on the part of Chiefs. The restrictions operate deleteriously, not only, as already mentioned, in the direction of deterring our allies from entering into arrangements with financial authorities seeking concessions, but also in con-

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\* Sir T. Holland's "Sketch of the Mineral Resources of India," p. 35.

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nction with the delays incidental to concluding arrangements of a business character. The correspondence entailed, even when a Chief is willing to negotiate in strict accordance with the regulations laid down by Government, is so prolonged, and delays in obtaining sanction so intolerable, that business people are discouraged from prosecuting schemes involving so many difficulties and obstacles. It is only fair to Government to add that this is no longer due so much to the nature of the Regulations on the subject, which were revised by Lord Curzon's Government in 1899, and which in themselves are open to few objections. The delays, especially those connected with projects for Native States, apparently take place in the departments of the Government concerned and must be due to faulty administration.

In considering the starting of a new enterprise the labour question must be mentioned. The supply of labour is deficient for many purposes, and skilled labour particularly so. Wages in consequence have become very high. Still more difficult it is to obtain proper supervisors. European managers and overseers are, of course, expensive, and only certain classes and castes of Indians are well qualified for this purpose. But the field of selection is enlarging as more natives of the higher castes are training themselves in handicrafts. This, in past days, would have been held to be derogatory, for manual labour was considered only fit to be undertaken by the lower castes.

One other point may be alluded to, which consists in the fact that the Indian is beginning to venture to invest his money instead of hoarding or converting it into jewellery. When this sense of security is developed and civilised methods of saving are adopted, the marketing of £ 200,000,000, which is the amount estimated of bullion lying idle, will make an economic change of no small moment. Sir G. Fleetwood Wilson drew attention to this in submitting the last Budget, basing his remarks on the fact that from April to December about £3,000,000, in coin had been imported, which under conditions that had come to be regarded as normal, would have been presented at the currency offices in exchange for rupees ; whereas the greater share of it had not come into the hands of Government directly or indirectly and was believed to have gone straight into consumption.

India is passing through a most important stage of her political evolution just now, and this is re-acting on all departments of her social life. This is not the place in which to enter upon a discussion of her political aspirations, but it

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may be well to make one or two observations upon matters which have a direct bearing upon her economic well-being. Partly as the outcome of political agitation there had been a movement in the direction of protection of her home industries, which is known in India as the *swadeshi* movement. In so far as this denotes a genuine interest in the promotion of the well-being of indigenous manufactures and of their extension, it is not only all to the good, but it is one which has the cordial support of all Englishmen who have the prosperity of India at heart. Divested of political attributes, it is an indication of a wholesome ambition which all disinterested persons must sympathise with. Again, in conformity with the policy of gradually, as conditions justify it, effecting a further extension of the principle of devolving a growing share in the administration of Indian affairs upon the people of India, certain measures—the so-called “reforms”—have recently been passed enlarging the scope of the Legislative Councils of India. All this is as it should be ; but it would be well if the statesmen who guide the destinies of India could visualize the problem of our Eastern Empire as a whole. To give with one hand and to withhold with the other—to grant enlarged opportunities for debating and determining the laws of the country, and of discussing its financial policy, at the same time imposing restrictions upon its liberty of action in respect of the factors determining its economic prosperity—such an attitude is impossible of maintenance. So long as the fiscal policy of India is shaped in the interest of British trade, rather than from Calcutta with a single view to India's economic well-being, we shall remain exposed to criticism, and the commerce and development of our Eastern Empire will remain under the obligation to wait upon the necessities of English politics. India has achieved much ; entrusted with greater freedom to develop her commercial and industrial resources, she should enter upon a period of increasing prosperity which, in turn, could not fail to react favourably upon the interests of those who are desirous of assisting in developing her natural resources. (Lord Lamington in the *Financial Review of Reviews*.)

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## THE INDIAN BUDGET

Mr. Montagu, Under-Secretary for India, made the usual statement in explanation of the Indian Budget. He said : There is a regrettable custom which, if not unbroken and unbreakable, is at any rate nearly always respected—that the representative of the

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India Office should thrust himself and his department only once a year upon the attention of the House. And yet I am conscious that this year the House has been asked to listen to me twice in one week, and this at a time when the noise and excitement of party strife are at their height, and when ominous clouds are hanging low over Europe. But I make no apology, for India is, and India will remain, among the first of England's responsibilities and among the first of England's glories.

### **AFTER-SUPPER BET**

After paying a tribute to the late Mr. John Ellis and the late Mr. Buchanan—two of his predecessors in the office of Under-Secretary—Mr. Montagu continued: Last year, it will be remembered, I gave the House some figures to show the numbers of the people which we had to deal with. I can give them more accurately this year, because in India, as in this country, a census was taken last spring. Within nine days of the enumeration the Government of India were able to announce the provisional figures of the provinces, feudatory States, and principal towns whereas the corresponding provisional figures in this country were not announced for seven weeks. Census-taking in India is not without its difficulties. I have heard of a case where a certain tribe became convinced that the enumeration was the preliminary to their being sold as slaves. The officer in charge realised that some other plausible hypothesis was wanted, so he summoned the chief men, and informed them that a bet had been made after supper between the Empress Victoria and the Tsar of Russia as to who had the most subjects, and that the reputation and fortune of the Empress were at stake. That tribe was numbered to a man.

### **FINANCES OF INDIA**

The total population of India is returned at 315,000,000, against 294,000,000 in 1901. But part of the increase is due to the inclusion of new areas. Allowing for this, the net increase in the ten years amounts to 6·4 per cent., the rate of increase shown by the recent census in the United Kingdom being 9·06 per cent. I now turn to the finances of India. In March, 1910, the Government of India budgeted for a surplus of £376,000. At the end of the year they found an improvement of £5,448,000, but of this £402,000 goes automatically to provincial Governments. Half of this excess may be disregarded, because it arose from an exceptional and transient cause—the sensationally high prices of opium. Apart from this there was a saving of £118,600 on expenditure and

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an increase of £1,912,000 in the yield or heads of revenue other than opium. On the side of economy the most important feature was the saving of £358,000 in military expenditure, which was partly due to a decline in prices. The improvement of £1,912,000 in the yield of heads of revenue other than opium was mainly the result of increased net receipts from customs and from commercial undertakings, such as railways and canals. Railways accounted for £1,127,000, of the surplus, irrigation for £91,000 and telegraphs for £104,000.

The better financial position of the Government of India is not due to increased burdens on the people, but is the result of the favourable conditions by which the general population benefited much more largely than the Government. The Government of India is not merely a Government ; it is a vast commercial undertaking. The Government is largely a partner in some of the most important enterprises of the country, such as agriculture, railways, and canals, and shares in the profits directly with the people. It is this situation which makes budgeting in India so difficult. Weather—here little more than a commonplace topic of conversation—is in India the most important factor in the condition of her people. The world's harvest is at the root of the world's trade. In India the failure of the harvest brings ruin to millions and a deficit to the Government, while the success of the harvest brings prosperity to the people and overflowing coffers to the Government.

The predictions we made last year as to the export trade have been fulfilled. The exports of Indian merchandise were, in 1908-9 £100,000,000, in 1909-10 £123,000,000, and last year £37,000,000. There has been a corresponding, though smaller, increase in the imports. An extraordinary surplus was derived from opium. It did not arise in any way from a departure from the strict letter of the agreement made with China. Restrictions in the supplies sent up the price from £92 to £195 per chest in Calcutta.

### **LARGE SURPLUS**

The total surplus with which I have to deal is about £5,500,000.

Of this £1,000,000 has been granted to local governments for expenditure on public projects, education, and sanitation ;

£160,000 will be distributed between technical and industrial institutions, primary and secondary schools, colleges, hostels for students, girls' schools, and European schools ;

£400,000 will be used for drainage and water-works in towns ;

£1,000,000 is granted for expenditure on the promotion of various administrative schemes ;

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£383,000 goes to the improvement of the police in Eastern Bengal and Assam ;

£1,000,000 has been retained by the Government of India to improve its working balance.

The sum of £2,000,000 has been set aside for the reduction of floating debt.

This method of disposing of the realised surplus meets with general approval in India. The non-productive debt of India last March was only £46,000,000, compared with £71,000,000 ten years before. At this rate of reduction the non-productive debt will be wiped out in eighteen years.

I now come to the Budget for 1911-12. Our estimates have been based on the expectation that harvest and trade will be good, and a surplus of £819,200 is anticipated. I trust that our expectations will be fulfilled, but the monsoon reports recently received give rise to a certain amount of anxiety. The only alteration in taxation was a reduction of the tobacco duty by one-third.

### **THE DURBAR**

Provision has been made, without any extra taxation at all, for the cost of the Durbar and the review to be held at Delhi in December next, and for other expenses in connection with the King's visit. The latest estimate of the gross expenditure is £942,000 Imperial and £183,000 provisional expenditure. Most careful arrangements have been made to secure that the accounts of the cost of the Royal visit shall show the whole of the expenditure of every description. There are few questions of greater difficulty to decide than the exact scale of expenditure on a ceremonial visit when the tax-payers are poor and when, at the same time, there is among them a very general desire that the celebrations shall be on an adequate scale. The scale of expenditure on this occasion was fixed after very careful consideration between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The financial provision was received by the Indian representatives on the Councils with, in the words of the Viceroy, "a tidal wave of enthusiasm." The Government of India think their decision represents fairly well the mean between possible extravagance on the one hand and on the other failure to give proper expression to the feeling of the people, who are deeply moved by this unique occasion.

### **TWICE-CROWNED KINGS**

I say unique, although His Majesty is not actually to be crowned at Delhi. There are, however, precedents for Kings of England

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being crowned twice. Richard I was crowned at Westminster and Winchester, Henry III at Gloucester and as Westminster, and the two Charles were crowned in Scotland as well as in England. This is not the first time that Delhi has seen the accession ceremony of an Emperor. On this occasion, however, we do not think it necessary, as Aurungzebe thought it necessary, to decapitate 500 thieves as part of the ceremony, "thereby," as the local historian states, "terrorising the perverse." The unique feature of the ceremony will be that for the first time the people of India will have an opportunity of welcoming the English Emperor—(cries of "British")—the British Emperor and British Empress. The aim has been to make the Durbar as popular as possible. The outbreak of plague at Delhi has abated, and there is no probability of the untoward incident happening at Delhi as in London when James I was crowned, and when the people were forbidden to go to Westminster owing to the outbreak of plague.

### **DURBAR PROGRAMME**

On December 7 their Majesties will arrive at the bastion of the fort at Delhi, where 150 chiefs will be assembled. The following day the King will receive the chiefs, and will lay the foundation stone of the All-India King Edward Memorial. In all, nearly 100,000 people will see the ceremony, and will see it well. On the following day, in the morning, the King will receive the officers of the native Army. In the afternoon Their Majesties will attend a garden party, and a huge popular fete will be held on the open ground in front of the fort, at which it is believed some million people will spend the day in amusements and games provided for them. On the 14th there will be a review of unprecedented size, at which 90,000 troops will be present, and this will be the culmination of manœuvres on a scale never before possible. On the next day their Majesties will go in procession through the streets of Delhi, and the historic pageant will be over.

We who have crowned our King this year will wish him God-speed on his Imperial mission—feeling certain that he will receive a real and heartfelt welcome from all his people in India, not only because news of his popularity and devotion to his Imperial duties will have reached them, but because they will see in his visit that the desire to serve their Indian fellow-subjects, which has always animated the British people, has increased by the lapse of time and the increase of knowledge.

Coming back to finance, the Government of India have to face sooner or later the total loss of the revenue derived from the sale

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of opium. The new agreement that has just been concluded with China confirmed the provisional agreement, and gave power to China, when it could demonstrate the total cessation of the production of native opium, to claim the cessation of the import of Indian opium into China. Some prophets say that under this agreement a revenue of three millions will disappear within the next few years. There is nearly two millions in hand to meet the deficit which will accrue when the opium revenue disappears, and I believe as the country develops there will be at least a modest increase in the revenue.

It has been said we contemplate a reduction in the native army. I can assure the House that nothing will be done to the army in India which will impair its efficiency to preserve the peace and maintain the defence of the great Empire of India. In politics the year has been uneventful. The North-West frontier has been peaceful, but on the North-East frontier, I am sorry to say, there has been a deliberate open attack on a small British party, in which Mr. Williamson, Assistant Political Officer, lost his life. The outrage is one for which his Majesty's Government is taking steps to inflict punishment at the earliest possible moment.

### **INCITEMENT TO CRIME**

Political crime has, I am sorry to say, shown its head once or twice. So long as there are men who lark in safety in the back-ground and suggest these crimes, so long as there are half-witted people to perform these crimes under the impression that they are performing deeds of heroism, so long, I am afraid, occasional outrages will occur. I must express the deep regret of the Government at the deplorable murder of Mr. Ashe, and tender their profound sympathy to the relatives of this promising officer. But horrible and deplorable as these things are, it is a very common mistake to treat them, isolated occurrences as they are, as examples of the political situation, or to make them the text for a long jeremiad in the most exalted journalese. Whatever articles may be written in the Press, the House may rest assured that the Indian Courts will not be deflected one jot from the path of strict justice, and the Executive Government of India will not be deflected from exercising clemency where clemency will serve the best interests of the country.

The policy of Lord Crewe and Lord Hardinge is the policy of Lord Morley and Lord Minto—the determination to punish anarchy and crime, and to show strong sympathy for orderly and progressive demands of the people they govern. This is not a new principle of

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Indian government. May I say that India is changing fast, and our views must keep pace with the change ?

### **TRIBUTE TO VISCOUNT MORLEY**

The political changes in any country must result from causes originating from within, not from without, and in that connection I cannot refrain from mentioning the name of the great statesman who has recently been in command of the India Office. Lord Morley, with a keen and liberal understanding of Indian men and affairs, has set such a seal on Indian progress as seldom falls to the lot of any statesman, and he has put off his armour with the universal regret of the people of India, and of all those who have worked under his leadership. By Lord Morley's reform scheme, we have successfully marked the political development of India, and have provided a channel along which history may run for many years successfully and peacefully. This scheme, in the opinion of the Government of India, has been a complete success, and the work of the new Legislative Councils is worthy of the highest praise. I know there are some Indians who would prefer to throw off Western influences and return to Eastern autocracy ; but if India is to win, as educated Indians desire she should win, a Western political organisation, that can only be obtained by Western social development. It is for India to work out her political destiny, so far as possible, under the existing Constitution ; her attention must be turned to problems that make a greater call upon her energies than political agitation. The Government are ready to play the part, but without the exercise of those energies in proper directions the Government can do nothing.

### **DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY**

India has developed from a series of isolated, self-supporting village communities, where the main occupation was agriculture, where payments were made wholly in produce, where such industries were mainly hereditary, where the productions were sold and consumed in the village, and where justice, law, and order were enforced by the village itself, and often by hereditary officials. That, perhaps, is an idyllic picture, but it is marred by the fact that India has been entirely at the mercy of climatic conditions. What has the development been ?

In the last twenty years the cotton mills, numbering 126 and employing 112,000 persons, have increased to 232 and employ 236,000 persons.

The jute mills during the same time have doubled in number, and the persons employed have increased from 61,000 to 192,000.

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There are at present 2,500 factories worked by mechanical power, and 1,000,000 persons are now employed therein.

The tea industry employs 600,000 persons, and its exports have increased to £8,000,000.

The coal output has doubled in ten years, and the petroleum output has reached as much as 176,000,000 gallons.

There are to-day in India no fewer than 2,156 registered companies, with an aggregate nominal capital of £76,000,000 of which £40,000,000 has been subscribed.

The Bank capital has during the last ten years increased from £20,000,000 to £43,000,000.

In the progress of this industrial revolution India has need of the assistance of the best and wisest of her subjects. I am hopeful that this revolution will not be confined to agriculture. What is wanted in the industrial part of the scheme of progress is the application of modern methods and science. We want to see a stream of educated young men entering industrial careers and leaving the over-stocked professions of the Bar and the public service.

### **CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT**

Technical education and people willing to qualify are the want on the industrial side. I believe that Indian agriculture is going to be saved by a system of co-operative credit—a boon from the West which has taken a marvellous hold. I think even England has something to learn from India in this respect. In three years the number of societies has increased from 1,357 to 3,498; the number of members from 150,000 to 231,000; and the working capital from £300,000 to £800,000. The movement probably beneficially affects 1,000,000 people. Very little can be done by the officials, unaided. If it was not for the magnificent help of voluntary workers very little could be done. Much of the hoarded wealth of the country is being entrusted to co-operative banks. It seems as if we are reviving by this modern method the old hereditary village community. But progress is being hampered by a lack of workers. There is still much to be done. I can conceive no more important field for the real believer in Indian progress than the field of helping the organisation of agriculture. Serious attention must be given to one or two important matters. There is no use blinking the fact that there is no general demand for education amongst the people, and they are not ashamed of their ignorance. I do not say that is any excuse for our relaxing our efforts to spread education. But while it is the obvious duty of the Government to provide better buildings, better equipment, better teachers, and a better curriculum,

there is, on the other hand, a duty thrown on Indian educational reformers to create a willingness to allow children to be educated—a willingness to pay taxes or fees, without which no education on a large scale is possible. It is only by these means that we can bring in the 80 per cent. of the children who, I am sorry to say, are now growing up without education of any sort. c

### DISEASE AND MORTALITY

With education will grow up, I hope, a higher standard of living. The present standard is lamentably low. The birth-rate is extremely high. The death-rate, notably of children, is appallingly high. Sickness, disease, and mortality are consequences from one point of view of a very low standard of living. At present only 10 per cent. of the people of India live in towns. The effect of the reorganisation of industry will be to modify that. All civilising and educating methods, which are summed up under the word progress, are far more possible in towns than in sparsely-populated districts. On the other hand, there is a danger lest all the evils of town life, the overcrowding, the destitution, and the squalid misery of mean streets, with which we are all familiar, should be reproduced in India, and made worse there. Already we have overcrowding in Bombay. Much attention is being paid to the subject, but the most urgent need is the education of the masses in the principles of hygiene. There is a limitless field indeed for private enterprises here. Archaic habits are tolerable enough in the country, but when transferred to the crowded town they become insupportable.

### TREATMENT OF THE RAT

If there were less ignorance and less perversity, plague would never find in the country the lodgment that it has. It is an established fact that persons living under proper sanitary conditions are virtually exempt from the disease. Plague does not attack the gaol population or the native army. It attacks the ordinary civil population, because they live in houses which are not rat-proof, because they treat the rat almost as a domestic animal—because large numbers of them refuse to trap or kill it, and because they will not adopt the sanitary precautions which are pressed upon them.

Plague has now been present in India for fifteen years, and the appalling total of nearly 7,500,000 deaths from it has been recorded. Of this the Punjab accounts for nearly 2,500,000 deaths—almost a third of the total. The tale of deaths in the last ten years represents 11 per cent. of the population of that province. When I think of the sensation that was caused in this country a short

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time ago by what was by comparison a minor outbreak in Manchuria, resulting in only 50,000 deaths, I fear that people in this country do not realise the awful ravages that this scourge is daily making among the Indian people. Scientific research has established that it is conveyed by rat fleas to human beings. The two effective remedies are inoculation and house evacuation. Professor Haffkin has discovered a vaccine by which comparative, though not absolute, immunity can be temporarily secured. But by an unhappy accident at Mulkowal several villagers died of tetanus after inoculation. Inoculation in India has never recovered from this disaster. It is hated by the people and avoided by them, except when the disease is in their midst.

To the prevention of plague there would seem to be no royal road. The case is one in which lavish expenditure of money is not called for, and would be useless. But the Provincial Governments have spent, and are spending, a good deal. The United Provinces have expended some £600,000 up to date. The Punjab Government is spending about £40,000 a year. The improvement of the general sanitary conditions under which the population lives is more and more clearly seen to be essential, and to improve them the local Governments are devoting all the money they can spare. They have been helped to do so by the grants for sanitation made by the Government of India. The scientific difficulties are enhanced by the difficulty of overcoming prejudice and ignorance, habit and apathy. In some districts there is actually religious objection to rat-killing and inoculation. No better work can be done for India than to offer example and instruction in principles of life that appear to us elementary, and to strive to exercise the foes of progress, superstition and resistance to prophylactics. There are signs that the sanitary conscience is beginning to awake among the people. It is not enough to point out evils to the Government, and to say that more money is required. Much must be done by private exhortation, by example, and by devotion to the problems of local self-government. Support is wanted from the Press and community for municipal efforts, and a public opinion which can be relied upon to control and appreciate the responsibilities of municipal institutions.

I must mention one more danger that the industrial revolution involves. The development of capitalisation is sure to bring forward in India, as everywhere, certain men who, in the hurry to grow rich, will take advantage of the necessities of the poor and the want of organisation among the Indian labourers. A Factory

Act was passed last year giving increased protection to the worker and greater inspecting and controlling powers to the Government. But the Government cannot advance beyond that Indian public opinion which, at the best, is only in its infancy. The leaders of Indian opinion must set their faces against the degradation of labour, which, long accustomed to drudgery, has not yet found a voice, and it will probably be long before it makes itself heard in the Legislative Councils.

There remains another subject, and one of great delicacy, to which I feel obliged to draw attention. Nothing could be further from my intention than to say anything that might possibly be construed as offensive to the beliefs and usages of any religion, but I wish to suggest to the leaders of Hindu thought that they might, if they thought fit, look carefully into certain of their institutions and consider whether they are compatible with modern social conditions and modern industrial progress. Of the 220,000,000 of the Hindu population, 53,000,000 form what are known as the depressed classes, who are regarded by the higher classes as untouchable.

### GIRL WIVES

There are 9,000,000 girl wives under 15, of whom 2,500,000 are under 11, and there are 400,000 girl widows forbidden to re-marry. It is here in particular that Hindu social conditions hamper to some extent modern development, both industrial and political. Under present conditions in India it is impossible to infuse fresh blood from the labouring classes into the ranks of the captains of industry. Social distinctions are rigid and permanent. But brotherhood within the Hindu community is not enough. Real national feeling cannot be produced while there are Indians side by side learning the national ideal and Indians denying their part or share in the history of the land in which they live.

Racial distinctions do not offer a lasting obstacle to confederation, but religious segregation, which produces fierce exclusive patriotism, seems more obdurate and more difficult to overcome. In India, Hinduism teaches a fierce love of India itself—the love of country produced by worship of God. But Mohammedanism teaches a sort of extra-territorial patriotism, a love of the religious, which seems almost to laugh at distance. How can one preach tolerance in this atmosphere? These are not mere denominations. They are nations, the one bound together terrestrially and spiritually, the other spiritually only. How can one say to the Mahomedan, “You need abandon no jot of your fervour if you add to it

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principles of less exalted and more Western desire to help and to share the destiny of the country in which you live". And how can one say to the Hindu : " Your religious susceptibilities really should not be outraged by rites performed by people who do not share your religion, even if you would regard them as wrong if they were performed by Hindus."

I cannot see how this condition of affairs can do other than hamper the growth of national feeling in India. It would be criminal, of course, to foster this difficult antagonism, but not to recognise its existence is to be blind to facts in a way which must enhance the evil.

### **SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT**

The last word I have to say to all Indians is to unite and join hands for their country's good. I need assure no intelligent critic that the Government would be the first to welcome and to help the co-operation which we all desire. The opinions most familiarly, but not originally, stated by Mr. Kipling that the East is East and the West is West, and never the two shall meet, is contradicted by the fact that India is now rapidly passing through, with our aid, in a compressed form, our own social and industrial development, with all its advantages and some of its evils. She has, however, still a very long way to go, and many hard problems to tackle if she desires to acquire as an outcome of her conditions the same political institutions, and there is no other way in which she can or ought to acquire them.

I desire, in conclusion, to say a word about the theory of Indian Government. The importance of the subject cannot be over-estimated. India is woven into the very fabric of our being. In a never-failing stream many of the best of our men and women give themselves, and the best of their lives, ungrudgingly to the service of India. I am convinced that Indian problems will become more important, more insistent, more vital as the years go on, and I see clearly the danger that we shall incur if they present themselves to a House of Commons which is inadequately equipped to grapple with them. How many members of this House are able to say that they are in a position to discuss with knowledge and decide with wisdom the great problems of India?

Among those members who do devote themselves to the study of Indian affairs there is growing up a tendency, which I earnestly trust will not grow any further, to form two parties, the one thinking it necessary to espouse the cause of the governed by attacking the Government, and the other constituting itself the champion of

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the official. The tendency to assume an antagonism between the interests of the Indian and the interest of the official is one which I cannot too strongly deprecate. It is the negation of all we have done, are doing, and hope to do for India. We are there to co-operate with the peoples of the country in working out her destinies side by side with the same object, the same mission, the same goal.

### **GOVERNMENT BY PRESTIGE**

Time was, no doubt, when it was a most important function of this House to see that the theory of government by prestige was not carried to excessive lengths in India. Whatever reliance upon prestige there was in our Government of India is now giving place to reliance upon even-handed justice and strong, orderly, and equitable administration. But a great deal of nonsense is talked still about prestige. Call it, if you will, a useful asset in our relations with the wild tribes of the frontier, but let us hear no more about it as a factor in the relations between the British Government and the educated Indian public. I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I mean by "prestige" the theory of government that produced irresponsibility and arrogance. I do not, of course, mean that reputation for firm and dignified administration which no government can do without.

This House, in its relations to India, has primarily to perform for that country the functions proper to an elected assembly in a country governed by elected institutions. The course of the relations between the House of Commons and the people of India has taken, and must take, the form of a gradual delegation from itself to the people of India of the power of criticism and control of their own government. There are two problems always before this House. The one is how much of your powers of control to delegate to the people of India; the other is how most wisely to exercise the powers of control that you retain. Let the Indian official work out his position in the new order of things, where justification by works and in Council must take the place of justification by reputation. I have every confidence in the result. My aim has been to make people think of India, and there is enough to think about. I do not believe there are any flangers in what I have said. I have pointed out a path along which Indians and Englishmen can travel together. There is room along it for all.

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

### INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Our readers are aware that the Transvaal Government has promised the repeal of the Registration Act of 1907. With the repeal of this Act, the immigration problem may be partially solved but it must not be supposed that will remove all causes of legitimate complaint of our fellow-countrymen in South Africa. Mr. H. S. L. Polak who has done so much to remove the disabilities of Indians in South Africa has sent round the press a paper from which we take the following to show that even when the Registration Act is repealed, our fellow-countrymen there will have a great many disabilities to suffer from, and the treatment of Indians will remain as burning a question as ever. Says Mr. Polak :—

“ Taking the Union, province by province, we find that in the Transvaal, though it is not possible under the old law of 1885 to compel Indians to reside in locations for trading and residential purposes, attempts are now being made, by the joint operations of the Gold Law and the Township's Act of 1908 to compel them to leave the premises where they have been carrying on their business for years and the only alternative to what is really compulsory degradation in locations is virtually compulsory withdrawal from the country at enormous financial sacrifice. Whilst Indians are prohibited by the old Republican law from legally owning fixed property, the Courts have recognised the holding of such property in equitable trust for them by European friends, but the two above-mentioned laws, if effectively enforced, will result in the annulment of such trusts, the penalising of the European Trustees, and the confiscation of the properties. Municipal Ordinance has just been gazetted providing for the refusal of hawkers, pedlars, washermen, trolley and gharry drivers, and other similar licenses without the right of appeal to the Courts. This measure, if assented to, will maintain the Municipal disfranchisement of Indian rate-payers and ruin many hundreds of inoffensive people. There is no doubt that, if attempts are made to enforce these measures, the Indian Community will unanimously resort to passive resistance once more, for their livelihood will be in most serious jeopardy.

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In Natal, the Dealers' Licenses' Act is still directed entirely against Indian traders. Whilst some small relief has been secured by the amending law of 1909, granting the right of appeal to the Court where the issue of renewals of trading licenses is refused, every attempt is being made by the licensing authorities to convert such licenses into new licenses against the refusal of which there is no right of appeal. Thus it is becoming difficult for a son to succeed to his father's business ; it is almost impossible for an Indian trader to take a partner, it being held that this creates a new interest ; and transfers of licenses are almost unheard of so that an Indian trader is unable to obtain the full market value of his business. Only recently the application was refused of the Natal Indian Traders Ltd, a lawfully registered limited liability company, some 90 per cent. of whose shareholders are colonial-born Indians for the transfer to them of an existing Indian license in an Indian quarter at Durban for the carrying on of a business manned by and carried on with Indians. It will appear thus that even Indians born in South Africa find avenues of livelihood closed to them by the arbitrary decision of a Licensing Officer, backed up by a Council or a Board composed, as a rule, of the Indians' business rivals. The £3 annual tax imposed upon all Indians (males from 16 years onwards and females from 13 years onwards) who do not choose to re-enslave themselves under indenture, or who for a variety of reasons are undesirous of returning to India, continues to operate as a direct incentive to crime, family desertion, and female shame. The tax is demoralising to the whole Indian community, and it is not impossible that a passive resistance struggle may commence in Natal to secure the repeal of this iniquitous impost, which General Smuts has refused. The Amending Act of 1910, giving magistrates discretion to exempt Indian women who are too old or feeble or indigent to pay the tax, has scarcely at all relieved the situation, for magistrates, in some cases, do not exercise the discretion allowed them ; others, again, exercise it in a limited degree, whilst a very few give full effect to the law. Although the Natal Education Commission of 1908, animadverted most strongly upon the callous negligence of the employers omitting to provide for the education of the children of their indentured employees the Government has taken no steps whatever to give effect to the Commission's recommendations. The one employer who did, at his own expense, provide education for the children on his estate, closed his school to avenge the action of the Government of India in prohibiting the further recruitment of Indian labour for Natal.

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The only education that is to-day received by thousands of poor Indian children is the degradation of their mothers and of what are, in only too many instances, their putative fathers, who outnumber the mothers by three to one.

The Cape Colony Indians, though far better off, than their brethren in the other provinces still complain of the harsh incidence of the immigration laws and the Dealers' Licenses Act. The immigration laws are most autocratically enforced. It has recently been held that if a resident Indian, who has left the Province upon a permit entitling him to return within a period of one year, exceeds by even a few days the duration of his permit, he may be and is excluded as a prohibitive immigrant, and it makes no difference that he may have his family and his business in the Colony. Constant attempts are being made by the Immigration Officers of both Natal and the Cape to evade the orders of the court, and the Chief Immigration Officer of the Cape Colony has just been convicted, by a full bench of the Supreme Court, of gross contempt of court and fined heavily for deporting an Indian whose detention the Court had ordered. So far as the Licensing Law is concerned practically the same facts apply as in Natal, except that there is no right of appeal, even against the refusal of the renewal of an existing trade license.

In the Orange Free State, though hitherto a few Indians have been allowed to enter the province in a menial capacity, even this has now, on the authority of General Smuts, been prevented.

In conclusion Mr. Polak urges that the people of India should not rest until a vast improvement in the situation in South Africa is brought about. He says that public opinion in India may do very much to ameliorate it and trusts that everything possible will be done to co-ordinate the many efforts to relieve it that are being made in the various parts of India.

## **THE POSITION OF THE HINDUS IN CANADA**

It is not in South Africa alone that Indians suffer from colour and race prejudice. It seems that throughout the length and breadth of the empire they are under heavy disabilities and disadvantages. There are some 6000 Hindus in Canada. Most of them live in the Province of British Columbia. All reports go to show that they are a class of sober, industrious, law-abiding people and not of uncleanly habits. But inspite of all this they

## ***THE HINDUS IN CANADA***

have been condemned to degrading conditions. In some cases they suffer from greater disabilities than the Japanese and other oriental nations. It is with the object of the removal of some of these grievances that they have sent a petition to the Ottawa House of Commons. We cull the following portion from this petition to show what the grievances and prayers of our fellow-countrymen in British Columbia are :—

"(1) That the home life, dear to the heart of every created being, should be made possible to them by the removal of the legal but altogether unjustifiable exclusion of their wives and families. Your petitioners respectfully suggest (without prejudice to their undoubted rights as British Subjects) that as regards the Hindu question generally, at least the same consideration and privileges be accorded to them as are already granted to the Japanese, namely :—That entrance be permitted to a number, not exceeding 300 men annually. By this regulation relatives would be enabled to join them by slow degrees, but the extent to which this facility would be availed of would be regulated by the demand which automatically adjusts the distribution of labour.

(2) That as in the case of other Orientals, the merchants, professional men, and students of the Hindu race, may be given free access to the country. It may be stated here that not a single Hindu merchant or student has been allowed to enter Canada during the last two years.

(3) That the money required to be produced by immigrants on landing may be regulated on a similar scale (\$200,00 now being required of Hindus as compared with \$50,00 in the case of the Japanese.)

(4) That the existing fallacy of the statute law be abolished which at present stipulates that no Hindu shall be allowed to land in Canada who has not come direct from India, it being well known, that there are at present no direct steamers running from India to this coast, and it is manifestly impossible to fulfil the letter of the law. That the steamship companies in India will not sell tickets for Canada, for, the said companies would not take the risk to take them back if refused admission, on account of this absurd statute, which was meant for Greeks, Italians and other foreigners, who wanted to cross into Canada from the United States. It may be stated here that this very order-in-council No. 920 has been suspended in the case of foreigners and we respectfully submit that it may be rescinded for our own fellow-subjects."

## THE FUTURE OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES

Our readers are well aware that speaking at the annual banquet of the Central Asian Society, London, Lord Minto said :—" If you want to create great industries in India, I do not see how you can do so without something like Tariff Reform." Taking this as the theme Sir Roper Lethbridge returns in the pages of the July number of the *Financial Review of Reviews* to his favourite idea that, in many respects, if not in all, in the present conditions of Indian commerce and industry, Indian interests as well as British interests are likely to fare better under a system of Imperial Preference than under absolute Preference. He says :—

The late Mr. Justice Ranade, the father of modern Indian economic science, was never tired of warning his fellow-countrymen that in any scheme of Protection that might be possible, any attempt to sever Indian interests from British interests would infallibly alienate British capital and British technical skill—both of which are absolutely needed now, and will be for many years to come, in the development of Indian industry—and would be even more disastrous for India than for Great Britain. And, moreover, as Mr. Ranade pointed out, Indian industries are as yet not sufficiently organised to admit of absolute Protection, except at a ruinous immediate cost to the Indian consumers.

Take, for instance, the case of the cotton manufacturing industry, which is at present the most highly developed of any in India. The demand for the abolition of "Free Trade" in regard to this industry is louder and more determined than in regard to any other—for everyone is absolutely agreed that the excise duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  *ad valorem* on the products of Indian cotton-mills is an odious, extortionate, and inquisitorial tax that ought to be abolished. This tax must go—and therefore the Free Trade system that depends on it must be abandoned. But just consider what would be the result, to India and to Great Britain, if we substituted for that Free Trade system a system of pure Protection.

Protection would mean the abolition of the  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  excise duty and the maintenance and increase of the import duty on British and foreign cottons. I have already shown that that would mean, for Great Britain, widespread ruin and starvation in Lancashire and South-West Scotland—it would cause intense friction and exasperation between the industrial classes of India and of Great Britain, and the extensive withdrawal from India of British capital and British skilled labour. It may be admitted that for India it would mean, after long years, the building-up of a great cotton-manufac-

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turing industry to supply the wants of the Indian home market. But, obviously, for long years the cost of the clothing of the whole population of India would be enormously increased—this terrible loss would fall on the whole population, and especially on the poorest classes—and even in the long run the benefit would be reaped only by one class, that of the cotton manufacturers and operatives. And, further, in the meantime the increased cost of production would utterly ruin the cotton export trade of India, which would be even worse off than it is now under Free Trade.

But, on the other hand, Imperial Preference would mean the simultaneous abolition of the odious excise duty on Indian cottons, and of the almost equally odious import duty on Lancashire and Scottish cottons, with the maintenance or increase of the import duties on the goods of the protected and subsidised Japanese and other foreigners. This would protect, at any rate from unfair competition, both Indian and British goods. It would cause an actual diminution in the cost of the clothing of the masses, for the competition between British and Indian industries, both equally relieved from taxation, would certainly ensure this. As the import duties on the foreign cottons would not be placed at a high level, there would doubtless be at first a certain loss of revenue by reason of the remission of the taxation on British and Indian goods; but this would be far more than recouped by the imposition of an export duty on the export of such Indian monopolies as raw jute and lac to countries outside the British Empire. These foreign countries must have the raw jute and the lac for the use of their own industries, and therefore the whole of the tax would be paid by the foreigner. Such export duties are, or ought to be, quite impossible under a Free Trade fiscal system, for it is absolutely impossible to deny that a general non-preferential duty on the export of raw jute would mean the grossest Protection of the Calcutta jute mills at the cost of the mills of Dundee. But under a system of Imperial Preference, such an export duty, being remitted on cargoes to Dundee and other British ports, would only protect the Indian and British jute industry at the cost of the foreigner. There is a vast and rapidly progressing market in the British Colonies, both for Indian jute manufactures and for cotton manufactures. It cannot be doubted that Imperial Preference will render this market as secure as well as a profitable one—and these and many similar benefits would not be attainable under a system of pure Protection.

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Now, I have here only spoken of the cotton and jute industries. In nearly every other Indian industry that is possible, and to be hoped for, in the near future, the system of Imperial Preference will give practically the same benefit as that which would be given by absolute Protection, for the very good reason that in these other industries the keen competition comes not so much from the United Kingdom as from Foreign Protected States.

I have already mentioned the exhaustive work of Sir George Watt on "The Commercial Products of India ;" and Lord Lamington has drawn the attention of our readers to the admirable sketch of the "Mineral Resources of India," by Sir Thomas Holland. But during the last three years each of the chief local governments has published a series of "Surveys" or "Reports" on the industrial condition and resources of the territories under its control, drawn up by officers specially deputed for the purpose, which give us a vast mass of information on every detail of the subject. I can here only briefly refer to such instructive Blue-books as those compiled by Mr. Chatterton for Madras, Mr. Chatterji for the Upper Provinces, Mr. Cumming for Bengal, and Mr. Gupta for Eastern Bengal and Assam.

In these remarkable works we get not only information about all existing industries, but also innumerable suggestions for future development. We hear about all the textile industries, all the mineral industries, all the quasi-agricultural industries, all the art industries. We hear what a vast future there is for paper, glass, matches, soap, chemicals, rubber, lac, tobacco, leather, ink, brushes, mica, oils—everything that man can want and that man can manufacture. The wants in India are those of a population of 300,000,000, with a rapidly advancing civilisation and a rapidly improving standard of comfort, and at present they are largely provided for by the foreign manufacturer. If Lord Minto's advice be taken, and "something like Tariff Reform" be adopted, we shall soon see those wants mainly provided by India herself, supplemented where necessary by Britain—to the immense and lasting advantage of both countries.

### JUDICIAL TRIBUNALS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Under the above heading Mr. Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta has contributed two well written articles to the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* in which he has attempted to give a systematic account of the judicial tribunals that existed in ancient India. He says :—

## ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBUNALS

Hindu law books are principally concerned with giving us the constitution of the principal State Court presided over by the King or in his absence the *Pradivak*. It is only by an occasional mention that we are introduced to the inferior tribunals where, it may be presumed, the great bulk of the judicial work of the country was done. The father of the family must have exercised a *quasi*-judicial authority over his children. But we do not know much of that from the law books so as to compare it with the powers exercised by the head of a Roman family.

Outside the family the lowest Court in which properly judicial work was done is called by Yajnavalkya and Narada the *kula*. [कुलाः] [Yajn. II, 30]. This is explained by the Mitakshara as "the association of kinsmen, *bandhus* and other relatives." [जातिवन्धुविवन्धवाः]

As between others, the lowest available Court would be the *sreni* (श्रेणी) or guild of persons who lived by the same trade or calling. Very likely these *srenis* included several *gentes*. But it is at the same time noticeable that the organisation proceeded not on the basis of blood relation or even of caste but on that of community of trade. For the Mitakshara defines *sreni* as an association of men earning their livelihood by similar occupation whether belonging to the same or to different castes.

These were then very much like trade guilds. The illustrations that the commentator gives, however, are all drawn from classes occupied in lowlier trades and not, from the twice-born classes. There is some reason to think that *sreni* and *jati* were names which were not used with reference to organisations of twice-born men, (the *varnas*) whom the law books principally deal with. In several places in law books, *jati* (जाति) and *puga* (पूग) are spoken of as referring to lowlier order of organisations than those of the higher ones of the *varnas*.

The next higher tribunal was constituted by पूगः consisting of inhabitants of a particular place. As in the case of the *srenis* and *kulas*, no clue is furnished as to the exact procedure followed in the trials by the *pugas*. It seems inconsistent with the spirit of Hindu law in general to suppose that low-caste people or persons following unclean trades could be allowed to associate for the purpose with high-born Brahmans and Kshattriyas. That the work was performed by select bodies seems certain, but it is as certain that it was not done by the officers of the King. For although we are told of several classes of these officers and we are told that there was a headman [ग्रामाधिपति] for each village, we do not find

these officers mentioned as tribunals competent to try suits. From what we know of them they performed police duties such as were performed by the chief constable [जनरल] of the capital city. [See for instance Yajn. under खेव].

It would seem that a few Brahmans pre-eminently, or a few Kshattriyas or Vaisyas at the most, were entrusted with the general management of the affairs of a corporation and Jajnavalkya enjoins that the order of these speakers of the public good should be followed by every body ; whoever goes against it should be punished for a *sahasa* of the first order.

We are not told by whom these speakers of the public good or managers of its affairs were appointed. It seems likely that if the King did not appoint them he had at least an effective hand in their appointment.

It seems clear that in referring to the *pugas* as a tribunal, what Yajnavalkya refers to is this governing body of the corporation. The law would be the same for *srenis* as for these *pugas*.

At the time of the Smritis the governing bodies of these *pugas* had perhaps begun to consist merely of royal nominees, but it is quite likely that they were originally independent organisations which were brought within the state organism by gradual steps with the development of the power of the central authority.

The *kula* was the tribunal of the lowest degree and above it in the ascending scale were the *sreni* and *puga*. Over them all there were the Courts presided over by Judges appointed by the King [अभिहितः] and the final Court of appeal was the King in Council. An appeal was allowed from the decision of a Court of lower degree to one of a higher degree. But all the Courts at the same time exercised original jurisdiction and appeal lay in every case through all stages even up to the King.

With reference to the appeal to the King the Mitakshara mentions लपव लपव or suits with a wager. We are not told what this exactly was, but we are informed that in these cases if the Appellant lost the suit, the wager was forfeited to the King. This would seem to indicate that there was a special kind of litigation in which a wager was laid and one may suppose that a wager was necessary before there could be an appeal to the King.

The principal Court of the State which Manu and Jajnavalkya speak of is presided over by the King. When the King was absent on military expeditions, etc. a learned Brahman selected by the King would sit with the officers and do the duty of the King. In Nared's time the employment of a Brahman to attend to suits

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became a permanent institution and the officer thus employed was called the *Pradvivak* and became something like a Vice-President of the Court.

This was perhaps necessitated by the fact that law had so far developed at this time that its proper administration could no longer be discharged by the King without the help of trained specialists. At this time the King followed the opinion of the *Pradvivak* and not his own opinion in pronouncing judgment. So the *Pradvivak* became the real judge. Gradually the King dropped out altogether from the Court and the *Pradvivak* alone presided. It is probable that the *Pradvivak* had become the technical name for the Chief Judicial Officer, but he was not the only Judge nor his Court the only Judicial Court. It seems that there was only one Court of *Pradvivak* over which the King himself might preside, but there were other courts which were presided by judges called *Adhikarinika*.

The King's Court which met for administrative as well as judicial purposes consisted of the King, his ministers, members of his Council and, according to later authors, of *Pradvivak*. Besides these there were a number of learned Brahmans and the royal Priest. In judicial matters the only persons who had a share, besides the King, were the *Pradvivak*, the Councillors and the Brahmans. The Brahmans attended to the proceedings and when asked gave their opinion. But they were under no obligation to give an opinion, nor was the King bound to listen to them. But he was recommended to give due weight to the opinions of the Brahmans.

The Councillors who were uneven in number, being either 7, 5, or 3, were bound to give their verdict. The uneven number suggests that the opinion of the majority was considered to be the opinion of the Council. The Councillors were responsible officers who, if their verdict subsequently proved wrong or perverse, were liable to pay a penalty for their wrong judgment.

This would seem to suggest that in practice the King usually adopted the verdict of his Council, for otherwise this great responsibility of the Councillors would be inexplicable. At the same time the King was under no obligation to do so. Either this constitution did not extend in its entirety to the inferior *Adhikrita* Courts or in their case, and it may be in that of the Chief Judge also, these Councillors subsequently ceased to sit.

The choice of the Councillors lay with the King and it would seem that he could appoint different bodies of them for the trial of

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different suits. They were preferably Brahmans but might be Kahattriyas or Vaisyas but never, according to Katyayana, Sudras. There were special bodies of Councillors for special classes of cases. Thus, for instance, in the trial of cases arising out of gambling the Councillors consisted entirely of that class. So also in the case of decisions on commercial causes a jury consisting of persons in the trade and having special knowledge of the matter in hand had to be appointed. This would seem to indicate that these Councillors were not a fixed body, but were appointed specially for each particular occasion and special knowledge was generally insisted on as a qualification.

# ARTICLES

## THE AWAKING OF THE EAST.

Sometimes it is phrased "The Awakening of the East", sometimes "The "Awakening". To not a few, possibly, the two words may appear practically identical, but to others a distinct difference, and a very momentous one, is suggested. *Awakening* rather draws attention to the causes which have aroused the slumberer, *Awaking* emphasises the awaking itself, irrespective of the causes which may have induced it.

No valid objection can be raised against the phrase "The Awakening of the East", for it can hardly be questioned that the new conditions which now obtain have been brought about by contact with the West; but it is of deep importance to enquire if the Awakening is merely response to outside stimuli, or the manifestation of new activity possessing inherent strength, and capable of maintenance, growth and spontaneous development.

Granted that the first awaking may be described as "reaction to stimuli," yet reactions differ greatly, both in their intensity and endurance. There may be reaction when a dying man is disturbed and addressed; for a minute the eyes open, a look of intelligence illumines the features, and then unconsciousness ensues, the response to stimuli is feeble. A midnight burglar steps on a sleeping bulldog, the reaction here is distinctly stronger; the burglar (if still alive), could give clear testimony on this point. Or take another illustration, from the awaking of the intellect. Two boys are trained under the same conditions, even under the same teachers. Both respond to the teachings; in one case, however, the response is feeble, the boy with difficulty, simply learns what he is taught; the intelligence has been awakened, but withdraw the stimuli and it will hibernate: the other boy vividly responds, his aroused intellect becomes so keenly alert that he not only receives what is imparted but soon learns to think for himself, and in a few years outstrips his teachers.

The point of these illustrations is very manifest. It is the impact of the West that has been the *occasion* of the great awaking of the East. The vital question, however is this,—Is this waking state now dependent on the West, or is the East keenly awake on

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its own account, and are the Eastern nations capable of spontaneous progress on their own lines, fashioning ideals for themselves, and strenuously endeavouring to achieve them? Were the East being simply stimulated to imitate the West, or being provoked by it into opposition, the modern movements would be of quite minor significance; but if these oriental nations, recuperated after long slumber, are vividly alive with inherent possibilities, keen to grasp the essentials of their own peculiar destinies, and strong to press forward to their realization, then the awaking is full of tremendous import, not only for themselves but for the future of the whole world.

That the East is genuinely awake is beyond the range of controversy.

Take Turkey and Egypt, situated as they are on the confines of the Orient and Occident, what great changes have been, and are, taking place.

Both these countries have been the fields of stirring scenes in past ages, but the movements of modern times are distinct in their character. How far they are genuinely *national*, through and through, is a question the decision of which would necessitate lengthy investigation. It seems clear, however, that the despotisms of days gone by will not again be calmly accepted. In the breasts of very many a stronger sense of manhood and responsibility has been stirred, opportunities for self-development are being claimed.

Similar unrest is manifested in Persia. It may take some time for aspirations to assume clear form, and for the conditions of steady and solid progress to be thoroughly grasped, but the past type of misrule can hardly again be resuscitated.

For us who live in India probably Japan and China and India are the countries which will loom largest in our minds.

We are familiar with the dazed look which is sometimes seen on the face of one suddenly aroused. The striking thing about the awaking of Japan was that the dazed look and the rubbing of the eyes came over, not Japan, but the onlooking world. Japan must have surprised herself, but she surprised others still more.

In seeking to understand Japan's sudden rise to the brilliant position which she now occupies two characteristics of the nation stand out with peculiar prominence. In the first place her open mind and assimilative powers; and in the second, her tenacity of of purpose and grit. The Japanese are certainly not deficient in national pride, but possibly no nation has ever manifested such genuine humility in her readiness to learn from others. She has

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bared her brow to every breeze that blows, and proved her willingness to sit at the feet of any teacher whom she recognized as truly able. The "Swadashi" cry certainly did not hail from Japan. She never worked on the lines that all that is worth knowing we know already, and everything worth possessing we already possess. Recognizing that there was very much that she could learn from others she settled herself to learn it; not to imitate but to assimilate, not to touch and finger but to handle and grasp it. The really great awaking for us all is when we awake to our ignorance and open our ears and eyes, and minds and hearts, to learn from others. It is not the open mouth that does most to prove the wisdom of the individual or the nation. Knowledge is not a fruit grown only in our own garden, or to be obtained only from the garden of our next-door neighbour; it is a gift from God and belongs to all; it cannot be bought, it must be won by humility and patient toil. Like the fruits of the earth it is not to be obtained in its fulness in any one country; it is to be found in many lands and among various peoples, and should be sought from the very ends of the earth.

No less remarkable than this assimilative power is the patience and tenacity manifested by the Japanese. The brilliant achievements of Japan have not been due to strokes of genius but to indomitable persistence. A book has been recently published in England. "A Japanese Artist in London." by Yoshio Markino. The quaint English in which it is written gives a charm to the book, but its great value lies in the revelation of character which it contains; the cheery optimism and generous openmindedness, the pluck and unconquerable patient plod call forth the reader's admiration.

There is, of course, a sense in which Japan is still but in the heyday of her youth. She has an ancient civilization behind her, but she is not satisfied with this. She has started on a new line of development, and though she has speedily attained a high eminence has very much adjusting and settling to concern herself about yet. There is the danger of materialism to guard against. The modern achievements of science and the fruits of successful commercialism cannot make a nation truly great. Character needs something more than good temper and hopefulness and perseverance: character means *life*, and for its full development the great essential is intelligent fellowship with the source of life, with God. Japan is all too vague in her religious life. Agnosticism has its many votaries, and Indifferentism its disciples. Surely the crown of man's spiritual life

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is not Ignorance !! Readers in India need not be reminded that the strongest factor in a nation's life is its grip on God.

Modern movements in China may not have laid hold so strongly of the popular imagination of the West as the dazzling achievements of Japan but, they are as real, as great, and as momentous for the future of the East and of the world.

The movements have not been so rapid as in Japan. The vastness of the empire in part accounts for this. The fact itself is not to be regretted. "More haste less speed" is a maxim the truth of which is often verified. The pride of exclusiveness and self-sufficiency is being put aside, and the open mind is being cultivated. Communication with the outside world and inter-communication between the parts of the empire itself, are leading to a broader outlook. Railways, the postal and telegraph systems, together with the press, are important aids in this matter. Most stupendous changes are in progress with reference to Education; the old Conservatism has broken down, and the memorizing of ancient Chinese classics is being replaced by education of a broader character. The demand for, and the promise of, a Parliament is a matter full of deep significance, and changes in the government of the empire, of a drastic and wide-reaching character are imminent. Social movements are also very much to the front. The vigorous measures for the suppression of the opium habit are full of promise so also is the attitude, and activity, with reference to foot-binding among women.

The subject of the Religions of China is a vast and intricate one. As compared with India religion has played a far less important part in the lives of the people. While in India the strong tendency has been to divorce religion from the ordinary interests of life, in China religion has been too preponderatingly associated with man's present and material surroundings, the over-world has not loomed sufficiently large, too little stress has been laid on the fact that our life here is only a small portion of our whole life, that the present is but the introduction to a great future for every man, a future in which character will abide, but in which conditions and environment will differ vastly from those amidst which our development is now proceeding.

In matters of religion a great work lies before China, and she must see to it that Western civilization and science, with intellectual culture and internal political and commercial developments, do not crowd out the consideration of man's relation to God, his spiritual and eternal destiny.

## THE AWAKENING OF THE EAST

In turning to the question of the awaking of India we must not shrink from facing the enquiry as to how far that awaking is due to, and sustained by, contact with the West, and how far it possesses inherent strength, and the power to work out India's destiny along lines, and guided by principles, which it has made its own.

The position in India differs vastly from that which obtains in either China or Japan. Up to the present no such unity has been found as is evident in those countries. Such unity as exists is due to the consolidating organization of an alien rule. Practically all the important modern movements are due to the impact of the West, not merely the domination of the Government, but the multifarious influences which have come through education and Christianity. Let it be fully understood that in saying this we are only insisting on the fact that the *stimuli* have been external. It is not, for one moment, concluded that the "reaction" has not spontaneity in it. *This* is the very question to be considered.

*If* the modern movements should prove *only* the response to the stimuli from without, inspired by them, or provoked into activity by them, then the movements would have little abiding significance as regards any great destiny for India. The writer, however, is far from taking any such view. He thankfully recognizes that India's past affords abundant evidence of her possessing large powers of initiation, and remarkable ability. Not only in such realms as literature, philosophy, grammar, logic, astronomy has she achieved great things, but in more practical matters, such as architecture, administration, war, she has proved her strength. In the realm of religion she has manifested such an earnestness, originality, and wealth of output,—as regards creeds, ritual and modes of life,—as to eclipse any other nation. But pride of past achievement is a poor substitute for proof of present power, and it must be confessed that possibly some Indian writers are tempted to rest their country's reputation on their forefathers' merit. We, however, refuse to believe that all the rich vitality of the past has passed away for ever. Undoubtedly it slumbered, but the strong hope is entertained that, no matter how the awaking came about, India is truly and soundly awake, and is capable not merely of manifesting a response to outside stimuli, but the forceful activity of a refreshed and reinvigorated life.

No attempt is here made to enter into the details of the political situation. The conviction is expressed that for a long time the union of India and Great Britain is essential for

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the well-being of India. On both sides it should be made a matter of conscience to make the relations more cordial and sympathetic, and mutually considerate. National prejudice cannot exclude from the writer's mind the fact that deep wrongs and culpable mistakes have been committed by Great Britain. The past cannot be undone. The outlook is on the present, and should be as generous and hopeful as possible. Let the strenuous endeavour be made by East and West to understand one another, to trust one another, to *recognise* the best in, and to *make* the best of, one another. Recriminations and burnings, quarrels and animosities can only be mutually injurious.

The modern hope of "a united India" is a glorious dream, but at present it is a dream and not a reality. The prospects for its realization are far better if it can be worked out under the peaceful conditions which now prevail than under any other. The most sanguine must see that enormous work has yet to be done before the various races and nations of India can be educated to identify their interests, and to fuse themselves into one great nation. This hope should be fostered, and every endeavour for its accomplishment steadily pursued. "Coming events cast their shadows before," but it is useless to clutch at the shadow and labour under the delusion that you are handling the reality itself. India, like China, is too vast to transform herself in a few years. She must formulate her ideals, apply herself to methods, patiently work, and not expect to cut her harvest while only the tender shoots are breaking through the ground.

At present the tendency, on the part of some, is to import advanced political ideals from the West, and to imagine that representative institutions which have been painfully wrought out in the West after centuries of stress and strain, (and are not now beyond reproach), can be evolved in India in a decade. The political education of a nation is a tough piece of work; when different races and nations have to be welded into one the difficulties are increased greatly.

This is an age of conferences and congresses, and they play their part in the world's progress, but they can only help to make clear the situation and draft programmes. For the ensurance of result there is necessary the quiet steady solid work day by day.

Though political aspirations have engaged far too great a monopoly of attention in India during recent years, it is cheering to note that other subjects have not been entirely neglected. The awaking of India has meant the consideration of matters which have to do

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with the social well-being of the masses of the people, the building of them up for efficiency in all departments of life. No attempt need be made to dwell in detail on the familiar topics,—the altered attitude to the questions affecting womanhood (the education of girls and women, the age of marriage, the rights of widows to marry, *devadasis*); the recognition of the wrongs which have been inflicted on the Depressed Classes, and the talk of righting those wrongs; the consideration of Caste restrictions. These and other questions of vital importance are demanding and receiving a measure of attention and free discussion which afford hope that much may be attempted and accomplished.

But matters political and social are not the only ones on which the future destiny of India depends. It has been truly said that man is "incurably religious," and this is specially true of India. A question which has to be faced is, not only, "How are the modern movements going to affect religion?", but "How, how is religion going to affect modern movements?"—one might add "going to effect them?"

We do not touch here on those well nigh innumerable cults which stand for superstition and degradation to mind and life. Educated Indians would not defend these, though their efforts to give the masses something better in their place can scarcely be called strenuous. Can what is called the Higher Hinduism inspire and bring to fruition modern movements? In no phase of life is the call "Awake" more clamant than in this matter of religion. The underlying conceptions on which so many of the great modern movements, which are to regenerate India, are built, do not accord with the basal assumptions with reference to God and the Universe which underlie the Vedantic and kindred systems. It will be found impossible to maintain enthusiasm in the affairs of the present world and the present life if these are pronounced to be only "empty dreams." They are "real" and "earnest," and India needs to be filled with the burning conviction that God is keenly interested in the affairs of man and the affairs of this world. Time is a part of eternity, space of the infinite, matter of reality. Let us get large and comprehensive views of God and of Religion. It is with no metaphysical Absolute that we have to do, but with a God intimately related to all that is most dear to men. Is not the question worth renewed enquiry whether Christ has not made gloriously possible, as no other has, the reconciliation of the present and the future, the material and the spiritual, earth and Heaven, man and God? May not God be more human than some have

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maintained, may not man be capable (by God's grace) of becoming more divine than many have shrunk from daring to hope?

The East is awake, may she "put on strength" and press forward valiantly to strive for the progress of the world. India also is awake, let her think out very calmly her destiny and her duty, and in the strength of God work out His mind and will.

**Edwin Greaves**  
*of Benares*

### **THE ANNEXATION OF JHANSI**

Not long after the booming of guns from the ramparts of the Fort William of Calcutta announced that the Indian portfolio had passed away from the chivalrous hands of Lord Hardinge to those of an young pro-consul, the Marquis of Dalhousie, the Indian chiefs and princes learnt with utter amazement and apprehension the political principles which were to guide the new ruler in wielding the Indian sceptre. Lord Dalhousie authoritatively announced that "I can not conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presents itself for consolidating the territories that already belong to us by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them;" and "I take this fitting occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue, as may from time to time present themselves." This was the keynote of his Lordship's policy and he pleased himself with the notion that it could not be disputed. But a large number of English statesmen had held different views on the subject from those enunciated by Lord Dalhousie and some of these we give below:—

The Duke of Wellington:—"By the extension of our territory our means of supporting our government and of defending ourselves are proportionally decreased."

Sir Thomas Munro:—"Even if all India could be brought under the British dominion, it is very questionable whether such a change, either as regards the natives or ourselves, ought to be desired. For this change will have to be wrought about by the sacrifice of independence, of national character, and of whatever renders a people respectable."

Sir J. Malcolm:—"I am decidedly of opinion that the tranquility, not to say the security of our vast oriental possessions,

## THE ANNEXATION OF JHANSI

is involved in the preservation of the native principalities which are dependant upon us for protection. I am further convinced that the permanence of our power will be hazarded in proportion as territories of native princes and chiefs fall under our direct rule."

Sir Henry Russel :—" The danger that we have most to dread in India lies entirely at home. A well conducted rebellion of our native subjects or an extensive disaffection of our native troops, is the event by which our power is most likely to be shaken, and the sphere of this danger is necessarily enlarged by every enlargement of our territory."

Mr. Mounstuart Elphinstone :—" It appears to me to be our interest as well as our duty, to use every means to preserve the allied governments; it is also our interest to keep up the number of independent powers."

Lord Ellenborough :—" I would avoid taking what are called rightful occasions of appropriating the territories of native states; on the contrary, I should be disposed, as far as I could, to maintain the native states; and I am satisfied that the maintenance of the native states and the giving to the subjects of those states the conviction that they are considered permanent parts of the general government of India, would materially strengthen our authority."

Availing himself, therefore, of those "rightful opportunities" which the others failed to see Lord Dalhousie annexed successively the Punjab, Sattara and Nagpur. Now the reference to him as to the recognition of the adoption in the Jhansi Raj presented a similar "rightful opportunity" to annex the state. And accordingly he "recorded a fatal minute by which the death warrant of the state was signed."\*

Very dexterously he strove at the first instance to show in his minute the right and prerogative of the Imperial government, of confirming and invalidating adoption in independent states, to support which he quoted the opinions of Lord Metcalfe in respect of the Chiefs of Bundelkhand, which unfortunately instead of supporting the arguments of the noble Lord considerably weakened them. Lord Metcalfe, in reference to the Chief of Bundelkhand, observed the wide distinction that existed between "sovereign Princes and Jaghirdars, *i. e.*, between those in possession of hereditary sovereignties in their own right and those who hold grants of land by a gift from sovereign or "Paramount

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\* Sir J. Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. I, p. 91.

Power." "In the case therefore of Hindu sovereign Princes", continued Metcalfe, "I should say that on failure of male heirs of the body, they have a right to adopt, to the exclusion of collateral heirs and that the British Government is bound to acknowledge the adoption, provided that it be regular and not in violation of Hindu law. With respect to chiefs, who merely hold lands or enjoy public revenue under grants such as are issued by a sovereign to a subject, the power which made the grant or that which by conquest or otherwise has succeeded to its rights, is certainly entitled to limit succession according to the limitation of the grant, which in general confines it to heirs male of the body, and consequently precludes adoption."<sup>\*</sup>

Thus quoting it at full length, Lord Dalhousie tried his utmost to prove that Jhansi was a grant from the British Government. In the sixth para of his minute he notes :—"Jhansi is a dependant principality ; it was held by a chief under very recent grant from the Government as sovereign ; it is, therefore, liable to lapse to the Government that gave it on the failure of heirs male." In the seventh para he continues :—"The dependant nature of the chiefship of Jhansi does not admit of dispute. In 1835, Rao Ram Chand died. Although he had adopted a boy as successor the day before his death the adoption was not recognized." The eleventh para runs thus :—"Still less can it be conceded, as the Ranees contends, that the present adoption should be recognised, because in the 2nd article of the treaty of 1817, constituting Rao Ram Chand, his heirs and successors, hereditary chiefs of Jhansi, the British Government meant thereby.....that any party whom he adopted as his son, would be acknowledged by the British Government as his successor." The thirteenth para of the minute : "The sound policy of regarding Jhansi as a state lapsed by failure of heirs male, is not less clear than our right to do so. The British Government will not derive any material advantage from the possession of this territory for it is of great extent and the revenue is inconsiderable ; but as it lies in the midst of other British Districts, the possession of it as our own will tend to the improvement of the general internal administration of our possessions in Bundelkhand. That its incorporation with the British territories will be greatly for the benefit of the people of Jhansi, a very brief reference to the results of experience will suffice to show."<sup>†</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup> *Vide The Political Relations, De Cruz, p. 27.*

<sup>†</sup> *Lord Dalhousie's Minute, 27th February, 1854 ; Jhansi Papers, pp. 19-22.*

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Such was the substance of Lord Dalhousie's Minute. Its fallacies gave ample opportunities to more than one noble Englishman to refute it thoroughly. The weakness of the minute is shown for instance by Major Evans Bell, a great authority on Indian questions. "The Raja of Jhansi was already not a Jhagirdar; nor did he, as erroneously stated several times in the late Governor-General's minute, hold his Principality as a grant, nor did either his father Sheo Rao Bhow or his nephew Ram Chand Rao receive it as gift from the British Government. There was no gift because Ram Chand Rao was already in possession; there was pretension to the relations of a sovereign and subject, for there already existed relations of amity and defensive alliance; there was no grant made nor *Sanad* issued, but a new treaty was concluded between the two states in 1817. By this new treaty of 1817 the hereditary rights of the Rajas of Jhansi were guaranteed without reference to the titles of insignia, and this treaty contained no clause or expression restricting the ordinary operation of Hindu law or giving any right of confirmation or investiture to the British Government. The Raja of Jhansi was not a Jhagirdar but a hereditary ruler, a Hindu Prince."\*

The treaty of 1817 clearly established this fact. By that solemn engagement the British Government confirmed the Principality of Jhansi "in perpetuity" on Ram Chand Rao, and "acknowledged him and his heirs and successors as hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by the late Sheo Rao Bhow, his grandfather at the period of the commencement of the British Government and now in the possession of Row Ram Chand."†

The negotiator of this treaty, the celebrated Marquis of Hastings, had himself distinctly admitted that the ruler of Jhansi "who was a man of head as well as of courage succeeded in making the Subadarship, hereditary in his family." He also says:—"The Subadar of Jhansi is now our feudatory."‡

Therefore Lord Metcalfe's authoritative statements, regarding the prerogative of the paramount power to invalidate the adoption in states held under grant, cannot be applied in the case of Jhansi, because Jhansi as has already been shown was not held under grant. Lord Metcalfe's minute is intended to refer to a totally different class of states. But even in the case of Jhagirdars, Lord Metcalfe restricts the right of resumption by noting that the

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\* *Vide the Empire in India*, p. 209-210.

† Aitchison's *Treaties*, Revised Edition.

‡ Lord Hastings' *Private Journal*, Vol II, p. 235.

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Sovereign has only the power of refusing to sanction adoption when the terms of the grant limit succession to heirs male of the body. Therefore even if Jhansi were reducible to the category of Jhagirs or grants of land, Lord Dalhousie would not be justified in annexing it, because in the treaty and correspondence between the British Government and the Raja of Jhansi there is no limit of grant confining its successors to heirs male of the body. The agent Major Malcolm clearly points out that the native word used in the treaty means "successors in general, as opposed to heirs of the body or collateral heirs."<sup>\*</sup>

Hence Metcalfe's minute, instead of supporting Lord Dalhousie in the annexation of Jhansi, stood directly against it. From these high and authentic documents it is proved and established beyond any doubt or question that the Raja of Jhansi was not a Jhagirdar. "The chief of Jhansi on the contrary," says J. M. Ludlow, barrister-at-law, "was at the time we entered into the treaty referred to by right or wrong, the actual ruler of his territories; we had ourselves treated with his predecessors thirteen years before, he was already hereditary, at the time we so acknowledged and constituted him. To speak of this as a grant, from the British Government of the principality, of the liability of that principality to lapse to the Government that gave it, is surely gross abuse of terms."<sup>†</sup>

"The faith of treaties is basely prostituted," writes Vattal, "by studying to couch them in vague or equivocal terms, to introduce ambiguous expressions, to revive subjects of dispute to overreach those with whom we treat, and outdo them in cunning and duplicity. Let the man who excels in these acts boast of his happy talents, and esteem himself a keen negotiator; but reason and sacred law of nature will class him as far beneath a vulgar cheat as the majesty of kings is exalted above private persons. True diplomatic skill consists in guarding against imposition, not in practising it."<sup>‡</sup>

Lord Dalhousie fell into another great mistake when he declared in his minute that there did exist a precedent for refusing to sanction the present adoption. In speaking of the precedent, Lord Dalhousie says that "Rao Ram Chand did adopt a boy, but the British Government did not acknowledge the boy as successor." Lord Dalhousie here assumes a case which is totally

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<sup>\*</sup> *Jhansi Blue Book*, p. 24.

<sup>†</sup> *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India*, p. 125-6.

<sup>‡</sup> J. B. Martin's *Rebellion in India*, p. 108.

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negated by the facts and circumstances of the question. In 1835, there was a great doubt about the validity and fact of the adoption. There were four claimants to the *musnad* of Jhansi. The fact of adoption was denied by the adverse parties. The decision in 1835 of the Secretary to the Government bears testimony to this effect. "It is to be observed, therefore, that in 1835, the adoption or nomination was doubtful; in 1853, the adoption was not doubtful, or in the slightest degree irregular or suspicious, but was effected in strict accordance with Hindoo law, and in the presence of British officers, and was officially reported to Government in writing, by the dying Raja. There is no parallel here; no precedent can be founded on the decision of 1835. The settlement of 1835 was either right or wrong. If right, on account of adoption having been irregular or doubtful, then no precedent is arrived at. If wrong, then the fact of a wrong having been done once, is no reason that it should be done again."\*

At Jhansi the adoptive son was himself a claimant by blood, the representative in the male line of a branch of the family older to the one which had hitherto enjoyed the chiefship. There were, writes the Resident, two other claimants; one a nephew by a sister of the chief with whom the treaty of 1817 was concluded; another a representative in the male line of a branch junior to the reigning one, but more closely related. It was ruled that as there was "no male heir whatever meaning of course no male heir of the body," a very different thing—"of any Raja or Soobadar of Jhansi who has ruled since the first relations of the British Government with that state were formed," there was, "therefore, no male heir whatever existing of the hereditary chiefship of Jhansi."†

The treaties and engagements clearly defined the relation between "the two governments"; the clauses gave no right of resumption or even investiture to the paramount power."‡ Lastly as a ground for his annexation of Jhansi, Lord Dalhousie boldly remarked "that its incorporation with the British territories will be greatly for the benefit of the people of Jhansi a reference to the results of experience will suffice to show." Sir John Kaye aptly observes :—"the results of experience have since shown to what

\* Major Evans Bell's *Empire in India*, pp. 212-13.

† Ludlow's *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown*, p. 144, c.f. *Jhansi Blue Book*, p. 27.

‡ (*Empire in India*, p. 213.)

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extent the people of Jhansi appreciated the benefit of that incorporation."\*

No time was lost in sending the notice of annexation to the Court of the Regent Ranee. Luchmee Bai received the agent of Lord Dalhousie, Major Ellis, most courteously, separated by a *purdah*. When the British representative informed her of this heart-rending news that Jhansi thenceforth ceased to belong to her, that it was incorporated with the vast domains of the mighty English, Luchmee Bai, in a loud and yet melodious voice, replied to the agent of the English—" *Mera Jhansi denge nahe* "—(I will not give up my Jhansi). "In vain," notes the accomplished historian of the Sepoy War, "she protested that her husband's House had ever been faithful to the British Government—in vain she dwelt upon services rendered in former days to that Government, and the acknowledgments which they had elicited from our rulers—in vain she pointed to the terms of the treaty, which did not, to her simple understanding, bar succession in accordance with the laws and usages of her country—in vain she quoted precedents to show that the grace and favour sought for Jhansi had been yielded to other States. The fiat was irrevocable."† Jhansi was annexed. The infant Annoda Rao's rights were denied and the regent Ranee was left ‡ to grieve unforgivingly. Justly remarks the great historian of the Sepoy War that it was perhaps the worst of all his annexations."§ By such annexations "the Governor-General not only terrified the native governing class throughout India with the spectre of a resistless centralization, but struck at the root of Hindu religion and cut out of Hindu law its highest and gentlest enactment"¶ Justly remarks Dr. Nolan, "the policy of His Excellency appeared to be an exemplification of—

"The good old rule, the simple plan,  
That they should take who have the power ;  
That they should keep who can."

The temper of India at the time was not favourable to such a policy. His Excellency was warned of this. Lord Dalhousie, however, like men who make haste to be rich and pierce themselves through with many sorrows, provided a heritage of grief and blood for his country.

G. L. D.

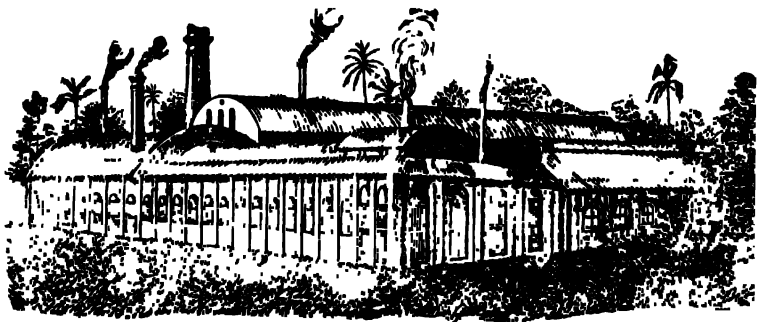
\* *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. I, p. 92.

† *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. pp. 91-92.

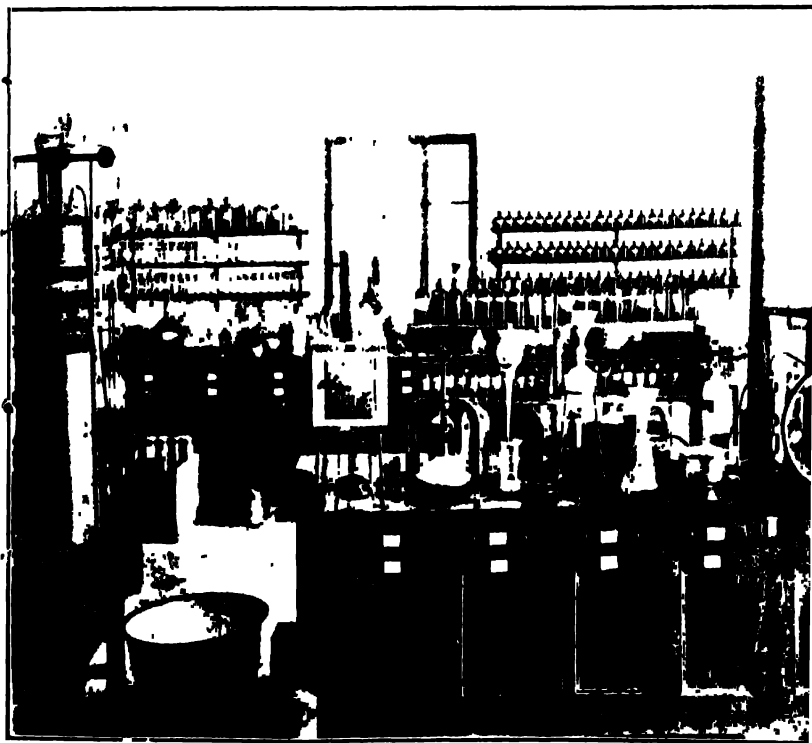
‡ *Torrens' Empire in Asia*, p. 375.

§ *History of the Sepoy war* Vol. II, p. 360.

¶ *Dalhousie's Administration of British India*, Vol. II, p. 108.



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The Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd.



## DR. P. C. RAY

### (A BIOGRAPHICAL AND CHARACTER SKETCH)

It is a much more difficult task to materialise ideas than to conceive them. Those who are able to translate ideas into the hard language of facts generally contribute more to the well-being of the human race than mere dreamers of good things. One such man in India to-day is Dr. P. C. Ray of the Presidency College of Calcutta.

Not only as a school-master or a chemist will Dr. P. C. Ray be known to future generations of Indians. Dr. Ray has been as successful a pioneer and captain of a new industry in India as he has been in widening the bounds of chemical knowledge of the world.

A very simple and straight man, Dr. Ray has given the best part of his life to build character among his students and inspire his pupils with the love of knowledge for its own sake. He may have had his disappointments, but he has done more to inculcate the wisdom of plain living and high thinking than perhaps any other man now living in Bengal. A few racks of books, a miserable-looking and antiquated bedstead, an eighteenth-century table with a few old-fashioned chairs form all his earthly belongings ; and though he has been to England twice, his dress is as shabby and poor as that of a beggar in the street.

Dr. Ray's heart is as big as his head. He does not spend his earnings on his own personal comforts or does not lay them by as a miser. Dr. Ray is an old bachelor and has no intentions to marry and, therefore, is the complete master of his own purse. Almost all that he earns as a Professor or as profits from the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, he spends on poor boys, deserving institutions and public charities. It is difficult to spot out many poor boys in the Calcutta Colleges who do not receive some sort of aid or help from this sorry-looking Professor, and there are very few deserving charities in Bengal that do not count him as their patron. Indeed, behind a very ugly and attenuated figure—Dr. Ray has been a confirmed dyspeptic for over 30 years—he carries a heart as warm as the climate of his native land.

Absolutely Oriental in habits and tastes, there are very few men in Bengal who have drunk so deep of Western knowledge and who have been so strong and steadfast champions of right thinking and right doing. A devoted and careful student of Mill

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and Spencer, Dr. Ray is a rationalist in his heart of hearts. He seldom allows his emotions or the prejudices of his environment to get the better of his judgment. He does not believe in caste or communal ideas and, though a member of the Brahmo Samaj, is far from thinking that that Church can claim any monopoly of any moral and spiritual wisdom. He hits as hard in private life against Hindu practices as against Brahmic pretensions and about a couple of years ago he contributed to a vernacular periodical of Bengal an article in which he boldly came out with chapter and verse to prove how the Bengalee intellect had suffered through foolish social customs and absurd religious prejudices.

In an appreciative character sketch of the subject of this biography, Mr. Padminimohan Neogi writes :—

“ We have heard Dr. Ray say many a time and oft that poverty is a rigid school and its sessions are long and bitter ; but the men and women who graduate therein come forth with physical frames capable of enduring fatigues, with hearts habituated to disappointments, fortified against the rebuffs of fortune, and with intellects trained by laborious and unbending application. Though himself a prodigious man of charity (for which his friends have sometimes taken him to task) his opinion regarding money-giving has been but simple. Of all charities, he often says, mere money-giving is the least ; sympathy, kind words, friendly advice and an encouraging smile will frequently outweigh a mint of coin. “ Bear this in mind,” we have often heard him say, “ selfishness is the real root of all the evils in the world ; people are too isolated, too much wrapped up in their individual thoughts, interests and enjoyments. The first person singular is the god of the Age.”

We have said Dr. Ray has not married and, what is still better, he has no intentions to mount the hymeneal altar. Our readers must not, therefore, run away with the idea that the premier scientist and savant of India has been quite impervious to the arrows of Cupid. But now is not the time to publish any account of his love-passage and we shall hold our patience for the present.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray was born in 1861 at Raruli-Katipara, a small village now in the district of Khulna, of a family well-known in that part of Bengal for generations. This obscure village is situated on the bank of the river Kapotaksha, immortalised by the great Bengali poet, Michael Madhusudan, in ‘*.....*’ at Versailles :

“सतत ई नद तुमि पद नीर मने  
सतत तोमारि कथा भावि ई बिरखे”

His father, the late Haris Chandra Ray, who died in 1894 at the age of 69, was a good Persian scholar and was imbued with the writings of Sadi and Hafiz and was a student of the Krishnagore College in the early forties of the last century, when the celebrated Captain D.L. Richardson was its Principal. He was a well-read man and held enlightened views on many social questions and was a pioneer in introducing English education in his own district. Harish Chandra was a member of the British Indian Association in the early sixties of the last century and was well acquainted with, among others, the late Raja Digambor Mitra, Krishna Das Pal, Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagara. The local M. V. School, which was founded and maintained mainly at the expense of the late Haris Chandra Ray, has now grown into a M. E. School and it is located in the very ancestral house of Dr. Ray, for the up-keep of which he spends annually a handsome amount even to this day. This ancestral home of Dr. Ray is more than a century old and is partly in a delapidated condition, but it is still considered to be one of the finest buildings in that part of Khulna.

Dr. Ray received his early training at his father's School ; but his father, being anxious that his sons should receive the benefit of the best possible education, settled down at Calcutta towards the end of 1870. Young Profulla Chandra was admitted as a pupil of the Hare School immediately and read there for 4 years. In 1874 he got a severe attack of dysentery and suffered from it for nearly a year and consequently was absent from school for a long period ; but he utilised this time in devouring the contents of a splendid library got together by his father and eldest brother. Being of studious habits and being disentangled from the trammels of ordinary school lessons—he read without let or hindrance in spite of his malady and got passionately attached to the works of Goldsmith, Addison and some other classical English authors. When sufficiently recovered from his malady, he took his admission into the Albert School of Calcutta, then in the hey-day of its glory under the rectorship of the late Krishna Vihari Sen and here he at once made his mark as a diligent student. From Krishnabihari young Prafulla Chandra also imbibed his love of English literature. At this time, he became a constant listener to the lectures and sermons of Keshub Chandra Sen, and thereby he was slowly attracted to the Brahmo Samaj of which he has been a member since 1882. At this period of his life also, about 1875-77, he caught the enthusiasm inspired by the eloquence of the late A.M. Bose and Mr. S.N. Banerjea and felt the impulses of a higher life—his mental horizon was extended and a

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keen feeling of patriotism was roused. The story has been told by Dr. Ray himself sometime ago in the pages of the *Indian World*.

From 1879-82 he was a student of the Metropolitan Institution and he has often told us that the one fascination he had for joining Vidyasagar's College was that he should be able to sit at the feet of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea. Indeed, the exposition of Morley's "Burke" and Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution" from the lips of this great teacher made a life-long impression on Dr. Ray. All this time young Ray was also a student of the Presidency College (in the scientific Department) and here attended the lectures of Sir John Elliot in Physics and of Sir Alexander Pedler in Chemistry. Dr. Ray's father having lost in the meantime a considerable portion of his ancestral zemindary, he was precluded from giving the most brilliant of his sons the benefit of an education in England. Young Ray took this to heart and slowly and quietly prepared himself for the Gilchrist Scholarship Examination, and it is singular that his father and other relatives were kept entirely in the dark about this matter, his eldest brother alone having been taken into his confidence. In 1882 Ray proceeded to England as a Gilchrist Scholar and studied at Edinburgh for 6 years. Although his taste and inclination lay towards English literature and history, he realised that the future progress of India was bound up with the pursuit of science and thus he gradually weaned himself away from his former studies. At Edinburgh he was for sometime the pupil of the celebrated Peter Guthrie Tait and of Alexander Crum Brown—two mighty intellects in the departments of physical science and chemistry—and through their teachings he shortly came to be devotedly attached to the study of chemistry. Although Chemistry literally claimed him as her own at this time, Dr. Ray still continued to be a close student of English politics and of Indian Economics. Indeed, his "Essay on India before and after the Mutiny," written while on the eve of his appearance at the B. Sc. Examination at Edinburgh, bears impress of mature study of Indian problems. The Essay was warmly appreciated at the time and Principal Sir William Muir pronounced it as bearing marks of rare ability.\*

The leading newspaper of the Scottish capital observed: "It is a most interesting little volume, and we do not profess to wonder in the least that it has earned a considerable amount of popularity. It contains information in reference to India which

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\* *Vide* Inaugural Address to the Students of the University of Edinburgh, October 29, 1886.

will not be found elsewhere, and it is deserving of the utmost notice.”\*

John Bright, in acknowledging a copy of the booklet, wrote a long letter to the author from which we make the following extract :—

“I regret with you and condemn the course of Lord Dufferin in Burmah. It is a renewal of the old system of crime and guilt which we had hoped had been for ever abandoned. There is an ignorance on the part of the public in this country and great selfishness here and in India as to our true interests in India. These departures from morality and true statesmanship will bring about calamity and perhaps ruin, which our children may witness and deplore.”

But the attractions of the laboratory drew Dr. Ray away from the troubled seas of politics. His career at the Edinburgh University was brilliant—he obtained the Hope Prize Scholarship and, after taking the D. Sc. degree, he prolonged his stay by a year as he was loth to give up the original investigations already taken in hand.†

He joined the Presidency College of Calcutta as a Professor a year after his return from Europe, and since that year (1889) he has practically confined all his attention to his chemical researches. Fifteen years after he had joined the Presidency College, he was deputed by the Government of Bengal to visit the principal chemical laboratories of Europe and was everywhere received with open arms by chemists and savants. At a meeting of the French Academy of Sciences, Mr. Troost welcomed Dr. Ray and here is a notice of that welcome :

Presence d'un savant étranger.—M. le Président annonce que M. P. C. Ray, Professor de chimie à Calcutta, auteur de travaux

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\**The Scotsman*.

† Writing from the University of Edinburgh, under date 5th April, 1888, Prof. Crum Brown states :—

“I have known Dr. P. C. Ray since he came to this University in 1882, and have watched his career with much interest. Having laid a sound foundation of general scientific knowledge, he devoted himself especially to Chemistry. He took the degree of B. Sc. in 1885, and that of D. Sc. in 1887. He held the Hope Prize Scholarship in Chemistry during the year 1887-88. He worked in the Chemical Laboratories during the Summer and Winter Sessions, from May 1883 till March 1888, latterly assisting Dr. Gibson and myself in the work of the Laboratory. As much of his work was done under my own observation, I can speak with confidence as to his ability and knowledge. He has an extensive and sound acquaintance with all branches of theoretic Chemistry, and is a careful and accurate analyst. He has shown that he has the capacity for original investigation—his thesis for the degree of D. Sc. being a piece of excellent analytical work, well arranged, and thoroughly and conscientiously carried out.”

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importants sur lesnitriles ainsi que d' une Histoire des chimistes hindous, assiste a la seance et lui souhaite la bienvenue.\*

As we began by saying, Dr. Ray will be remembered by future generations of Indians more as a builder than as a teacher. He has under exceptionally odd and untoward circumstances built up an indigenous industry in pharmaceutical preparations and deserves credit for this new opening of Indian activity. Starting the Bengal Chemical Works on a very modest scale in 1892, with the co-operation of a friend who is now no more in this world, Dr. Ray has always remained its presiding genius. It was started with no capital except the devotion of Dr. Ray and his friend, and for a long number of years these two young men struggled through failure, discouragement and poverty. The early history of this institution reads like a romance and has got to be told in an adequate way but this is not the place for it. All that we can find space for in this paper is the mention of the fact that today the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works is one of the most successful joint-stock enterprises in Bengal and has a paid-up capital of 3 lakhs of Rupees while its annual dividends average about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. It has several departments now, including a department for the preparation of sulphuric acid and employs about 250 hands in its workshops and offices.

Rightly has Dr. Travers of the Indian Scientific Institute said that the Bengal Chemical Works is a piece of research work for which Professor Ray and Mr. C. Bhaduri ought to be proud and he makes special reference to this fact. In the words of the same authority:—"the construction and management of the works is the work of the past students from the chemistry department of the Presidency College, acting under the advice of these gentlemen. The design and construction of the sulphuric acid plant and of the plant required for the preparation of drugs and other products involved a large amount of research work of the kind which is likely to be of the greatest service to this country, and does the greatest credit to those concerned."

Dr. P. C. Ray is a man of many activities. He has not been content with only building up an industrial concern but has given his time and attention in establishing the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Academy of Literature in Bengal, which is fast developing into a very useful institution. Already the Parishad has a handsome

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\*—*La Nature*, 12 March, 1905.

building of its own in Calcutta and several affiliated branches in different parts of Bengal. He takes a keen interest in Bengalee literature and himself is a careful student of it. Only two years ago he was called upon to preside over the Provincial Literary Conference in which he read a remarkable paper on the "Place of Science in Literature." He has contributed many articles to several Bengalee periodicals, besides writing to the *Indian World*.

Of Shakespeare Dr. Ray is immoderately fond and is never tired of reading and re-reading his immortal products; Emerson, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius have deeply tinged his life. His favourite novels are those of Thackeray, George Eliot and Dickens,—he cannot tolerate any present-day novelists—not even Hall Caine or Marie Correlli.

As a teacher of young men for over a quarter of a century and having intimate association and close contact with a large number of students, Dr. Ray holds that the Bengali intellect is second to none—but the Bengali youth lacks the characteristic go, pluck, determination and the close application of the youths of Europe and Japan—it ripens early and decays early. The Bengalee, according to Dr. Ray, seldom can bring to bear upon anything sustained and life-long devotion and tenacity of purpose—his enthusiasm is short-lived and is of a flashy and dashing nature.

Yet, it has been Dr. Ray's practice for the last few years to invite some of his advanced students to help and take part in his research work. As the fascination grows, these young aspirants become devoted to the cause of original investigation and stick to the work. Year after year their number has been added to and this is how a school of chemists has been founded in Calcutta without any fuss or ado. We can find out the measure of the success of Dr. Roy's school when we see that the journals of chemistry now-a-days contain contributions of genuine merit either from him or the pupils whom he has literally trained and inspired. The last May and August numbers of the *Transactions of the Chemical Society*, London, it may be interesting to know, contain simultaneously five contributions from him and his pupils. Scarcely a month elapses without his contributions on the nitrites and hypo-nitrites of Mercury and Amines. His contributions up to date have been close upon forty and his work has thrown a flood of light on the chemical constitution of many of the more important compounds of these. Truly, like Chevreu and Faraday, this great oriental savant has chosen research work in preference to money-making and well has Professor Sylvain Levi of Paris remarked in the course of his review of the *History*

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of *Hindu Chemistry* that "his laboratory is the nursery from which issue forth the Chemists of New India."

It was in December, 1895, that Dr. Ray rose to fame and became known to the scientific world by his celebrated discovery of mercurous nitrite. In his presidential address, delivered before the Asiatic Society in 1896, Mr. (Now Sir Alexander) Pedler spoke of it as follows :—"Dr. P. C. Ray, by his discovery of the method of preparation of this compound, has filled up a blank in our knowledge of the mercury series." Since that time, Dr. Ray has been busy working in the new field thus opened up and has incidentally discovered a lot of new compounds of mercury. Dr. Ray has described these discoveries in the course of a number of memoirs, chiefly communicated to the London Chemical Society. One of the most interesting results of these researches is that Dr. Ray has been able to establish the fact that there exists a very intimate family likeness between silver and mercury. In the course of a memoir contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1907 Vol. III No. 2) Prof. Ray described the preparation of a silver mercurous-mercuric nitrate by the action of a solution of mercurous nitrite on silver nitrite. This compound furnished the most convincing proof that univalent mercury has the power isomorphously to replace silver. In noticing this paper the *Statesman* made the following remarks :—"Dr. Ray's researches have all along shown that univalent mercury should be placed side by side with silver, and his latest paper adduces most convincing proof in this direction. He has at last succeeded in preparing a compound of univalent mercury in which a portion of this metal is isomorphously replaced by its analogue, silver. This isomorphous or—to adopt the happy language of the greatest living authority on the subject, Groth—*vicarious* substitution of mercury by silver, will, no doubt, be welcomed by the scientific world. Why should one and the same metal play this sort of double role? We are at the dawn of a new Chemistry. Sir Wm. Ramsay has shown that radium is slowly transformed into helium. Possibly the 20th century is destined to throw a flood of light on the duality as also on the transmutation of metals."

In December last Dr. Ray with a fellow co-worker made another important discovery in the form of a compound composed of such antagonistic and mutually destructive agencies as methylamine and nitrous acid. The value and importance of this magnificent discovery will be understood from the observations with which *The Empire*

noticed the preliminary note read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in which this important discovery was announced. It wrote :—

“ The very preliminary note on ‘methylammonium nitrite’ by Dr. P. C. Ray and Mr. Jitendra Nath Rakshit which was read at the last December meeting of the Asiatic Society, has not, we are afraid, attracted the attention it deserves. The authors with commendable unobtrusiveness announce in this communication the preparation of a new compound, which is destined to be hailed in the chemical world as a startling discovery. Sir William Ramsay, if our memory serves us right, has somewhere aptly said that a chemical process involves a marriage of elements (and of compounds as well). Now, the chemical union of methylamine and nitrous acid has been the despair of successive generations of chemists ; all the attempts to bring them together under the matrimonial yoke have hitherto failed, as these two compounds are mutually destructive of each other and their interaction almost instantaneously results in the formation of methyl alcohol and liberation of nitrogen. Indeed, this very reaction, as every tyro in organic chemistry knows, is made use of for the diagnosis of primary amines. The authors have evidently proved to be efficient chemical match-makers, as in their hands methylamine and nitrous acid have not only forgotten their antagonistic properties but have agreed to be united in chemical wedlock, giving rise to a beautiful crystalline yellowish compound. We understand that Dr. Ray has already been the recipient of warm congratulations from eminent English chemists, and it would seem almost impertinent to add our own. It is believed that since the discovery of mercurous nitrite by Dr. Ray in 1895, a preliminary account of which was also communicated to the Asiatic Society at the time and which at once made the name of its discoverer known to the scientific world, the laborious researches in the chemical Laboratory of the Presidency College have not been rewarded with so rich a find.”

We have not the space here to notice in detail all the contributions of Dr. Ray to the chemical world. But no review of his life can be complete without a reference to that monumental work of his, *The History of Hindu Chemistry*, in which he has completely proved to the world at large, by reference to old Sanskrit texts, the antiquity of the knowledge of Chemistry in this country. The first volume of the *History of Hindu Chemistry* appeared in 1902 as a result of 15 years' continuous study and research and was so favourably received that it was necessary

to publish a second edition in 1905. The second volume came out about five years after the first. In order to introduce our readers to the subject matter of this book we can do no better than to quote a few sentences from a translation of the review of the work which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* over the signature of that eminent scholar and orientalist, Mons. Sylvain Levi of Paris. He writes :—

"In his first volume, Mr. Ray has given a picture of the chemical knowledge of ancient India, which he divides into four periods : the Ayurvedic period, from the pre-Buddhist era to about 800 A. D. ; the Transitional period, from 800 to 1100 A. D. ; the Tantric period, from 1100 to 1300 A. D. ; the iatro-chemical period from 300 to 1550 A. D. In the first period he places Charaka, Susruta, the Bower Mss. and Vaghbhatta ; in the second, Vrinda and Chakrapani ; in the third, *Rasarnava* ; in the fourth *Rasaratnasamuchchaya*. To this list have been added a few monographs and a collection of Sanskrit texts. The second volume may be regarded as the continuation of the first. The author has during this interval discovered or secured new materials, which has enabled him to throw further light upon the questions previously taken up for solution. In particular, the *Rasaratnakara* of Siddha Nagarjuna has floated before his vision as the figure of the great Buddhist philosopher who has acted so powerfully upon Indian thoughts. In this treatise on alchemy, Nagarjuna comes in as a friend of king Salivahana—a connection which has the support of an old tradition, as also his disciple, Ratnaghosa, whose name, though as yet unknown, has the probability of being a real personage. Alchemy was introduced into the sphere of Buddhism by Nagarjuna, which was almost neglected up till his time. Mr. Ray has undeniably proved, not without surprise, the grand role played by Buddhist monks in alchemy and the preponderating part of Buddhism in the Tantric literature. Even in the thirteenth century, a Hindu Chemist, named Gobindacharya, author of *Rasasara*, declares to have composed his work "after having derived his information from Buddhist sources," as also "from the Buddhists of Tibet." Mr. Ray also notices a good many Hindu chemical Tantras and gives a summary of them and continues the list to about the seventeenth century. The conclusion at which Mr. Ray arrives is that Indian alchemy is of indigenous origin."

Mons. Levi does not indeed accept the contention of Dr. Ray that Indian Chemistry is of indigenous origin. But he does not

also deny it. He only wants more light on this point. We hope in some future years Dr. Ray will be able to adduce more convincing proofs in support of his theory which will satisfy all parties.

M. Berthelot speaking of this book characterised it as an addition of a new and interesting chapter to the history of sciences and of human progress.

We shall conclude this notice of Dr. Ray's life by appending below a complete list of the contributions made by him on the results of his own chemical investigations and researches :—

1. Conjugated Sulphates of the Copper-Magnesium Group. *Proc Royal Soc. Edin.*, 1888.
2. Chemical Examination of certain Indian Food Stuffs. *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1894.
3. On Mercurous Nitrite  
*Journ. Asiatic Soc.*, 1895, and *Zeit Anorg Chem.*, 1896
4. On the Nitrites of Mercury and the varying conditions under which they are formed. *Trans. Chem. Soc.*, 1897.
5. On the Action of Sodium Hyponitrite on Mercuric Solutions. *Trans. Chem. Soc.*, 1897.
6. Mercury Hyponitrites. *Trans. Chem. Soc.*, 1897.
7. Ueber Merkuronitrit. *Liebig's Annalen Bd 316*, 1901.
8. Dimercurammonium Nitrite and its Haloid Derivatives. *Trans. Chem. Soc.*, 1902.
9. Decomposition of Mercurous Nitrite under Heat. *Trans. Chem Soc.*, 1903.
10. Dimercurammonium Nitrate. *Journ. Asiatic Soc., Bengal*, 1902-3.
11. Mercuric Nitrite and its Decomposition under Heat *Trans. Chem. Soc.*, 1904.
12. Theory of the Formation of Mercurous Nitrite and of its Conversion into various Mercurous Nitrates. *Trans. Chem. Soc.*, 1905.
13. The Nitrites of the Alkali Metals and Metals of the Alkaline Earths and their Decomposition by Heat. *Trans. Chem. Soc.*, 1905.
14. On the Two Varieties of Silver Nitrite. *Proc. Chem. Soc.*, 1905.
15. On Fischer's Salt and its Decomposition by Heat. *Trans. Chem. Soc.*, 1905.
16. On the Interaction of the Alkyl Sulphates and the Nitrites of the Alkali Metals &c. *Trans. Chem. Soc.*, 1906.

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17. On Silver and Mercurous Hyponitrites. Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907.
18. Decomposition of Mercurous and Silver Hyponitrites by Heat. Ibid, 1907.
19. Decomposition of Mercurous and Silver Hyponitrites under the action of Mineral Acids. Ibid, 1907.
20. The double nitrites of mercury and the Alkali Metals. Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907.
21. Silver-mercurous-mercuric oxynitrites and the isomorphous replacement of univalent mercury by silver. Ibid. 1907.
22. Preparation of aliphatic nitrocompounds by the interaction of alkyl iodides mercurous nitrite. Proc. Chem. Soc., 1907.
23. Molecular volumes of the nitrites of the alkali metals including those of silver and mercury. Trans. Chem. Soc., 1908.
24. Lithium nitrite and its decomposition by heat. Ibid. 1908.
25. The molecular volumes of nitrites of barium, strontium and calcium. Ibid. 1908.
26. The decomposition and sublimation of ammonium nitrite. Ibid 1909.
27. P. C. Ray and A. C. Ghosh, Decomposition of ammonium platinichloride and ammonium platibromide by heat. Zeitschrift fur Anorg. Chem. 1909.
28. P. C. Ray and H. K. Sen. Tetramethyl-ammonium nitrite and its decomposition under heat. Proc. Chem. Soc., 1910.
29. The double nitrites of mercury and the metals of the alkaline earths Trans. Chem. Soc., 1910.
30. The double nitrites of mercury and the bases of the tetraalkylammonium series Proc. Chem. Soc. 1910.
31. P. C. Ray and A. C. Ghosh. Decomposition of dimercurammonium nitrite by heat. Trans. Chem. Soc., 1910.
32. P. C. Ray and S. C. Mukerji. Ionisation of the nitrites as measured by the cryoscopic method; preliminary note. Proc. Chem. Soc., 1910.
33. P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. Methylammonium nitrite Trans. Chem. Soc., 1911.
34. P. C. Ray and H. K. Sen. Tetramethylammonium hyponitrite and its decomposition under heat. Ibid. 1911.
35. P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. Nitrites of the alkyl ammonium bases: ethylammonium nitrite, dimethylammonium nitrite, and trimethylammonium nitrite. Chem. Soc. Trans. 1911.
36. P. C. Ray and R. L. Dutta. Nitrites of the benzylammonium series Benzylammonium nitrite, dibenzylammonium nitrite;

and their sublimation and decomposition under heat.  
Trans. 1911.

37. P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. Trimercuridiethylammonium nitrite.
38. P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. Nitrites of the alkylammonium series, Part II—Propylammonium nitrite and Butylammonium nitrites and their decomposition under heat. (Communicated to the Chem. Soc. London.)
39. P. C. Ray and R. L. Dutta. Allylamine nitrite.

# The Progress of the Indian Empire

## PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

### BOMBAY

As I write, a regular famine has been almost officially declared in west Gujerat and Kathiwar. This year the Famine in Gujerat monsoon opened well and every body expected that it would have the augury of a bumper crop. For a month and a half the rains held off, not only in the northern portions of the Presidency, but also in the Deccan. Had these unfavourable conditions continued for a week or so longer, the situation would have been grave over the whole of the Province. But welcome showers came by the beginning of this month and a serious calamity was averted in many places. The crops of Gujerat have been entirely lost, however, in the British territory and the Baroda State. The gods of rain are to be thanked that in this auspicious year of the Delhi Durbar, the general situation is not worse than it is at present.

The Senate of our University has been engaged for more than two years and a half in discussing various reforms to be made in collegiate education. The ball was set rolling by a Government letter which made certain recommendations about cutting down the number of examinations, relieving the burden of studies, bifurcating the courses and encouraging science. There was a desperate fight over the proposals and Sir Pherozezshah Mehta was the sturdy champion of the *status quo*. During his absence in England an arrangement was arrived at, a result chiefly of compromise. But when the report of the Committee which based its recommendations on the compromise came up before the Senate, the war was revived. Government sent another letter to the University taking objection to the retention of English History as a compulsory subject for the B. A. on the ground of its being an unnecessary burden that leads itself easily to cram and is difficult efficiently to teach. The ranks of the fellows nominated by Government—they are 80 per cent. of the total number—were closed and presented a solid front to the popular opposition which was led jointly by Sir Pherozezshah and the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. Their arguments availed naught to convince a determined phalanx and English History was given the go-bye from the compulsory course.

## **PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BOMBAY)**

Whatever the merits of the case may be, the fight over the retention of English History and its ill success under the peculiar circumstances are a vindication of the popular outcry against Lord Curzon's Universities Act of 1904. There is little now to distinguish our Universities from other departments of Government.

Sir Pherozezshah, the outspoken advocate of the popular side, has never enjoyed the favour of the powers that be. Sir P. M. Mehta Many a time has he made a bold and slashing attack upon erring officials and has bearded the lion in his own den. In the University and the Legislative Council he has always led the opposition to Government which the latter must have found inconvenient. Twice during the past few months the President of the Council, thoroughly within his rights, of course, has had to pull up Sir Pherozezshah while he was exceeding the twenty minutes' limit. It is said that with growing age he has got into the habit of exercising more freely the peculiar privilege of old age, viz., garrulity and irrelevance. There may be some truth in this, and the President of the Council is not bound to extend to every member the favour of exceeding the time limit. But the fact that Sir Pherozezshah has been cut short while offering valuable and powerful criticism upon an important question has been widely resented and is regarded as the penalty he has got to suffer for his bold outspokenness.

The Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu's Bill has received a hearty support at the hands of a large section of the educated Hindu community in the Presidency. No wonder if the orthodox people regard it as a revolutionary measure tending to undermine the hoary foundations of Hindu religion and society. What is astonishing to discover is the opposition to the Bill which has sprung up in the camp of the wellknown social reformers themselves,—reformers who have often condemned from the public platform old superstitious customs and who have, in their own individual lives, discarded many of the injunctions of the so-called Hindu religion. Men who have not cared for caste and restrictions on widow marriage have allied with the *ultra* orthodox in a campaign against Mr. Basu's Bill. To see these reformers rubbing shoulders with men who regard caste distinction as an ordinance of God and who would not see the least change made in the existing customs, though they have before this bowed their necks to violent social changes is a sight worthy of the gods. Another astonishing feature is the strong support the Bill has secured from a quite unexpected quarter. A leading vernacular

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paper from Poona with its English brother has accorded the Bill its most enthusiastic backing and this is in strange contrast with the almost fanatic opposition it has received from a handful of Bombay reformers. A number of leading men from Poona have already sent in a memorial to Government with a blessing upon the Bill, while its supporters in Bombay are getting up a similar memorial, which I am told, is to be followed by a public meeting convened for the same purpose.

While Bengal is astir with rejoicing over the Mohan Bagan victory, Bombay has been scanning the sporting Cricket.

columns of its dailies for news of the cricket matches the Indian team is playing in the United Kingdom. Bombay is very strongly represented in that eleven and its representatives have won brilliant victories. Bengal is justly proud of its recently earned victory at Foot-ball as indication of pluck and stamina of Indian youth. Bombay has long maintained its own in another field and for the past twenty years Indian cricket elevens have maintained their ground against strong European teams.

## **MADRAS**

The public of Madras does not seem to have fallen to dumb forgetfulness a prey. Soon after the demise of the late Marquis of Ripon the citizens of Madras, in public meeting assembled, resolved to commemorate his great services to the people of this country by the erection of a public statue. The statue is nearly finished and at a meeting of the Committee of the Ripon Memorial Fund held recently at the Mahajana Hall it was resolved that an application be made to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council for the free grant of a site for placing the statue of the Great Indian Viceroy. The site chosen by the committee is almost in the centre of the best known locality in the city of Madras, at the Mount Road, and it is to be hoped that the Government will comply with the request of the Committee and thus aid on keeping green the memory of one who did so much for India and her people.

The Government of Madras has introduced as an experiment the elective system with regard to Taluk Boards and fixed the proportion of elective seats at one-third of the existing strength. This experiment has been in force for a period of two years and with reference to the experience gained and to a further examination of

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the question in connection with the proposals of the Royal Commission on Decentralization his Excellency the Governor-in-Council has come to the conclusion that an enhancement in the proportion of the elected members may safely be permitted. It is proposed to raise the proportion from one-third to one-half and to give effect to the change from the 1st January, 1912. It is to be a great step in the evolution of local self-government and the Madras Government ought to be congratulated on this concession granted to the people.

A Government order has just been issued summarising the main facts with reference to the working of the Indian Factories Act in the Madras Presidency during the year 1910. From this we note that the number of factories in the Presidency rose during the year from 181 to 201 and five new factories were brought under the Act in the Presidency town and 15 in the mofussil. The daily number of operatives rose from 50,314, to 54,344. The number of accidents reported fell down. Inspections in the case of Railway factories in the Presidency were inadequate and this is ascribed by the Government Inspector of Railways to the late receipt of orders for the continuance of Government Inspectors of Railways as Inspectors of Railway factories.

According to the scheme of the School Leaving Certificates, candidates are required to have attended each of the fourth, fifth and sixth forms for not less than 60 per cent. of the number of working days in each term and for not less than 120 working days in each school year. This is of course stiff as one day's loss means the loss of a whole year. The Acting Director of Public Instruction drew attention of the Government to this unnecessarily stringent point and reported that some deficiency of attendance, as reckoned by terms, might be considered atoned for by a considerable excess of attendance above the minimum as counted by the year. The Board for the award of Secondary School leaving certificates agreed to this proposal and recently passed a resolution to the effect that a pupil who has attended for not less than 150 working days in the school year should be considered to have put in the necessary attendance for admission to the public examination although he may have attended for less than 60 per cent. of the number of working days in one or both the terms. We are glad that this recommendation of the Public Instruction has been accepted by the Government.

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Up till now the Syndicate of the Madras University has been recommending exemption from the production of attendance certificates required for the B. A. Degree Examination under the old Bye-laws to candidates who have been eligible for exemption under By-Law 150 (c) provided they will have completed their twenty-fifth year before the 20th March preceding the examination. Now the Syndicate has made a modification of this procedure and has resolved that in reference to the B. A. Degree Examination to be held under the old Bye-laws in the years 1912, 1913 and 1914 it be prepared to recommend such exemptions to the senate in the case of candidates who will have completed their *twenty-third* year before the 20th March preceding the examination. This is indeed a concession to students who wish to appear for the B. A. Degree Examination under the old Bye-laws.

## BENGAL

It was at one time feared that the Midnapur Damage Suit would not be finished before the end of the year. Mr. Justice Fletcher, however, has taken the public by surprise by concluding the trial at least a couple of months before they had expected to see it done. Though we have not yet heard the last of it, as it has been announced that there will be an appeal upon the judgment of Mr. Fletcher, credit must be given to the presiding Judge for the patience and thoroughness not to speak of the independence, with which he has heard the case and disposed of it. As regards the merits of the judgment it is not fair to make any comments now. The outstanding fact is that the honour of the Indian Civil Service and the honesty of the Indian Police stands condemned by the judgment and, above all, what strikes one as perfectly unintelligible is the attitude of the Government of Bengal in the matter. Almost on the morrow of the delivery of the judgment by Mr. Justice Fletcher, awarding damages to the complainant, the Government of Bengal published in the official Gazette that the two police officers concerned in the case were confirmed in very responsible posts in their own service. Of course this could not be intended as a reply to Mr. Justice Fletcher's judgment, but any how there are not a few among the public who did interpret it as such. These appointments made by the Government of Bengal were for decency's sake and for the

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prestige of British rule in India promptly cancelled by the Government at Simla. But may we not venture to inquire why the Bengal Government should have exhibited such an indecent hurry in the matter of such important appointments, particularly when the persons concerned stand convicted by the highest judiciary in the land? Anyhow it seems odd that the local Government should not yet think it worth its while to reconsider its attitude towards the police in view of the collapse of the recent prosecutions in Bengal and the finding by a Judge of the High Court of the charge of conspiracy against officers whom it has honoured with titles.

The Calcutta Improvement Bill has passed the Bengal Council with all the clauses which had given rise to bitter controversy and in spite of the strong opposition of our popular representatives. The debate continued for six long days and nearly six hundred amendments were put forward by the non-official members. But not one of them could be carried which was not supported by the Government. As usual the Government did not accept any of the more important amendments and the result was that the Bill was passed almost in the same form as it emerged out of the Select Committee. Some technical alterations were allowed to be made, but as the principal objections remained unamended, the Bill could not be very much worse without them. The strong feeling which this Bill evoked may be gauged from the language in which the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan expressed himself in the Council on the motion of Maharaj-Kumar Reshee case Law proposing the grant of compensation for compulsory acquisition of land. With a candour and bluntness which must have come as a surprise to the Council, the Maharajadhiraja said :—"What particular crime, the land-lords of Calcutta had committed that they should be deprived of this additional compensation of 15 per cent, still remains to be demonstrated". "They were," he added, "going to throw the whole of the land-owning classes in Calcutta into a state of discontent and disquiet." He also charged the authorities with ignoring the poorer classes, and warned the Government by saying :—"let them not forget the example of Liverpool," Maharaj-Kumar Law said that the Bill would not only affect the big landlords but also the owner of small residential houses. He also pointed out that the withdrawal of the statutory compensation would press hard on the poorer owners. The Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu in a very neat and closely-argued speech pointed out very clearly how the provisions of the Act would tend

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to operate against the best interests of the city and the owners of all land in it, but all these arguments were of no avail. The debate over this Bill has brought out completely the utter ineffectiveness of the non-official majority in the Councils as at present constituted.

The resolution of the Bengal Government on the annual report on the working of Co-operative Credit Societies for the year 1910-11 has recently been published. The Lieutenant-Governor is glad to find that the report is a record of steady progress. The rate of advance, says the resolution, is considerably above that of the previous year. The urban development has been wholly spontaneous. On the rural side of the movement also much useful work has been done in the consolidation and expansion of established areas. The resolution says :—The average village society has become a more effective institution, financially stronger and better managed. A gratifying feature is the ease with which funds are now obtained. The marked increase of local capital is an encouraging sign of confidence, and the sum of member's deposits, which has risen from Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 1,16,000 indicates a growing habit of saving. In the actual working of societies the Registrar reports a very general improvement while admitting that many are still very far from perfection. Economically the development must be regarded as satisfactory.

The Government resolution on the health of Bengal during 1910, states that there were increases both in births and deaths during the year. The number of births registered was 20,07,222 or 33·72 per mille of population as compared with 19,09,547 or 37·9 per mille in the previous year. The deaths reported aggregated 1,672,640 or 33·10 per mille as against 1,543,971 or 30·55 per mille. This deterioration in general health was almost solely due to the prevalence of cholera and plague, which were especially marked in Patna and Tirhut divisions. Calcutta returns far better results in regard to deaths from fever than other towns. In comparison with other provinces Bengal stood fourth in order of birth rate as against third in the preceding year and fifth as regards death rate the same position it occupied in 1909. Cholera was responsible for 162,611 deaths or 3·21 per mille as against 56,711 or 1·12 per mille last year. Mortality was however below average (174051) of the past five years. Patna and Tirhut Divisions suffered most severely and as usual, disease was spread by disregard of precautions in respect of drinking water. Though gradual decline has taken place in mortality from

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plague since 1905, the number of deaths increased this year as compared with 1909. No reason can be assigned for this increase, but it synchronises with similar result throughout India.

### **EASTERN BENGAL & ASSAM**

The Dacca Conspiracy Case has at last come to a close, after a dismal proceeding extending over a year. The finding has surprised many, and the sentences have sprung agony on almost every man endowed with human feelings. We do not know if the recent happenings at Mymensingh and in Madras had anything to do with the heavy sentences that have been passed. The Judgment of the Sessions Judge, Mr. Coutts, frightfully portentous as it is, has not been published as yet ; and we must therefore postpone our remarks with regard to it. It is very remarkable however that the Judge differed from the two assessors, one a teacher in a Government School, the other a Professor of a Government-aided College who had pronounced their views in a diametrically opposite direction and that very strongly too.

The trial opened in August 1910, with 45 persons on the list of the accused, only one of which was let off after the Magisterial enquiry was complete. Among the 44 who were sent up to the Sessions, Mr. Coutts acquitted only 8, convicting the rest, of which 3 have been transported for life, 18 given 10 years each, 14 sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment, and one only to 3 years' imprisonment.

Long before the final stages of the trial had been reached, the interest which it had aroused in the public mind began to fall. The military pomp with which the prisoners were daily escorted from the jail to the Court were almost the only reminders to the man-in-the-street of the great trial at Dacca. There were no sensational developments in this case—no startling revelations like those in the Alipur Bomb case, or the Howrah and Khulna gang cases. It was perhaps the only political trial of its kind that had not its "Approver" which has grown to be almost an institution in, and has entered into the very connotation of political cases, in Bengal. Towards the fag end of the trial it seemed as though the public were not after all going to be deprived of the sensation and romance which one has learnt to associate with the magic name of approvers. But, as ill luck would have it, the would-

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be approver sank under the weight of the mantle and bungled in a thoroughly disappointing manner—was pronounced to be demented, and sentenced, after all, to 7 years hard labour. Altogether a sorry prospect for would-be approvers, and a great discouragement besides to romancers of that ilk.

At the initial stage of the Magisterial investigation, Mr. P. L. Roy in his role of the prosecuting Counsel deported himself in a very unpleasant way and went perilously near sullyng the unassailable honour and dignity of the Crown. The presiding Magistrate, Mr. Bentinck, however was non-interfering to a fault and let things alone as best as he could.

A noteworthy incident was the significant refusal of a Special Tribunal form of trial which was provided for crimes of political complexion by a special enactment of the Viceregal Council and which the accused in this case had repeatedly asked for. Whatever the authorities might say, it is the firm belief of many that some people cannot trust the High Court with their pet political trials which must be decided in accordance with the Executive standard of justice. Cases may go up, if they must, before the Calcutta High Court in appeal ; but in no instance should a case be tried in its earlier stages by the High Court if there is any help for it. This seems to be the frame of mind of some of the officials in Eastern Bengal ; and it is this attitude which seems to explain their determination to have a High Court "of their own" at Dacca.

During the trial at the Sessions, Mr. Garth did not display that hectoring genius which made Mr. Roy so famous. But we are sorry to have to say that Mr. Coutts did not prove himself to be an ideal judge. Attired in the fleece of the "judicial lamb" though he was, the claws of the lion could sometimes be imagined as ill concealed. The dramatic manner in which he went from the Court to the Sadar Ghat, where a special Police launch had been waiting for him, just after pronouncing the judgment, afforded amusement even to the common folk.

On 7th August last, the day the judgment was pronounced the Court room was packed full with spectators who had to procure tickets for admission. The I. C. S. was represented there by the District Magistrate himself and a few junior officers. The Indian Educational Service had its representative in Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, Professor of History of the Dacca College, who came there as a chronicler of contemporary history—viz., as a correspondent of the Anglo-Indian papers. We need not allude to the elaborate police arrangements that were made on the occasion. Police guards patrolled

## PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (B.B. & ASSAM)

the streets, and C. I. D., people in plain clothes tried to petrify by their hard stare those passers by that had the audacity to come within a hundred yards of the Court premises. After reading out the concluding portion of the judgment, the judge hurried downstairs, and, wedged in between two heavy military men and escorted by officers in *khaki*, motored off at top speed. Within 5 minutes of his boarding the police launch, the vessel weighed anchor and steamed off at once.

We have just passed through a very busy week at Dacca. The "speeding" of the parting L.-G. and the welcoming of his successor were made to synchronise with the Janmastami festivities. And the many noblemen—our "natural leaders"—of the two provinces of Bengal who did come, came either to see the Janmastami *tamashas* or to bid farewell to Sir Lancelot and welcome Sir Charles Bayley. Farewell durbar, valedictory addresses, unveiling of portraits and evening parties followed one another in quick succession. And quite in conformity with the requirements of our present-day *Rajasuyas*, Truth was wholly banished out of Dacca during the week, and Falsehood did duty for it. Compliments to which Sir Lancelot had no claim were freely given him, and the many evils of his regime were forgotten. It is remarkable however that, for once, Truth asserted herself in the address presented to Sir Lancelot by the Provincial Mahomedan Association, in spite of all that this Association could do to suppress it. While meaning to defend the administration as a financial success, the Mahomedan Association observed that—"considering the flourishing growth of revenue, *no one can deny that the province is otherwise than in a solvent state.*" We do not know if we are to thank the Printer's Devil for this unintentional expression of truth. However, this shows that the truth will sometimes out even in an address of the Mahomedan Association.

Sir Lancelot, at his parting, might well have spared us the threats which he held out of coming repressive measures which would be passed to affect the innocent and the guilty impartially. Referring to the dacoities, Sir L. Hare said :—"If this crime is to be combated by *European methods*, if you wish that only those should be punished or shall have their liberty interfered with against whom proof satisfactory to the courts of the country can be produced, it is essentially necessary that you should as a people display the civic virtues of a western people. . . . Otherwise the adoption of western methods among a people without these

virile western characteristics must mean that such crimes must go unpunished and will increase and flourish appallingly. . . . We are also ready to impose additional temporary police where these are shown to be necessary and the cost of these unlike that of the permanent force which will be paid for out of general revenues, will have to be defrayed by those who have made this course necessary." European methods indeed! If Sir Lancelot is ready to swear that during his regime nothing has been done which could be interpreted as un-European in character, we think we must include the Deportations, the taking up of "confessions" to bolster up false cases, dogged methods of espionage directed even against those honorably acquitted by a Court of a criminal charge—among the peculiarly "European methods" which a European conscience feels no hesitancy in adopting in India. Alas, for the "virile western characteristics"! But does Sir Lancelot really mean that these "virile characteristics"—the "civic virtues of a western people"—which he demands in us, do as a matter of fact characterise each and every "virile" administrator who comes out to govern us? Do they even characterise a large precentage of the measures which the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam have seen enacted during the last six or seven years?

In another place, in this speech, adverting to the length of political trials and their expense, Sir Lancelot observed—"and *if the condition is laid down* that punishment is only to follow on conviction in court then it is folly to take exception to the necessary consequences of such a resolve."

"If the condition is laid down....."—a sentiment which should be carefully noted as given expression to by a preacher of the "civic virtues of a western people" and an exponent "virile western characteristics". We wonder if Sir Lancelot thought that the "condition" is laid down by the caprice of the individual, and is not the very breath of justice—a demand of common humanity. We cannot say who composed this part of the farewell speech of Sir Lancelot. Who ever he is, he should be given the credit of importing some Russian notions of legal administration into a civilised form of Government.

The "Provincial Mahomedan Association," and the "Eastern Bengal and Assam Moslem League"—a distinction without any difference—presented two separate addresses both of which asked for a separate University and a separate High Court at Dacca. Referring to the demand for a University, Sir L. Hare thought that the expense of establishing one at Dacca at present would be

## ***PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (B.B. & ASSAM***

very heavy. As regards the High Court, Sir Lancelot said—"I agree with you as to the desirability of this and I think most people will hold the same view. It is at any rate a matter of much significance that the *largest section representing the great majority of this Province have deliberately expressed this wish.*"

The Marionette Moslem Leaguers—"representing the great majority of this Province"—"deliberately expressed this wish", and the Master of the Show, who controlled the strings, replied in terms not likely to deceive one for a moment. *Ventriloquism in excelsis!*

## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

### *The Modern Review*

Sister Nivedita leads off the August number of the *Modern Review* with an article headed, *The Place of Foreign Culture in a True Education*. "Cosmopolitan" describes the work of Mr. V. R. Sindhe, the Brahmo preacher and the founder of "The Depressed Classes Mission Society of India." This society was founded on October 18, 1906, under the presidency of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. We ask our readers, especially those of Bengal, to read this article in order to see that while Bengal is talking, Bombay is doing real useful work in the cause of ameliorating the condition of our backward fellow-countrymen. The parent Society of Bombay maintain several schools for the education of the children of the depressed classes, one boarding house in connection with one of these schools with 21 boarders, a book-bindery, a shoe-factory, and a mission. Twelve branches have been started at Thana, Manmad, Mahabaleswar, Dapoti, Poona, Satara, Kolhapur, Akola, Amraoti, Indore, Madras and Mangalore. The Thana branch takes advantage of the Panchama school maintained by the Municipality. The Manmad branch conducts a day school with about 30 pupils and a night school with 12 boys. An industrial school has been started by the Mahabaleswar branch. The Poona branch has got a night and a day school. There are also day and night schools at Satara. The Kolhapur branch has got a boarding house with 15 boarders. The Amraoti Branch maintains a night school at Patipura. The Madras branch maintains four schools. The Mangalore branch conducts a day school, a boarding house, an industrial institute and a colony of *Panchama* families. Mr. S. Sinha contributes an interesting article under the title *Some Factors in Large crop Production*. Mr. Narendra Nath Law then describes *The Department of Live Stock in Chandra Gupta's Administration*. *A Peep into the Earliest History of Arya India* is an unfinished article of some interest by Mr. S. C. Sarkar. M. A. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das then gives an account of the Hindu religious literature which he saw stored up in the great libraries of *Tashil-hunpo*, *Narthing* and *Pul Sakya* in Tibet. Major B. D. Basu urges the necessity of propagating Hindu literature among the people of the country. Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy contributes his second article on the *Ethnography of the Mundas*. 'A. B.' gives an interesting account of an eminent Vedic savant, Pandit Satyavrata Samasrami, who breathed his last on the 1st of June last. *The Present Position of Women* which Sister Nivedita wrote for the Universal Races Congress is published in this number. Besides these (1) *The (Commercial) Crisis of 1875 in England*, (2) *The Man in Turkey* (an account of Mahmud Thafket Pasha whom the writer calls the Saviour of Turkey and the man in the East), (3) *The pluralistic pantheism of William Jones* by Mr. Mahes Chandra Ghosh are some of the articles of interest. The last pages are, as usual, filled up with Editor's 'notes,' 'comments and criticism' and 'Review' of Books.

*The Hindustan Reviewer*

The August number of the *Hindustan Review* opens with Mr. John Renton Denning's sympathetic article on *The Truth about India*. The writer concludes his article thus:—"It is a common trick among certain shallow observers to sneer at the "educated Indian" as a class. Never was a sneer so outrageously silly. We are told by these superior critics that the educated Indian represents a mere fraction of the population. . . . Granted that the educated Indian, counted by mere numbers, is a small class—yet he is the articulate class—and however English Civil Servants in India may seek to deny it, he stands to-day as the representative of millions. Do these men want self-government? I reply emphatically they do. And what is more they mean—at least—to put forth an effort to attain it—in the fulness of time. . . . The Hindu can wait. He has gained something. He knows he will gain more. We have given something, and, if we be frank with our consciences, we know we must give more still. As for those who have already accepted Self-Government as their political creed, they will go steadily along in their work. Nothing will turn them back. . . . I desire to emphasise beyond any misunderstanding the true Indian aspiration. Not the aspiration of the few—but the aspiration of practically all. Not, perchance, the aspiration of the *rayat* to-day, nor may be to-morrow; but certainly the day after to-morrow. The articulate class will take care of that. . . ." Then follows the second instalment of Justice Brame's paper—*The Philosophy of Life*, read before the Sassoon Mechinic's Institute at Bombay. Mr. S. K. Sarma continues in this number the second instalment of his article—*A Gold Currency for India*. Prof. Ramavatar Sharma then contributes his article on *Kalidas*. Since April last the *Hindustan Reviewer* is publishing a series of interesting and illuminating papers by Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai under the heading *Islam and Socialism*. It appears that these papers are intended to be published in book-form. In the present number the writer says somewhere:—"The one means by which Muhammad raised the Arab nation was the socialism which he introduced in all departments of human activities. The one cause of the later fall of the Muslim nations, which unfortunately still continues, was selfish individualism". The best example of selfish individualism, says he, can be found in the Muslims of India. Pandit Madho Ram next puts forward a vigorous plea for the greater use and a close study of Sanskrit and Hindi by the Hindus. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh is contributing a series of articles on his American experiences. The present number contains the twelfth of these series. Mr. Singh says:—"The Asian has to be very careful in his dealings with Americans. This for a very obvious reason. The minute he naps, he is lost. The American has reduced over-reaching to an exact scientific art, and God protect you if you transact your business with him carelessly." This article is followed by one on *The Function of Art* by Prof. P. A. Wadia. The last portion is taken up as usual by 'Reviews and Notices of Books,' editor's notes on 'the topics of the day', and other miscellaneous things.

## The Indian Review

The July number of the above review opens with a song from the pen of that gifted poetess, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Next comes an ably written article on the *Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill* from the pen of Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjea in which he discusses how the orthodox Hindu may be affected by it and rightly comes to the conclusion that the proposed amendments will make no change whatever in his position, "beyond depriving him of the very poor satisfaction of driving his advanced brother who resorts to the Act from the pale of Hinduism." Then follows a paper on, *Indians in South Africa*, which Mr. H. S. L. Polak sent to different newspapers and magazines of India in common with us and of which the more important portion will be found in our pages. The Servants of India Society founded by Mr. Gokhale forms the subject matter of the next article. Our readers may remember that in our last number we had something to say on a pamphlet, *The Hindu University of Benares*, which Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya sent round the press. This is incorporated as the next article in the Review. Mr. Krishna Lal M. Jhaveri contributes a readable paper headed as *Reminiscences of the late Justice Ranade*. The subject-matter is taken from a Marathi book, *Some Reminiscences of Our Life*, which Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, the talented widow of the late Justice Ranade has recently placed before the public. Mr. Parameswar Lal follows with a very balated review of Mr. R. Macdonald's now famous book, *The Awakening of India*. In the next article, Mr. S. Satyamurtty warmly supports the New University Schemes. We confess we are unable to follow the arguments which lead the writer to hope that he has made out "at least a fairly strong case" for denominational Universities in India. We find he makes two important admissions:—"First, It is well for us to keep steadily in view the ideal of a United Indian Nation;" secondly, "There is no doubt that when these Universities are founded, friendship between Hindus and Mussalmans may grow less than it is at present." In *The Right and Left Hand Caste Feuds* Mr. V. Chocklingam Pillai describes the forgotten chapter of social revolution brought about by the introduction of the Aryan polity of castes into the Tamil lands. The right-hand castes represent the Brahmin and all the non-Brahmin castes down to the Pariah, excepting those that fall within the category of the rival sect. The left-handed castes represent those non-Brahmans who rebelled and separated from the main section of the community. These feuds continued till the advent of the English in India and were suppressed by them. Miss Annie A. Smith describes the *Coronation Months* in London. Mr. A. P. Patro then gives the main features of *The Allahabad Educational Conference* held last winter. Then follow the usual notes on current events by Rajduari, other notes and topics from periodicals. The full text of Mr. Gokhale's speech at Madras on the Elementary Education Bill is reproduced in the number.

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

We accord a most cordial welcome in Bengal to the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale who has come here to educate public opinion in regard to his Bill. **THE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE IN BENGAL** It is really a matter of great surprise that Mr. Gokhale should have misunderstood the attitude of the opposition in Bengal and that he should have thought it necessary to go out stumping in the Mofussil to fight this opposition. A large number of the supporters of Mr. Gokhale's Bill in Bengal had evidently misconceived the principles of his Bill, and no sane publicist would care to give his assent to all these principles as thus propounded and put forward. Mr. Gokhale's return to Bengal has, therefore, given the public an opportunity to hear from his own lips as to what he himself considers as the fundamental principles of his Bill. He now defines them to be as (a) compulsion, (b) introduction of this compulsion area by area, and (c) local initiative. If these be the only principles to which he wants public assent, we for ourselves heartily accord our support to them. Times without number in these pages we have asked for compulsory and free education in India, and even while discussing Mr. Gokhale's Bill only a couple of months ago we distinctly stated that we were prepared to go not only the whole hog with him, so far the principle of compulsion goes, but even a step further. As regards the second principle of extending it area by area, as these areas grow ripe for compulsion, we had the pleasure of supporting Mr. Gokhale in our April issue. If it is only a question of the Municipalities, and of such Municipalities only which can claim to have 33 per cent. of their boys of school-going age to be attending one school or other, no reasonable man can have any objection to accord his whole-hearted support to this principle also. Now, as regards the third principle of local initiative, those who stand for popular bodies can not refuse their assent to it. For, after all, it is one of the first principles of national self-help that we must not look to the Government for initiative in every question of domestic and social politics. The more we advance towards the ideal of a democratic and popular government the more must we admit the necessity of popular local bodies taking initiative in social and domestic

organisations. Mr. Gokhale has now definitely stated that these are the only principles on which he stands and insists on ; and regarding other important points of his Bill, (of whatever importance they may be,) he is open to reconsideration in the light of public criticism.

In the matter of the special education rate for the District Boards, Mr. Gokhale sees the force of our opposition, but hopes the provision will *not* come in force till the District Board areas are ripe for the introduction of compulsion and are re-constituted on a more popular basis. Though we do not share Mr. Gokhale's optimism on this point, we are glad he sees the risk of this provision in his Bill and is willing to meet public opinion in the Select Committee. He is also agreeable to the suggestion put forward in these pages that the apportionment of expenditure on primary education should be stipulated in the Bill itself and not left to the Secretaries at Simla to frame rules for it as best as they please. On the point of compulsory education being free, Mr. Gokhale sees eye to eye with us and with a view not to put a great strain upon the Indian taxpayer all at once, he would rather wait a few more years to make compulsory education free in India. In the meantime he has noted public criticism, including that of ours, as regards the payment of tuition-fees by all such boys the income of whose guardians and parents does not exceed Rs. 10. He has given a definite understanding to the public of Bengal that, so far as he is concerned, he will do his level best to see this minimum of ten rupees raised to twenty-five. That meets public criticism on the point halfway. Put in these terms and explained in this way, one finds it just possible to support Mr. Gokhale's Bill.

In this connection we have one word to say to Mr. Gokhale's supporters in Bengal, some of whom have evidently allowed their judgment and commonsense to be overrun by their enthusiasm. If they had confined their attention to the principles which now Mr. Gokhale enunciates, much of the bitterness of the controversy would not have taken place at all and serious misunderstandings could have been avoided. How we wish that Mr. Gokhale had himself explained things earlier than now or allowed previously his personal interpretation of the Bill to appear in some other authoritative shape. However, if Mr. Gokhale's appearance in Bengal has put matters right a long way it is a matter for sincere congratulation ; and if there are some matters to which exceptions are still being taken, such, for instance, as an education rate for the District Boards, we can for the time being agree to differ.

## DIARY FOR THE MONTH OF JULY, 1911

Date

21. Mr. Montagu moved the second reading of the Bill to amend the Indian High Courts Act of 1851 in the House of Commons.

22. A meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council was held at Belvedere the acting Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. Mr. F. W. Duke, presiding.

After four days sitting the Burma Agriculture and Co-operative Conference concluded its deliberations at Mandalay to-day.

23. A public meeting of the citizens of Poona convened by the Deccan Sabha was held today in the Poona City for the purpose of supporting the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill.

24. A wire informs that the Secretary of State has sanctioned the re-organisation of a Provincial Agriculture Department in Madras.

25. The Council of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay assembled at Council Hall at noon today, there being nearly a full attendance of Members. His Excellency Sir George Clarke presided. Unlike former years, the Budget for 1911-12, on the present occasion, was quite a brief affair. It showed an opening balance roughly of 1½ crores with 6¼ crores expenditures and a closing balance of 78 lakhs.

26. In the House of Commons today, Mr. Montagu introduced the Indian Budget.

27. A Simla wire informs that the formal sanction of the Secretary of State has been received for the despatch of a small punitive force against the Abors.

28. Three Brahmins, Shivaram Damodhar Athavle, S. B. Joshi, S. B. Laxman Samant, were convicted today by the Fourth Presidency Magistrate of Bombay of dissemination of seditious matter, the publication of which was proscribed by Government. They were ordered to be bound over in a sum of Rs. 500 and to furnish security for a like amount and to keep good behaviour for one year.

29. The Mohan Bagan foot-ball team wins today the I. F. A. Challenge shield by defeating the East Yorks by 2 goals to 1.

30. A meeting of the Mahomedans held today at Bombay adopted the following resolution :—That this meeting of the Mohamedans of Bombay under the auspices of Anjuman Islam resolves that Mohamadan Law of Wakf should be recognised by legislation and supports the main principles of the Hon. Mr. Jinnah's Bill.

31. In the House of Commons today, Mr. Yerburch asked whether the question of providing India with her own Navy was being considered. Mr. McKenna replied :—"I am aware of the suggestion but it has not yet come before the Admiralty officially."

## AUGUST—1911

1. At a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, the resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh supporting Mr. Basu's Special Marriage Bill was passed. Sir Narayan Chandravarkar presided.

At a public meeting held at Madras under the presidency of Mr. S. Srinivas, Ayengar, High Court Vakil, a resolution was passed in support of Mr. Basu's Bill.

Replying to Mr. Ingleby in the House Commons today, Mr. Harcourt said that Government was unable to grant the Indians in the Malay States a representative on the Federal Council.

2. The P. and O. steamer *Caledonia* leaves with £6,000 worth of gold for India.

3. A wire from Rangoon informs that a Clock Tower costing about seven thousand and five hundred rupees is to form the King Edward Memorial for Moulmein.

4. Lecturing at the Crystal Palace this afternoon, Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta said that the Indians were a sensitive people, proud and tenacious of past achievements. The Colonies, he said, would do well to remember that the denial to Indians of the ordinary rights of citizenship would not in any way lessen the difficulties of ruling the Empire. Sir Krishna added :—"While there is a growing consciousness in India of the

## THE INDIAN WORLD

inevitable drawbacks of alien rule, there is also a widespread conviction that national salvation can be obtained under the fostering care and guidance of Britain. The best minds among the Indians eagerly gaze towards the goal bringing her on the level of the self-governing Colonies, so that she may take her place in the Empire not as a mere Dependency but on terms of equality and co-ordination."

7. In connection with the 7th of August celebration, a *Swadeshi mela* was opened at Calcutta today.

Mr. Coutts, the Additional Judge of Dacca, delivered judgment in the Dacca conspiracy case and convicted 3 accused including Babu Pulin Behari Das to transportation for life, 18 to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment, 14 to 7 years and 1 to 3 years' rigorous imprisonment. 8 were acquitted.

Mr Justice Fletcher delivered judgment in the Midnapur damage suit in which Babu Peary Mohun Das charged Mr. Weston, Inspectors Lal Mohan Guha and Moulavi Mazharal Huq with conspiracy against him. His Lordship found that the reason for the plaintiff's arrest was to put pressure on his son Santosh to confess and not under the belief or suspicion that he had anything to do with the bomb. Mr. Justice Fletcher ordered the plaintiff to pay of Rs. 1,000 as damages with costs on scale No. 2.

8. At the High Court of Calcutta, Justices Caspersz and Sharfuddin delivered judgment, today in the reference made by the Sessions Judge of Dacca in the Rajendrapur train dacoity case in which he disagreed with the verdict of the jury who found the accused Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta not guilty. Their Lordships found him guilty and sentenced him to transportation for life.

In the High Court of Calcutta, Justices Caspersz and Sharfuddin dismissed the appeal preferred by Lalit Chandra Chowdhury, the accused in the case known as the Munshiganj Bomb case, in which he was sentenced to transportation for 10 years by the Sessions Judge of Dacca.

9. Hiralal Chakravatty and Makharlal Sen, the remaining accused in the Sonarang outrage case, are discharged.

10. Mr. Montagu was heckled today in the House of Commons regarding the Midnapore case. Mr. Byles asked who would pay the cost of the trial, and Mr. Keir Hardie asked whether the accused officials would retain their honours and promotions. Mr. Montagu replied that the cost would fall upon the Bengal revenue.

11. The House of Commons pass the third reading of the Indian High Courts Bill, and the second reading of the Bill empowering the Government of India to grant superannuation allowance to the widow and other personal representatives of a civil servant dying while on the active list.

The United Provinces Legislative Council met today under the presidency of the Lieutenant-Governor. Besides interpellations and replies the only business transacted was the introduction of the Court of Wards Bill.

12. A wire from Lahore informs that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has fixed October, 1, 1911, as the date on which the Punjab Municipal Act of 1911 shall come into force.

13. At a crowded meeting of the Hindu citizens of Lahore held this evening under the presidency of Mr. Harkissen Lal the Elementary Education Bill was supported and a Hindu Elementary Education League for Lahore was formed.

A largely attended meeting of the Hindu community was held at Lucknow at which resolutions were passed protesting against the grant of separate representation to Mahommedans on municipal and district boards, and urging that, if such representation were granted, Mahommedans should not be allowed to participate in mixed elections.

14. A press *communiqué* informs that the Government of India have this year sanctioned the award of ten State technical scholarships.

15. Reuter wires that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald will leave for India on December 1st.

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# THE INDIAN WORLD

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Vol. XIV ]

OCTOBER—1911

[ No. 79

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## NOTES & NEWS

### GENERAL

#### **Bombay Stamp Revenue**

The estimated stamp revenue of the Government of Bombay for the present year is Rs. 40 lakhs and expenditure under the same head only Rs. 1,18,000.

#### **Census Figures of C. P.**

The final census figures for the Central Provinces and Berar show a population of 16,038,310 as compared with 13,602,592 in 1901. The census of 1901, which followed shortly after the disastrous famines of 1897 and 1900, disclosed a considerable decrease of population. The number of Christians has risen during the last ten years from 27,000 to 73,000, *i. e.* by 169 per cent. This is due mainly to a vigorous propaganda in the Native State of Jashpur. Animists have increased by 30, Hindus by 16, and Mahomedans by 13 per cent. The final figures of the census differ from the provisional totals by only 1,733 or 10 per cent.

#### **Sir Andrew Fraser on Life of India**

Sir Andrew Fraser, late Governor of Bengal, addressed a meeting in connection with the "Vacation Courses" at Edinburgh University. His subject was "Life of India." The "Collector" or Magistrate of the district, he pointed out, was the officer through whom people generally come most directly into contact with the Government. He had some of the duties of a Magistrate and Judge and even of a policeman, and was concerned with sanitation, education, and medical relief. But he was also the agent of the Government in its capacity of the great landowner of India. The

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interest which a good landlord ought to feel in all that concerned his tenantry ought to be felt by the Collector for the people of his district. Everywhere, except in the parts of Bengal where the permanent settlement of the land had been made, the Collector was in clear touch with the people in their agricultural interests. Everywhere he was expected to carry out himself, or to lead the people in, every enterprise for the public good ; to forget this was to misunderstand the situation. He pointed out that India was an agricultural country ; that only one-tenth of its people lived in cities of over 5000 inhabitants ; that the town was out of touch with the country, and that the man that did not know the village life of India could not be said to know Indian life. He illustrated the strange co-existence of our twentieth century civilisation along with the old civilisation of India much as it was before the Christian era. Even elementary education itself, he stated, was confined to only 5 per cent. of the population, even in Bengal ; that the vast majority of the people were simple, uneducated village folk, with a strong belief in the justice, impartiality, and strength of the British Government ; that divisions of race and religion emphasised and stereotyped by caste, constantly demanded adjudication between conflicting interests ; and that a knowledge of local circumstances was essential to efficient rule. He urged that India was no place for the doctrinaire man or the man who lived apart, or for undue centralisation that fit men to be trusted must continue to be selected for work in India, and must be trusted in their work ; and that while great principles must be laid down for their guidance, details should be left to the man on the spot. He concluded by speaking of the great attraction that the Indian races exercised over those who knew them well, of the fact that we shared with the people of India not only their general human characteristics, but also with many of them the racial characteristics of our common Aryan blood, and of the duty of seeking to govern them as far as possible in accordance with their ideas.

### **Municipalities in British India**

The total number of municipalities in British India in the year 1909-10 was 717. It was 794 in 1880-1, 749 in 1885-6, 764 in 1890-1, 750 in 1895-6, 764 in 1900-1, 749 in 1905-6, 746 in 1907-8, and 717 in 1908-9. The population within municipal limits was 16,739,963 in 1909-10. The total number of members of municipal councils (or boards or committees) in the same year was 9,759. It was over 10,000 till the year 1907-8.

## NOTES & NEWS

The total municipal income was Rs. 6,46,21,489. The following figures enable one to make a comparative study of the subject :—

Year.	Income. Rs.	Expenditure. Rs.
1880-1	... 2,19,12,525	... 2,07,60,267
1885-6	... 2,46,58,605	... 2,47,86,756
1890-1	... 3,09,82,624	... 3,60,59,891
1895-6	... 3,83,83,190	... 4,22,74,209
1900-1	... 4,89,23,665	... 4,57,85,550
1905-6	... 5,40,91,353	... 5,71,75,865
1907-8	... 5,85,91,026	... 6,03,49,068
1908-9	... 6,04,72,929	... 6,32,69,188
1909-10	... 6,46,21,489	... 6,79,63,787

Nothing more than a bare recital of these figures is needed to demonstrate the hand-to-mouth existence of municipal bodies and the utter impossibility of their undertaking any large sanitary or educational schemes which cost much money. It should be added that in 1909-10 another five crores and eighteen lakhs of rupees were available to them as extraordinary and debt, but this fact does not affect the truth of our general statement ; the more so because over four and a half crores had to be spent as ' extraordinary and debt.' Including these, the total receipts in 1909-10 was Rs. 11,64,91,817 and the total disbursements Rs. 11,31,74,038.

### Local Boards in British India

The number of local boards in British India in 1909-10 was 1,103 against 1,091 in the previous year. The numbers of members was 16,174 against 15,984. The figures of income and expenditure, excluding debt and debt charges, during the last twenty years are as follows :—

Year.	Income. Rs.	Expenditure. Rs.
1890-1	... 2,59,66,512	... 2,59,14,501
1895-6	... 2,88,05,557	... 2,94,88,898
1900-1	... 2,64,52,529	... 2,59,90,779
1905-6	... 4,30,89,009	... 4,01,69,752
1907-8	... 4,71,21,166	... 4,59,20,491
1908-9	... 4,78,54,438	... 4,97,45,360
1909-10	... 4,83,96,899	... 4,82,12,102

Receipts under the head of debt was Rs. 30,96,627 and expenditure under the same head Rs. 37,35,348 in the year 1909-10. The total of the receipts including debt in 1909-10 was Rs. 5,14,93,526 and the total disbursements were Rs. 5,19,47,450.

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## Wild Animals and Snakes in India

According to a statement published by the Home Department of the Government of India the total number of persons killed by wild animals in 1910 was 2,400, compared with 2,496 in 1909. Man-eating tigers were more aggressive in the Sundarbans portion of the Khulna district, and this fact is attributed to the diminution of their natural food supply owing to the drowning of large numbers of deer in the storm-wave which accompanied the cyclone of 1909. In the Central Provinces and Berar tigers destroyed 67 victims, as compared with 102 in the preceding year. Six known man-eating tigers and two panthers were killed during the year in these provinces. The abnormal number of deaths due to wild pig in 1909 in Eastern Bengal and Assam—126—was not maintained, though 50 persons were victims to these animals. The total mortality amongst human beings caused by snake-bite rose from 21,364 to 22,478. An increase in Eastern Bengal and Assam is attributed to snakes being driven by high floods to take refuge in the raised village sites. Both in this province and in the United Provinces, a considerable number of cases were treated with the Brunton lancet and permanganate of potash, and a high proportion of them are reported to have recovered. No reliable deduction can, however, be drawn from the use of this lancet, owing to the lack of proof that the bites it was used upon were really those of poisonous snakes. The following table gives the number of persons killed in India during the last three years by wild animals and snakes :—

		1910.	1909.	1908.
Elephants	...	55	63	53
Tigers	...	853	896	909
Leopards	...	351	462	302
Bears	...	109	96	100
Wolves	...	319	256	269
Hyenas	...	25	57	37
Other animals	...	688	666	496
Snakes	...	22,478	21,364	19,738
Total		24,878	23,860	21,904

The number of cattle killed by wild animals was 93,074, against 94,107 in 1909. A sum of Rs. 1,44,289 was paid as rewards for the destruction of wild animals, as compared with Rs. 1,42,176 paid in 1909. For snakes the rewards paid rose from Rs. 2,499 to

## NOTES & NEWS

**Rs. 2,875.** The table below contains the numbers of animals and snakes destroyed :—

	1910.	1909.	1908.
Elephants ...	23	32	23
Tigers ...	1,421	1,473	1,449
Leopards ...	5,029	4,977	5,259
Bears ...	2,292	2,116	2,336
Wolves ...	3,114	2,849	3,615
Hyenas ...	414	457	517
Other animals	6,989	5,452	4,727
Snakes ...	91,104	88,503	70,736

## COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

### Tea Industry in India

The total number of tea plantations in India was 4,402 in 1910 as against 5,890 returned in 1909, showing a net decrease of 1,488 plantations. In Eastern Bengal and Assam 944 plantations are reported to have a total area of 442,582 acres under tea, an average of 469 acres. In Bengal 301 acres is the average of 178 plantations, and in Travancore 403 acres of 75 plantations. In Madras and the United Provinces the average is much smaller, being about 140 acres in the former and 109 acres in the latter. In the Punjab where tea cultivation is conducted on a small scale, the average area is only 3 acres.

### The Indian Cotton Industry

In his annual "Review of the Trade of India," the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, Mr. Noel Paton, discusses the position of the Indian cotton industry in the official year 1910-11. The ruling factor was the high price of raw cotton, which led to high rates for yarn. As the handloom weaver is not blessed with much capital, and the dearth of yarn involved some risk as well as a heavy outlay, he naturally curtailed his purchases, knowing that his customers would buy as little cloth as possible in a dear year. The spinning mills were also handicapped by the decreased Chinese demand for yarn, due partly to high prices and partly to severe famine. For these reasons they fared badly, and at one time twenty-two mills were shut down in Bombay alone. The activity of the spinning mills during the year is computed at only 69 per cent. of their capacity. The total decrease in the production of yarn was 19 million pounds, and the decline in the export business was nearly 44 million pounds, or 19 per cent. Mills which have weaving

## THE INDIAN WORLD

sheds were more fortunate, and the Director-General holds that the year's experience "thoroughly justified the recommendations that have been pressed upon Indian mill-masters to increase their weaving power. The joint-stock capital engaged in the industry is now £10,840,000, an increase of £550,000, upon the previous year. The number of mills has increased from 233 to 243, spindles have grown from 6,111,535 to 6,275 271. The production of cloth was the largest on record, the increase being 75,460,000, yards, and as the increase in export was only 5,653, 000 yards the balance must represent a largely increased consumption in India. A curious fact in the trade of the year is that while Egypt's imports of cotton yarns from England declined by 900,000lbs, she increased her imports from India by 1,400,500 lbs.

Dealing with the aggregate value of the imports into India of cotton yarn and cotton goods, Mr. Noel Paton gives the following table :—

	Yarn	Woven and Other goods.	Total.
1905-06 ...	£ 2,283,000	£26,012,000 ...	£ 28,296,000
1906-07 ...	£ 2,149,000	£25,129,000 ...	£ 27,278,000
1907-08 ...	£ 2,462,000	£29,566,000 ...	£ 32,028,000
1908-09 ...	£ 2,432,000	£22,911,000 ...	£ 25,343,000
1909-10 ...	£ 2,213,000	£24,034,000 ...	£ 26,247,000
1910-11 ...	£ 2,091,000	£27,802,000 ...	£ 29,893,000

Thus the increase in 1910-11 was £ 3,646,700. In yarn there was a decline of 7,796,000 lbs., a serious fall when it is remembered that the total quantity of imported cotton yarn is now, taking an average of five years, 34,287,000 lbs., as against 400,563,000lbs., produced by the Bombay mills. Japan has come into this trade with imports to the extent of 316,000 lbs. In a comparison of the past year with a period of 22 years, Mr. Noel Paton shows that grey goods have declined by 8·6 per cent., while white goods have advanced by 19 per cent. and coloured goods by 27·8 per cent. In these three classes of cotton goods the British percentage was 99 in greys, 98·2 in whites, and 94·2 in coloured goods.

### Joint-Stock Companies in Bengal

A return concerning the joint-stock companies in Bengal issued in the *Calcutta Gazette* shows that the number of companies working at the close of 1909-10 was 543. These had a nominal capital of Rs. 48,63,58,954, of which Rs. 26,14,38,802 had been issued and Rs. 24,90,12,326 was paid up. During the year 1910-11, fifty companies were registered with a total capital of Rs. 31,39,59,000,

## NOTES & NEWS

of which Rs. 62,500 was issued and paid up. During the year under review 114 companies increased their nominal capital by Rs. 28,49,000, while the nominal issued capital was raised by Rs. 54,33,755 and the paid-up capital increased by Rs. 84,55,762. One company decreased its nominal capital by Rs. 5,000 and twenty-five companies (with a nominal capital of Rs. 77,44,500 a nominal issued capital of Rs. 49,85,027 and a paid-up capital of Rs. 49,84,852) ceased to work. The total number of companies working at the end of the last financial year was 568, with a nominal capital of Rs. 79,54,17,454, a nominal issued capital of Rs. 26,19,50,030, and a paid-up capital of Rs. 25,25,45,736.

A further statement shows that the banking and loan companies in operation numbered 27, with an aggregate nominal capital of Rs. 37,31,25,000, a nominal issued capital of Rs. 2,50,78,604, and an aggregate paid-up capital of Rs. 2,49,08,677. Fifteen insurance companies were working, with an aggregate nominal capital of Rs. 11,74,35,000, a nominal issued capital of Rs. 71,01,163 and a aggregate paid-up capital of Rs. 71,12,932.

The trading companies, including navigation, railways and tramways, co-operative associations, shipping, landing and warehousing, and painting, publishing and stationery were 174, with an aggregate nominal capital of Rs. 7,43,99,200, a nominal issued capital of Rs. 4,38,55,807 and an aggregate paid-up capital of Rs. 4,17,50,427. Of these railway and tramway concerns were the most important, numbering fifteen with a paid-up capital of Rs. 1,54,18,183.

The mills and press companies, including those for the manufacture of cotton, jute, silk, hemp, paper, rice and flour, numbered 74, with an aggregate nominal capital of Rs. 10,50,55,000, a nominal issued capital of Rs. 8,73,37,275, and an aggregate paid-up capital of Rs. 8,71,85,373. Of these, jute concerns numbered 34 with Rs. 7,42,55,000 in aggregate nominal capital and Rs. 6,67,14,875 in aggregate paid-up capital.

Tea (125) and other planting companies (6) had a total nominal capital of Rs. 4,07,01,880, a nominal issued capital of Rs. 3,37,59,945 and an aggregate paid-up capital of Rs. 3,36,34,210.

Mining and quarrying companies numbered 132, of which 114 were devoted to coal-working. These had a total nominal capital of Rs. 7,27,71,620, a nominal issued capital of Rs. 5,96,31,821, and an aggregate paid-up capital of Rs. 6,88,73,196. Other companies include those for building, ice manufacturing, and sugar manufacturing.

# SELECTIONS

## THE HISTORY OF DELHI

### WHY DELHI IS CHOSEN

No doubt the question is often asked why Delhi should be the city chosen for the Royal Durbar. Precedents may be cited for it as it was in this city that her Majesty Queen Victoria was proclaimed the first British Empress of India, and it was also in the same city that the announcement of the accession of his Majesty King Edward VII. as Emperor was made to the people of India at a great Durbar which was graced by the presence of the Duke of Connaught.

These precedents, however, do not answer the question, and the precedent for these precedents will be asked. The answer to all such questionings is that Delhi from earliest times has been the religious and political capital of India—the pulsating heart of the nations—the one city of India which represents the former greatness of both Hindu and Mahomedan rule, and consequently the proper place where his Majesty in person can represent the unifying effect of his rule amongst all classes and creeds.

“Delhi bahaut dur hai”—literally translated this means “Delhi is very far away”—but the hidden idiomatic meaning is “the task is very difficult of accomplishment.” To attempt in a short article to give even a faint idea of the history and importance of this imperial city is indeed difficult. Modern Delhi stands, not like its twin eternal city Rome upon seven hills, but the site surrounded as the seventh city by an area more than forty-five square miles in extent strewn with the ruins of former great cities. On this area different races have ruled and many revolutions and upheavals have occurred to change the destinies of a great nation.

It is impossible to wander amongst these ruins without thinking of the millions who from the dim unwritten ages of history have played their part in the erection, despoiling, and re-creation of the various cities in the different eras. In no other city in the world—save one—have human passions—love and hate—played such an important part for weal or woe. Delhi has ever been the place where history is made, and the story of Delhi is the history of India.

## *THE HISTORY OF DELHI*

Before Romulus and Remus were born—Imperial Rome as yet unknown—a highly cultured and spiritual people had built themselves a royal city at Delhi—and from that time, more than 3,000 years ago, Delhi has again risen from her ashes to assert her dignity and has kept alive the traditions of a wonderful past.

Throughout the pages of her history we find many that are stained with blood and many still wet with the tears of anguish, whilst others tell of human joy and happiness and all that is noble in human nature. The golden days of the heroic age have long since passed away, but let us hope that the present peaceful era may long continue for the many millions to enable them to pursue the even tenor of their lives.

As the history of Delhi is more or less the story of the lives of its emperors and rulers, a very long story indeed, it is only possible to briefly recount in chronological order the names and characteristics of its rulers, and the principal events of their reign.

### HINDU DELHI

Towards the end of the 15th century before the Christian Era, a fortified and royal city existed, known as Indra-prastha or Indrapat, founded by Judisthira, the eldest son of Pandu, who became its first king.

The site of this city has never been forgotten and is to this day covered by the Puranakilla, or old fort, known still as Indrapat, about two miles south of the modern city.

Although this old fort has been many times restored, it bears upon its scared face the appearance of hoary age. At different times the Emperors of Delhi have tried to change its name, but have never succeeded, and as Indrapat it is known to this day. Modern residences are frequently known by the name or title of the first occupant—evidence of the manner in which the people cling to old traditions.

In tracing the early history of Delhi it is necessary to span the chasm of centuries by the lightest of suspension bridges.

Judisthira is reputed to have had a long and glorious reign and to have been succeeded by 30 rulers of his dynasty until a usurper in the person of Kiserva, the Minister of Kashwaka, the last of the line of Judisthira, obtained the throne after murdering his master—the first of a ghastly series of murders of the rulers of Delhi.

The descendants of Kiserva held sway for 500 years, and in the fulness of time the line terminated, as it had begun, by murder.

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

Next followed the Gautama line, and after that the dynasty of Mauryas, which is all that can be recorded of the years that rolled by from 15th century B. C. to B. C. 57.

About this time, the name "Delhi" was being evolved first as Milupur, the suffix *pur* meaning "of," therefore the city of Milu, possibly the last reigning member of the Maurya dynasty.

In the year 57 B.C. Vikram is reputed to have succeeded to the throne of Delhi and to this day his virtues are recorded in Indian lore. This great emperor, a Rajput by birth, achieved great victories over the Scythians, the untiring foes in those days of the Hindu kingdom. He encouraged learning, and it was to his activities that the transcript literature became established.

His empire extended from the Deccan to Cabul, but at his death it fell to pieces.

About the first century of the Christian era, the Scythians gained ground, and Kaniksha, a famous general of that race, is reputed to have been the founder of the Saka or Buddhist era.

We arrive again at a period when our suspension bridge is required to span chasm of centuries—our bridge must be a thousand years long, with but one light at the 7th century milestone, the year B. C. 670, when Siladitya, the famous enlightened and pious Buddhist King, emerges from the gloom, of whom many beautiful stories are told.

We know that throughout these centuries the Punjab was the highway for a constant succession of invasions by the Scythians and Tartars of Central Asia, with Delhi as the goal of their desires—of these the "White Huns" were the terror of both Europe and Asia.

In the eighth century A.D. Anangpal, the founder of the Tuar dynasty, is stated to have rebuilt Delhi, his capital, an event which marks the beginning of the rise of the Rajput empire which, though it took a long time to accomplish, was consolidated about B. C. 1000 and lasted for over 400 years.

It would appear from a record cut in the famous wrought-iron pillar on the site of the Rajput city of Delhi that the city had again, since the eighth century, been despoiled or deserted, for it states that "Anangpal peopled Delhi," the date given being equivalent to B. C. 1052—this must have been the second ruler of that name.

In 1154 during the reign of Anangpal 3rd, who was the last representative of the Tuar dynasty, Delhi was taken by the Rajput chief Visala Deva, but by marriage the families of the victor and vanquished became united.

## ***THE HISTORY OF DELHI***

In the year 1191 the throne of Delhi was held by Prithi Raj, the grandson of Visala Deva and Anangpal.

We now arrive at a period which marks the downfall of the proud, brave, clever, and much-to-be admired Rajput line. For 400 years the Mahomedans had been overrunning the Punjab, but had never gained a permanent footing owing to the military genius and bravery of the Rajputs and had never succeeded in even making an attack upon Delhi.

In this year 1191, Shahab-ud-din, known as Mohammed of Ghori, an Afghan, a great soldier but a cruel man, made a descent upon Delhi, but was utterly defeated before he could ever gaze upon the prize he coveted.

Although defeated, he was not disheartened, and after a short time succeeded in collecting another great army with which he set out for Delhi. Owing to internal feuds and the recollection of their previous victory, the Rajputs became careless, and were this time outmatched by the cunning Mohammed, after a terrible battle which raged the whole day and ended in the occupation of Delhi by the first Moslems, and the cold-blooded murder of the gallant Prithi Raj after he had been taken prisoner.

### **MOHAMMEDAN DELHI**

It is impossible to trace the rise of the Mohammedan power in this brief article beyond stating that within 100 years of the initiation of the great religious movement which proclaimed "There is no god but God, and Mahomet is His prophet," the Crescent had been carried victoriously over continents, and old kingdoms like packs of cards had fallen before the conquering march.

The great preacher not only taught the Arabs the unity of God, but was a splendid organiser, and impressed upon his devotees that by the power of the sword his message should be taken into all lands—an extraordinary contrast to the teaching of the man who lived 600 years before the preaching of Mahomet began, who had laid down his own life, not the lives of others, in order that man's redemption might be obtained.

Although in other countries Mohammedan arms had proved invincible, it took from about the year 712 until 1191 before the Crescent was firmly planted on the walls of Delhi.

Although Mohammed of Ghor was, as we have seen, the first Moslem victor to plant his foot in Delhi, he did not proclaim himself king, but appointed as his viceroy Kutab-ud-din, one of his generals.

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

In the year 1206, Mohammed of Ghor was murdered, and at once Kutab-ud-din proclaimed himself at Delhi the first Moslem King of India and the first of the line known as the "Slave Dynasty," from the fact that as a child he had been brought from Turkestan as a slave.

After reigning four years, during which short period he won for himself a reputation as a just and able man, he was succeeded by his son Aram, who within one year was deposed by his brother-in-law, Altamash. Altamash was a very capable ruler, and though originally a slave in the service of Kutab-ud-din, he grew so much in the affection of his master that he became the husband of his daughter.

Altamash was the first Mohammedan ruler who conquered Bengal, which vast territory from that time was claimed as a portion of their empire by the successive Emperors of Delhi. In the year 1229 he was recognised by the Caliph of Baghdad as an independent sovereign. This Emperor, after a reign of 25 years, during which time he restored Delhi, died in the year 1235, and was succeeded by his daughter, Riziya, who thus became the first Empress of India—a title never again borne until it was assumed by the late lamented Queen Victoria.

The Emperor Altamash had several sons who were of dissolute habits, but his daughter was a woman of great ability, who had assisted her father in affairs of State, and for these reasons he nominated her as his successor.

Her reign was rendered very difficult in consequence of the intrigues of her generals and others, and ultimately ended in a mutiny.

At the head of her loyal troops she took the field against the mutineers, but was made a captive by the Governor of Batinda, whom she captivated and married. In order to regain her throne another battle was fought, but with disaster to her cause, as she was taken prisoner and put to death in the year 1240.

For the next six years the throne was held first by Bahram, a son of Altamash, and a grandson of Masaud, but both suffered violent deaths at the hands of the nobles.

Nazir-ud-din Mahmud Ghori, the third son of Altamash, next succeeded. He was a quiet, studious youth, who had no desire for affairs of State, with the result that for 20 years, until his death in 1266, the country was governed by his brother-in-law, Balban, a former slave, who by his energetic habits had made himself indispensable to the Court. This man was a firm ruler, who sub-

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dued all enemies, but his name is stained with the murder of countless Hindus.

On the death of Balban in 1287 he was succeeded by his dissolute grandson, Kai Khasru, who was soon assassinated, sharing the fate of so many of the early Mohammedan rulers of Delhi. He was succeeded by Kai Kubad, who was deposed and ultimately put to death—a fate which followed his successor, an infant son, in 1290.

The next to assume the kingly office was Jalaluddin, of the Afghan tribe of Khilji, who was the first of the dynasty known by that name. He had long been in the service of Balban, and was seventy years of age when, contrary to his wishes, he was made to assume the supreme office. He is reputed to have been a merciful ruler, not by any reason of weakness in his own character, as he was a brave soldier. This man had nurtured from childhood a nephew named Ala-ud-din, who had developed into a brave, fierce, reckless, and cruel man who, without mercy, crushed down all revolts. To get possession of the throne, he treacherously murdered his uncle in 1296, and reigned for twenty years, during which time he carried his victories further afield than his predecessors, and was the first Moslem conqueror of Southern India. He is supposed to have suffered towards the close of his life from dropsy, but his favourite, Malik Kafur, who succeeded him, is believed to have hastened the end by poison. He died in the year 1316.

This man, Kafur, upon seizing the reins of office, at once put out the eyes of the two eldest sons of Ala-ud-din and would, in all probability, have inflicted the same terrible disablement upon the two younger sons had it not been that the tyrant was murdered by some of the officers of the palace.

The third son of Ala-ud-din, Mubarak Shah, ascended the throne, whose crimes were as black as his predecessors, even to putting out the eyes of his younger brother. Swift retribution, however, followed him, as he in turn was murdered in 1320 by a renegade Hindu—Khusru Khan,—who was allowed but short reign, and fell before Ghiassudin Tuglak, the governor of Lahore, by whom he was beheaded. This Tuglak, the founder of the dynasty known by that name, was the son of a Turki slave, and had a Hindu mother, and this accident of birth was the reason for the gentler side of his nature which became so manifest after the bloody misrule of his immediate predecessors. He applied his activities not to the acquisition of territory, or to whole murder, but to the erection of a fort famous to this day as Tuglakabad, about nine miles from

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modern Delhi. This great builder was not allowed for long to enjoy the fruits of his labours, as he was in the year 1325 cunningly murdered by his son Juna Khan, known as Mohamed Tuglak, who at once took possession of the vacant throne, and built a magnificent tomb for his father—the equal of which, in point of massiveness and rugged grandeur, nowhere exists. This man, from records of his achievements, appears to have had the abilities necessary for a great ruler, but was too headstrong, and time after time embarked upon large enterprises without consideration, which ended most disastrously for his arms. He led an expedition into China, but had to retreat across the Himalayan Mountains. He had no regard whatever for life, and his cruelties obtained for him the title “Khuni Shah,” or bloody king.

He died in the year 1351, and was succeeded by his nephew, Feroz Shah, and it is the pleasant duty of the historian to record that at last the people found a humane and sensible ruler who was permitted for 37 years to reign over them. He was tolerant in religion and wise and capable in his administration. Like his predecessors, he erected a new capital known as Ferozabad, the ruins of which are found immediately outside the walls of the present city at its south-east corner. The city probably extended in a northerly direction along the river bank on the site now covered by the fort. In addition to being a builder, his engineering abilities were also developed along other lines, and he constructed an important canal for irrigating the thirsty plains, which to this day is in use. This was the first of a series of important waterworks in India which, under British rule, have been enormously developed and added considerably to the development of the country and the improvement of the conditions of life under which the mass of the people live. When 90 years of age he placed his grandson, Ghias-ud-din Tuglak, upon the throne, and soon afterwards, in the year 1388, this much-beloved Emperor passed to his rest. Though he had appointed his successor, the foundation of the throne became very unstable, and in rapid succession men assumed the kingly office to be speedily deposed.

In the midst of this strife and anarchy appeared Tamerlane the Tartar, known as Timur the Terrible, who, with an invincible host, swept as a whirlwind through the Punjab, never halting until Delhi had shared the same fate as all the places he had visited—death and desolation marking his progress. The achievements of this extraordinary man, who, for the lust of conquest, loot, and murder alone, despoiled twenty-seven kingdoms, mark him out as one of the

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greatest generals the world has ever seen and certainly the records of his cruelties and the millions of lives he squandered has no parallel in history. After murdering the inhabitants of the city and despoiling all its beautiful places he carried away all that was valuable and left the city a veritable shambles. Naziruddin Nasrit Shah, the king at the time of the sacking of Delhi, escaped, and after the departure of Timur came out of hiding and for a short time occupied the throne, but was deposed, and Mohamed, a son of one of the short-lived Emperors, was elevated to the kingly office, but without any semblance of authority, or splendour—and in the year 1412 he ended a wretched existence over the remnant of a once powerful kingdom and so terminated the Tuglak dynasty.

Over this poor heritage a succession of rulers followed, viz., Khizr Khan, one of Timur's governors; his son Mubarak; Mohamed and Ala-ud-din; but in the reign of the last-named Delhi, was again besieged and the throne secured by an Afghan, Belol Lodhi, who founded the Lodhi line, restored the lost power of Delhi by reconquering the provinces which had passed from her control. He was a virtuous ruler, just and upright, and encouraged learning. He died in the year 1488 after a reign of 38 years.

He was succeeded by his son, Nizam Khan Sikander Lodhi, who was the able son of an able father. He regained more of the lost Delhi provinces. Notwithstanding, however, his ability and learning he was a religious despot, and did his utmost to crush Hinduism. He died in the year 1518, and was followed by his son, Ibrahim Lodhi, the last of the Lodhis, who, through tyranny, succeeded in alienating the people, and his kingdom revolted against his rule.

At this time—the year 1525—Zahir-ud-din Mohamed Babar, a man of Turkish descent, was King of Cabul. He was invited to take possession of the kingdom which on several previous occasions he had entered. He set out with 12,000 men only, but being convinced that he was led by divine inspiration he never doubted the result which ended in a triumph for his arms over the hordes of disaffected mercenaries led by Ibrahim on the classic field of Panipat near Delhi, where on four occasions the fate of India has been decided. He was not allowed, however, to settle down quietly in his newly-acquired kingdom, as the Rajputs, who had never forgotten their former greatness, determined upon making another bid for power, which resulted in their ultimate defeat.

The memoirs of this king are intensely interesting, as he was a most extraordinary man, who in the 48 crowded years of life;

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amongst other achievements, laid the foundation of the wonderful Moghal Empire and dynasty. He was a great soldier, but, unlike his predecessors, fought not for the glory and fame of his arms, but that he might introduce peace, order, and good government. It is extraordinary that the age in which he lived, the race from which he sprung, and the religion he professed could have produced this great man, one of the finest rulers of which history bears record. His character was lovable and sympathetic for the well-being of his subjects. He was a man of cultured tastes, a scholar, poet, and musician, the contemporary of our English Henry VIII., who boasted of his abilities in these subjects, but with whom further comparisons can not be made with credit to our 'bluff King Hal.'

This great Baber died on the 26th December, 1530, and was succeeded by his unfortunate, though brave and capable, son, Nazir-uddin Mohamed Humayun. The Moghal settlers introduced by Baber were hated by the Afghans who had been settled in the country for many years, and resulted in a long struggle between Sher Khan, the Governor of Bengal, and Humayun, who, owing to this powerful Afghan, was for about six years a fugitive, wandering up and down the country, during which time the kingdom was ruled by Sher Khan, known as Sher-Shah, and after his death in the year 1545, for eight years by his second son, Selim. Unfortunately the Afghans revolted, due to dissensions and debauchery amongst the members of the ruling family, four members of which had in a few months ascended the throne, and in the midst of these discords Humayun, with an army he had collected at Cabul, came to his own at last on the 23rd July, 1555.

His restoration, however, was short-lived. On the 24th January, 1556, he died as the result of an accident in his palace at Delhi—a strange life ending for a man who had emerged successfully from so many dangers and difficulties. His tomb, outside Delhi which took 16 years to build, is admitted to be one of the most beautiful mausoleums in the world. During the period of his fugitive wanderings, which he bore with patience and dignity, his beautiful and much-beloved wife, Hamida, gave birth to her first-born son, the Great Akbar, who, on the death of his father, ascended the throne. The reign of Akbar was contemporary with that of our English Queen Elizabeth, and like hers was equally great. He ascended the throne a mere boy and found the kingdom still distracted, but by his wonderful administrative abilities, his brave generalship, love for all men, and his extraordinary religious toleration, he succeeded in incorporating the discordant elements, and during his reign

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Moghal supremacy became established. Akbar in his many capacities stands out as one of the greatest rulers of history, whose lives have been spent in the uplifting of his subjects. The last years of this illustrious grandson of the great Baber were saddened by the revolts and misconduct of his sons and by the intrigues of his Court on the question of succession.

On his death, in the year 1605, he was succeeded by his son, Selim, known as the Emperor Jehangir, who, after a reign of 22 years, died in the year 1627. His wife, Nur-Jahan, was a woman of extraordinary ability and influence, who controlled the affairs of State through the person of her husband. During the reign of Jehangir two small events occurred which destined to make history, *viz.* : In the year 1613, a grant was obtained for a British factory at Surat, and in 1615 the Emperor received at his Court Sir Thomas Roe, the first British Ambassador to India. Several other Europeans visited the Court of Delhi during this reign.

In January, 1628, on the death of his father, Shah Jehan proclaimed himself King, and resorted to the means, so frequently adopted before, for making his position secure by murdering all possible claimants to the throne. With this Emperor our interest in the long line of rulers receives a great impetus, as he was the builder of the city called Shahjehanabad, the seventh of its series, and known to us as modern Delhi.

For 80 years the Court had resided at Agra, in which city Shah Jehan erected the renowned Taj Mahal, the most beautiful mausoleum in the world, to the memory of his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal. Shah Jehan was not a great soldier, and he deputed his sons to conduct the various military expeditions of his reign, whilst he devoted his energies to the erection of his new capital, Modern Delhi, and the gems of architecture to be found in Delhi and Agra.

In this reign Afghanistan was severed from the Indian Empire.

The end of Shah Jehan was tragic in the extreme. Three of his four sons, when they realised that their father's power and influence was waning in consequence of his failing health, made a bid for the throne, the eldest son, Dara, and his sister, Jehanara, a most lovable character, nursing their father in his illness. Ultimately, owing to the cunning of his son, Shah Jehan was made a prisoner, and in 1658 Aurangzeb entered Delhi and proclaimed himself Emperor of India.

Shah Jehan died a prisoner in the year 1666, and was buried by the side of his wife in the beautiful mausoleum erected to her

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memory. Aurangzib reigned for 4 years amidst great splendour, and further extended the Moghal Empire. The records of his reign contain many blots, and his bigotry was responsible for much of the ultimate trouble which descended upon his dynasty, owing to his treatment of the Rajputs and Mahrattas. It was his wish that his three remaining sons should divide the kingdom, but to this they could not agree amongst themselves, and after a series of battles, his son Muazzim became ruler in the year 1707, and is known as the Emperor Bahadur Shah. This man made a truce with the Rajputs and Mahrattas as he feared the rising Sikh power against which he led an army and succeeded in defeating them. Bahadur Shah died after a three years' reign, in the year 1710. The struggle for headship amongst the sons again occurred on the death of the father, and the eldest son secured the throne as the Emperor Jahandar Shah and slew all possible claimants he could secure, but was himself slain in the year 1713, and his nephew, Farukhsiyar, became Emperor, and was murdered in the year 1719. After his death intrigue and jealousy, which was rapidly undermining the former powerful Moghal dynasty, made the selection of a successor a difficult matter, but ultimately the choice fell upon a prince of the line by name Mohamed Shah—a degenerate who was unable to control the disruptive forces at work, and the dissolute Delhi Court had to witness the parcelling out of their kingdom. The Mahrattas secured the greatest piece of territory, and this concession having whetted their appetite for conquest and power, they, knowing the weakness of the Moghal Empire, attacked Delhi. Peace at any price had to be purchased, and the Mahrattas secured for their raid the sum of 50 lacs of rupees.

Troubles within the borders were bad enough, but a greater was to come, and this occurred in 1739, when the powerful Persian King, Nadir Shah, invaded the Punjab with an army of 65,000 men, and after little resistance entered Delhi; the Emperor of Delhi surrendered himself and undertook to pay an indemnity. The inhabitants of Delhi enraged at the intrusion insulted the Persian troops, with the result that the cruel Nadir Shah gave his soldiers license to murder and pilage, with results that are better imagined than described. One street near the Golden Mosque, where Nadir Shah sat whilst this carnage was proceeding, is known to this day as "Khuni Darwaza," meaning bloody gate—and thus the new city was drenched with blood. Nadir Shah plundered the city for 58 days after murdering 100,000 of its inhabitants, took away with him spoil of untold value, including the famous jewelled

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peacock throne from the Fort. The downfall of the Moghal power was very rapid, and nothing but a semblance really remained—Afghan raids were numerous, and raids by a tribe of Rohillas of frequent occurrence. In 1747 the Emperor Mohamed Shah died and his son, Ahmed Shah, succeeded him, who was soon deposed, his eyes put out and a successor in the person of a son of a former Emperor, Jehandir Shah, known as Alamgir, appointed.

The Mahrattas, having been called in to assist the Moghal power against their many foes, coveted the throne of Delhi, and being at that time a powerful confederacy would have succeeded, had it not been that the Afghans were again ravaging the Punjab, bent upon securing possession for themselves.

In 1759 Alamgir was murdered, and for the first time in history no successor was at once forthcoming.

In 1760 the Mahrattas, reinforced by Rajputs and Jats, made a determined effort to drive out the Mohammedans from India, but on the famous field of Panipat they were defeated, and the Mahratta power received a blow from which it never recovered.

### THE RISE OF BRITISH INFLUENCE

Whilst these remnants of former mighty powers were at war against a common enemy or with each other the British were slowly but surely gaining a footing in the country, and in the year 1761 three of the political factors were extinguished, *viz.* : The Moghal, the Mahratta, and the French.

The son of the murdered Emperor Alamgir was at this time in Bengal receiving a pension from the British, but he had assumed the title of Emperor Shah Alam, but it was not until 1771 that he returned to Delhi, and remained for 32 years a puppet, if not a prisoner, in the hands of the Mahrattas, who managed the affairs of what was left of the former State.

In the year 1803 General Lake, after defeating the French troops and the Mahrattas, entered Delhi and took the old Emperor under his protection.

In the year 1806 Shah Alam died and was succeeded by his son, Akbar II., who in turn was succeeded in 1837 by Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moghal line, who was deposed and transported as a political prisoner for his actions in aiding and abetting the mutiny of 1857 against British rule.

Thus set the sun on the long line of Eastern rulers of India to rise upon the British successors—the first of the line in the person of her late Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, who was proclaimed Empress of India in the year 1877 at Delhi.

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His late Most Gracious Majesty Edward the Seventh was proclaimed Emperor of India at Delhi on the 1st January, 1903.

### **A RELIGIOUS FAIR IN INDIA**

Far back in the Himalayas—in Himachul, land of the Eternal Snows and home of the Great Gods—there trickle from the feet of glaciers little rivulets which, coalescing, form larger streams, and these in their course southwards and downwards are fed by tributaries and become the Alekananda, Mandakini, and Bhagirathi. Increasing in volume and strength and tearing through defile and valley in their rapid descent they presently unite and run on together as the mighty Ganges—sacred to millions of men as flowing from the foot of Vishnu ‘like the slender thread of a lotus flower’ Debouching from the hills into the plains, she reaches the sacred centre of pilgrimage—Hardwar, the gateway of Hari or Vishnu—and is immediately seized upon by sacrilegious engineers, who steal away nearly all her substance to feed canals, and send her on, a sadly diminished stream, to recover herself, however, in size and power, and with undiminished sanctity, until she joins the Jumna and the invisible river Sarasvati at Pryag (Allahabad) and hurries on to wash the steps of the temples at holy Kashi (Benares) and to cleanse away the sins of countless worshippers on her hallowed course to the sea.

Hardwar, to visit which is the cherished desire of all good Hindus, is situated at the end of a long, elevated valley, the lovely district of the Dun, enclosed by an outer range of mountains, the Siwaliks, and the lower slopes of the Himalayas. Immediately behind the little settlement itself are low hills, while in front flows the deep and rapid river, sparkling and bright as it came from its distant source. The portion of the town which lies along the bank of this consists entirely of stone shrines and temples, the stately residences of great Hindu chiefs, and *dharma-shalas*, or rest-houses, the headquarters of the various mendicant religious sects. About half-way along the river front is the bathing-place, the sacred pool called Hari-ki-pairi in reference to the origin of the stream from the foot of Vishnu. This is the goal of the pilgrims who come in their hundreds of thousands from all parts of India every year to be cleansed from sin and all impurities, and here it is that when life is past the Hindu would have his ashes left after being gathered from the funeral pyre. There is a subtle charm about

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the spot, quite apart from its religious associations, which appeals to the most Philistine mind : Nature smiles in her solemn grandeur—a fitting place for the worship of the Preserver.

From the northern bank of the river stretches for many miles an unbroken forest of tall umbrageous trees to where the foot-hills, also heavily wooded, extend in long spurs into the plains, divided by deep valleys passing up into the Himalayas above, and forming the channels through which the mountain streams and torrents find their way to join the larger rivers below. The whole of this tract is but sparsely inhabited, for the climate for part of the year is deadly, and little agriculture is possible. Small clearings are met with here and there where the half-wild people raise their scanty crops, and across these are often stretched long ropes connected with bells which ring when pillaging animals visit the fields and come into contact with the entanglements. The great forests are full of game large and small, from the wild elephant, tiger, or bear, down to the little four-horned deer, the wild pig, and jungle-fowl. Boa-constrictors are occasionally seen, and the deadly and aggressive hamadryad (*Ophiophagus elaps*), which is an extremely rare snake in this part of India, has been shot here. The view from Hardwar looking north is, indeed, superb. In the foreground is the bright and rapid river, then come the dense and sombre forests, gradually coalescing and becoming continuous with the belt of tall conifers clothing the Himalayan slopes, while beyond the summits of the great hills above rise the shining peaks of the Snowy Range.

About a mile below Hardwar is the picturesque little town of Rānkhal—now, alas ! sadly marred in its beauty by the erosive action of the river—where there are other large and imposing Dharmasalas and to the west again is Bhimgoda, a sacred shrine and pool, the washing in which should be included in the programme of all orthodox pilgrims—especially women.

The town itself, apart from its strangely beautiful situation and its long facade of stately buildings on the river bank, presents few objects of interest, and, with the exception of certain shrines and rest-houses, consists mostly of shops for the supply of food, cooking vessels, cloths, rosaries, etc., and of the lodging-houses for the accommodation of pilgrims. It possesses railway and police stations, a little hospital, and bungalows for district officials, canal engineers, and visitors. Of course, the great centre is the sacred pool. Formerly a dirty collection of water, more or less circulating in a recess scooped out of the bank by the action of the river, and approached by steep and narrow

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stone stairs upon which numbers of people were frequently crushed to death, it is now, by the assistance of Government, converted into a broad pool through which the pure water of the stream is led in a constantly changing current, to which access is obtained by a high broad flight of shallow stone steps, and from whence an exit has been formed by the construction of a wide paved platform along the bank between the river and the houses. Standing near the centre of the water is a little stone shrine upon which the engineers have affixed a board marked with numerals to indicate the height of the river, and which is frequently made obeisance to by the simple villagers under the impression that it is one of the numerous objects of veneration with which the locality abounds. A light iron bridge thrown across the front of the pool safeguards the bathers from being swept into mid-stream, and is utilised for controlling purposes by officials. The water swarms with great *mahseer*—the 'Indian salmon,' so called from its game characteristics, but really a hill carp, the *Barbus Tor*—which are regularly fed by the pilgrims to the spot. Custom has made them quite fearless, and they take absolutely no notice of the bathers, pushing their way through them with perfect equanimity. A handful of grain thrown into the water will bring them together in an almost solid mass, all tumbling over one another, and among them are many of huge size. At Muttra, another very sacred bathing-place, water tortoises (*Trionyx*) are similarly fed by devotees.

The little town is in a constant state of bustle. Crowds of monkeys infest the neighbourhood, sacred bulls wander about the thoroughfares, temple bells are constantly ringing, a steady flow of dripping bathers is hurrying along, *faqirs* squat under great mat umbrellas by the roadside, and various monstrosities, such as cows with superfluous legs hanging from their backs or necks, are exhibited by their owners for alms or gifts, in the streets and thoroughfares all round. On the outskirts are various minor but holy shrines while scattered about the site itself, and notably in the vicinity of one temple and bathing place, are little, unpretending monuments in masonry. They bear no names and are all now of considerable age, for they were erected in past times in honour of widows who had performed *sutts*. The rite had not actually been carried out here, but the ashes of the victim had been brought and bestowed in the sacred river and the little structures raised to her memory. They are very numerous, and it is impossible to view them, with a recognition of their

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import, without reflecting upon the awful tragedies to which they bear silent witness. Rough slabs of stone, upon which a rude figures of a woman is depicted, are not infrequently to be seen in out-of-the-way parts of India, and these probably usually denote the actual sites where the immolations took place. The practice of *suttee* was abolished by Government in 1829. The Abbé Dubois, writing in 1816, has given us a graphic and distressing description of one of these gruesome ceremonies.

By day and night the pool itself is thronged with bathers, worshipping according to an established ritual, while the edges are crowded with the Brahman 'pandas,' who minister to their religious wants, impart information regarding births, deaths, marriages, descents, relationships, and other family details, carefully recorded in quaint long books written in the vernacular; or carry out the ceremonies attendant on the dispersal of the ashes of those of the family who have died during the past year. If one looks through the clear water to the bottom of the pool, one may see there a snow-white deposit, consisting of the calcined bones of generations of Hindus, which have been brought here in little cloth bags by the relatives—often from many hundreds of miles away.

All castes and conditions of Hindu men and women are here; the stately Brahman, absorbed and abstracted in the performance of his devotions; the lusty youths and their young wives, full of life and gaiety; the middle-aged matron with her children, shrieking half in fear and half in pleasure as they are plunged under the water; tottering old folk led by their relations; the local priest tendering assistance and soliciting alms and benefactions; *faquirs* and religious ascetics and mendicants, some in saffron robes and others literally in dust and ashes, some emaciated to an extraordinary degree and others remarkably fat and sleek; and certain unconcerned-looking individuals, with wicker plates in their hands, apparently scratching the bottom of the pool with their feet. These last are feeling with their toes, which use has made almost like fingers, for articles of jewellery, rupees, etc., which votaries have dropped into the pool as offerings to the gods, and which, when fished up, will be placed in the platters they hold in their hands—a proceeding which, curiously enough, appears to excite no feeling of disapproval among the people. Here are the manly Sikhs and Jats, with their splendid physique, the Hindu residents of the Punjab, the sturdy Rajput from Central India, the Mahrattas and inhabitants of the Deccan, whose forefathers

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collected *chauth* (one quarter of the revenue) with some rudeness from the ancestors of certain modern Indian politicians, the hill-men, the portly and sleek Bengali, and the general population from the Upper Provinces, Rohilkhand and Oudh. They are all more or less worshippers of the Hindu Triad, the Trimurti,—Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva: the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer—and you may know the followers of the second by the mark of a trident, and those of Shiva by the horizontal line, on their foreheads.

When Brahma the Creator resolved to create the world he assumed the visible form of Vishnu. At this time the whole earth was covered with water, on which Vishnu floated sleeping on a bed which rested on a serpent. From his body sprang a lotus, from which issued Brahma, who created the great island continents. The god Vishnu is the type of all that is best in Hinduism, and his worshippers number amongst them most of those who strive to throw off all the impurities and extravagances which have crept into the faith. Shiva, the Mahadeo or God Omnipotent, is, as Mr. Sherring in his *Western Thibet* truly says, a grim god, with whose worship and that of his consort Kali is associated most of what is cruel, brutal, or obscene. Brahma has comparatively few votaries, for, having created the world and stocked it, he is considered to take little concern with the management of it; he is too remote and abstract an influence for popular worship. It is Vishnu who constantly reappears on earth—either in human or animal shape—interposing decisively at some great emergency. The belief in these Avatars, descents or reappearances of Vishnu, constitutes one of the most essential and effective doctrines of Hinduism, and it is thus that most of the famous saints, heroes, and demi-gods of romance are recognised as having been the sensible manifestations of the Preserver. Shiva, or Siva, represents, as Sir Alfred Lyall says, the impression of endless and pitiless change. ‘He is the destroyer and rebuilder of various forms of life, he has charge of the whole circle of animated creation, the incessant round of birth and death in which all nature eternally revolves.’

But whatever may be their particular religious predilections, all orthodox Hindus recognise certain books as of divine authority, especially the Vedas, the Institutes of Manu, and the Puranas. The first are of great antiquity, written in a very old form of Sanskrit, and deal with religion and philosophy. They are attributed to the inspired Vyasa and other *rishis* or patriarchal

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sages, 'the mind-born sons of Brahma,' and date from about 1500 B.C. The Vedas proper are four in number of which the Rig-Veda is the most important and bears internal evidence of being the original. It is the great fount from which is derived the knowledge of the old and most genuine forms of the institutions, religious and civil, of the Hindus, and is probably the oldest surviving record in the world. The doctrines inculcated in these books much resemble those taught in Babylon, what Humboldt found in Mexico, and what the Saxons brought to England. The five great cardinal duties enjoined to be performed daily are: studying the Veda ; making oblations to the Manes ; to fire in honour of the deities ; giving rice to human creatures and receiving guests with honour. The principle of caste is insisted on. The four original castes were : the Brahmans, who were not necessarily priests, though all priests must be Brahmans ; sickness being the result of sin, they were necessarily the only physicians. The second was the Kshatriyas or military caste. The third was the Vaisiyas, or merchant caste, which also practised husbandry. And last of all came the Sudras, stamped socially and morally as degraded beings ; the penalty for killing a Sudra was the same as that for killing a dog ; he never could be invested with the sacred cord and become a 'twice-born' man. This idea of regeneration—and, indeed, a good deal of Hindu polytheism generally—points almost certainly to a Chaldean origin.

Nowadays among the members of the lowest caste a good many gradations are recognised. Caste, indeed, generally has been much weakened by the greater extent and variety of occupations introduced of late years. Brahmans may be seen earning their livelihood in many ways (though retaining their privileges practically intact), and low-caste people have immensely benefited socially by the opening up of fresh fields of labour and enterprise. The day is possibly not far distant when the difficulty of obtaining men to carry on the most menial and lowest offices will become a very real and serious one.

Our knowledge of the Vedas is largely derived from the 'Institutes of Manu,' reputed to have been compiled somewhere about the twelfth century before Christ. Manu, the reputed son or grandson of Brahma, to whom the latter made his revelation, is considered by many to correspond with Adam, and is claimed by Hindus as their patriarchal ruler and legislator, the primeval sage and progenitor of mankind. The sage Vrihaspati says in his law tract : 'Manu held the first rank among legislators because

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he had expressed in his code the whole sense of the Veda ; that is, no code was approved which contradicted him ; that the Shastras (annotations on sacred works) retain splendour only so long as Manu, who taught the way to just wealth, to virtue, and to final happiness, was not seen in competition with them.'

Much change took place before the appearance of the Puranas eighteen in number, the sacred books believed by many to have been written by the authors of the Vedas ; but evidence seems to show that they were compiled at various and comparatively recent periods, and probably none are more than a thousand years old. They record the achievements of gods and heroes and repeat much of what is contained in the great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Space does not permit of a lengthy reference to these last-named works, but it is certain that some acquaintance with them is necessary to enable the dweller or traveller in India to understand the sentiments of the people towards their most popular deities.

The *Mahabharata* is the history of ' the Great War ' (*Mahabharat*) between two branches of a reigning dynasty in the misty past which derived its lineage from the moon. The drama opens with the appearance of Pandu and Dhritarashtra, who are contending for the possession of Hastinapura, a territory to the north-east of Delhi, which still retains the ancient designation. The family of Pandu consists of five sons, Yudishthira, Bhima, and Arjuna by one wife, Pritha ; and Nakula and Sahadeva by another Madri. Dhritarashtra has a very numerous progeny, of whom Durjodhana is the eldest of a hundred sons. An important difference between the two families is that the wives of Pandu appear to have bestowed their favours upon certain of the great gods, so that their five sons are of superhuman origin. Thus Yudishthira was the son of Dharma, the god of justice ; Bhima of Vayu, the god of wind ; Arjun of Indra, the god of the firmament ; while Nakula and Sahadeva were twin sons of the Sun. These divinities are held to correspond with Pluto, Diolus, Jupiter, and the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) of Roman mythology.\*

Pandu (the Pale), the elder of the two brothers, is suspected, on account of his pallor, of possessing the seeds of leprosy, which would incapacitate him from reigning, and, being voluntarily set aside, retires to a retreat in the Himalayas, where he dies. His companions then take the sons to their uncle, who receives them

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\* Nolan's *British Empire in India*.

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under his guardianship ; but the action arouses the violent anger and hatred of his own sons, who endeavour to destroy their cousins by setting fire to the dwelling of Pritha and her three boys, who are all believed to have perished in the flames. Escaping, however, by a subterranean passage, they flee into the forests and assume the garb and mode of life of Brahmins. While in their retreat the sons hear of the unrivalled beauty and perfections of the daughter of Drupad, king of the upper portion of the country between the Ganges and the Jumna, who at a ceremonial rite called *Swayambara* is to select a husband from a congregation of suitors. The brothers, in a spirit of knight-errantry, repair to her father's court, win the fair prize, and then, their achievements and success being bruited over all the land, are sent for by Dhritarashtra their uncle; who makes them joint heirs to the sovereignty with his own sons.

We now see the young Pandava princes Yudishthira and his brethren ruling over a large tract of country, of which the capital was Indraprastha, and a part of the royal city of Delhi still bears this name. They carry their conquests far and wide, and presently Yudishthira in his pride resolves to celebrate the *Raja Suya* solemnity, a sacrifice where princes officiated in the most menial posts and made presents in acknowledgment of submission. In the course of these celebrations his cousins, who are present, burning with rage and enmity, entrap him into what is probably the greatest gamble on record, for he loses his palace, wealth, kingdom, wife, brothers, and eventually himself. The game played appears to have been a sort of backgammon which was called *Pacheesi*, and is the origin of our word 'chess.' The aged monarch Dhritarashtra intervenes in his favour, but the fates are against the gambler, and presently we see him stripped of everything and compelled by stipulation to pass, together with his brethren, twelve years in the forests, and one year *incognito*. This bond they faithfully adhere to, and, the twelve years being over, they take service with King Virata, rise in the monarch's favour, and, having completed the thirteenth year, disclose their identity, secure his alliance, and obtain his aid to vindicate their rights of sovereignty.

War is declared against the cousins. At this point there appears upon the scene a deified hero, Krishna, a most picturesque character, who, as a relative of Duryodhana, offers him the choice of a large army or his personal services. Duryodhana unwisely selects the former, and Krishna, in himself a host, enlists under

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the banner of the Pandavas, and becomes the charioteer of his friend and favourite, Arjuna. To his great prowess and wisdom are principally due the victories of his brothers in arms. The glowing descriptions of the battles and the personal feats of valour rival in vividness and variety the recitals of the *Iliad*.

Yudishthira, having vanquished all his foes and surmounted all his difficulties, becomes the victim of regret and lament for the past, and having abdicated his kingdom, sets out with his attached brothers and mother for the nursery of his race, the holy mountain Meru in the Himalayas. On the journey, the avenger of former misdeeds visits the members of the little party and each in succession drops dead by the way, until when Indra comes to convey them to Swarga, his heaven, only Yudishthira and his faithful dog, who has followed him from his capital, are left. He declines to accept Indra's favour unless his dog be also admitted.

The poet follows the heroes into the realm of shades, but here we must leave them. It will strike the reader that almost every aspect of romantic fancy with which we are familiar, in classic legend and in recent times, is included in this wonderful and venerable epic. The theory of solar myths probably largely affords the explanation of this fact.

The *Ramayana*, a still older poem, relates the deeds of Rama whose identity has been established; the great conqueror and deliverer of the world from tyrants. His life was a mixture of ascetic devotion and active warfare, and his conquests extended even to Lanka, or Ceylon. The king of that island, a ten-headed giant called Ravana, had stolen away Sita, Rama's wife, and the story of her rescue is narrated in every Hindu household. Rama was greatly assisted in his expedition by Hanuman, the monkey god, especially in effecting the crossing from the mainland by means of a bridge formed of great boulders dropped into the sea. When the bridge was ready, so the legend runs, all creatures were warned off it; but the little grey squirrel, as impudent apparently then as he is to-day, disobeyed the command and hid in a cleft among the stones, with the result that he was branded in three lines upon his back by the foot of the god as he passed over, and his posterity carry the marks to this day. Rama's end was unhappy, for having slain his brother Luchman, the companion of his dangers and triumphs, he committed suicide from remorse. He was deified, and he and his ally Hanuman, are among the most prominent gods now worshipped in India.

The most serious rival and opponent to Brahmanic cosmogony

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and belief was Buddhism. This religion, founded by Sakya Muni, or Gautama Buddha, as contained in the Buddhist gospel appears to have been a protest against the priestly tyranny, ritualism, and caste privileges inculcated in these religious works, and for long the two creeds contested for supremacy ; but eventually, somewhere about the twelfth century, Brahmanism triumphed and Buddhism was driven out. It is still, however, the religion of Burmah and the northern Himalayan tracts.

The origin of the Shikh religion again was also a revolt against the tyranny of priesthood, ceremonial, and caste exclusiveness, and was fostered by oppression into a great warlike movement. Baba Nanuk, the first of the Gurus, or priestly leaders, was born in the Punjab in 1409. He was a gentle, tolerant teacher, who held that a man could obtain eternal happiness without forsaking his ordinary worldly duties. He taught that there was 'but one Lord and One way,' and for him there was 'no Hindu and no Mahomedan.' He refused to don the sacrificial thread of the former saying to the Brahman priest. 'Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, continence its knot, and truth its twist,' The Sikh scriptures are contained in the sacred book known as the Granth Sahib. The fifth Guru in succession was Arjan, who was done to death by the Mahomedans. Much persecution of the sect was practised, and presently the enraged people rose, and under Guru Govind Singh bitterly avenged their woes. Caste was abolished, the word 'Singh,' or lion, adopted by all, so that no man was inferior to another, and all male adults were initiated as soldiers. Every Sikh was bound to carry steel in some form about his person, to wear blue cloths, allow the hair and beard to grow, and never to clip or remove the hair from any part of his body, and was forbidden to smoke tobacco. Thus arose the great nation of religious warriors, the army of the Khalsa—the 'Ironsides of India.' In 1780-1839, under Runjeet Singh who revolted against the Afghan Amir and founded the Kingdom of the Puujab, they became an important power. They supply some of our best troops, and the Sikh regiments have glorious traditions of bravery and loyalty. Sarighari will live for ever in the records of the Indian Army.

Mr. Max Arthur Macauliffe in his work on the Sikh religion tells us that Guru Teg Bahadur, who was executed by Aurungzeb in 1675 on the false charge of gazing in the direction of the Emperor's seraglio, replied to the charge : 'Emperor Aurungzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy

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private apartments or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy *purdahs* and destroy thine empire.' It is said by a writer of the sect that those words became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Delhi in 1857 under General John Nicholson. Guru Teg Bahadur's words were prophetic, for fourteen years after his death the English determined to acquire territorial possessions in India in order to resist the oppression of the Moguls and Mahrattas. To-day the Sikhs are a quiet, orderly race, but that the old martial spirit burns as fiercely as ever below the surface has been shown in a hundred fights under the British flag. They numbered 2, 195, 000 at the last census.

It is a curious and interesting scene, this bathing at Hardwar, and with the clear blue sky above, the bright, swift-flowing river in the foreground, and the majestic mountains towering behind and stretching to the snows beyond, one not likely to be readily forgotten.

Although pilgrims visit Hardwar all the year round, still there are certain great festivals and days when it is particularly expedient for the orthodox believer to be here and bathe. Sometimes astrologers and Brahman sages discover conjunctions of planets which should be marked by special religious observances and thereby bring great and unexpected worry and anxiety on the officials responsible for the proper conduct of proceedings ; but usually the great day falls about the second week in April, and is determined by the phases of the moon. According to Chaucer, this was the favourite time in past days for pilgrimages in England.

'When that Aprille with his showres swoot  
The drought of Marche has pierced to the root,  
And bathed every veyn in suche licour,'  
From which vertu engendred is the flour,  
When Zephirus eek with his swete breeth  
Enspired hath in every holte and heeth.  
'The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne  
Hath in the Ram his half course runne,  
And smale fowles maken melodie,  
That slepen al the night with open eye,  
So pricketh them nature in their corages :—  
'Thenne longen folk to go on pilgrimages  
And palmers for to seeken strange strandes,  
To distant seintes, known in sondry landes

Once in twelve years occurs the *Kumbh*, and the occasion is

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particularly propitious, and so in a lesser degree is the *Adh-Kumbh*, which occurs every six years. For such a gathering very special arrangements have to be made, for suddenly from all quarters of the land some five or six hundred thousand persons will gather together and concentrate upon one small spot—the sacred Hari-ki-pairi, the bathing-pool; especially as not only is the day, but approximately the hour, fixed when it is most conducive to the soul's benefit to plunge into the water. Of course, all cannot bathe at the same moment; still, the rush at such a time is terrible, and it can easily be imagined what a risk attaches to the collection of these enormous and dissimilar concourses of men, women, and children—exhausted, excited, and mostly quite strange to the locality. The district officer, or his representative, has been days or weeks on the spot making arrangements; canal officers watch the river; engineers run up temporary pontoon bridges connecting the mainland with a long island opposite the pool, for this area will presently be black with people camping in little reed huts, and thronged with an immense crowd of the religious mendicants known as Bairagis. Then the police come in great force and erect barriers on the roads leading to the bathing place, so that the people may be marshalled in detachments to their goal, and be thereby prevented from hustling and crushing each other with serious and even fatal consequences; and railway officers come down to watch and control the traffic, and arrange for the arrival and departure of the numerous and crowded special trains.

In past times the history of the great Hardwar fairs was, to use the words of one of the writer's predecessors, 'a record of disease and death.' Not only were accidents numerous and fatal, but the awful scourge of cholera was seldom absent; for this is the season of the year for its appearance, and when the disease was once introduced it spread like a conflagration. Then the frightened people fled to their homes, carrying the seeds and scattering disease all over the land, and leaving a long trail of corpses in their tracks. In 1879 it was estimated that not less than 20,000 persons perished in this way.

Many persons visiting Hardwar travel on into the hills to visit the shrines of Badrinath and Kedarnath, and when cholera breaks out at the fairs, there is an enormous risk of the disease being carried there. But in olden days the hill-man had his own system. To pass into Garhwal *en route* to the shrines a rapid and deep river had to be crossed, and before the iron bridge was built this could only be done by means of a rope bridge known as a *jhu'a*, or swing.

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which consists of nothing more than stout ropes fixed to each bank ; the two lower ones held together at short distances by pieces of bamboo tied to them, upon which the passenger walks, holding on to the two hand-ropes above. When the pilgrims arrive at the bank, they would discover that by an unfortunate accident the ropes had broken on the further side of the river and the long bridge was trailling uselessly in the torrent !

At the chief sanitary authority with the Government, it has fallen to the lot of the writer of late years to organise and control the sanitary arrangements of many of these great gatherings. The staff was a large one, comprising medical subordinates, police patrols, and hundreds of sweepers, (low-caste conservancy servants), supervised by European deputies and selected Indian assistants. The town and its surroundings were thoroughly cleaned up a few days before the fair ; field hospitals, etc., were run up and staffed ; the arrival of trains and of carts was watched for cases of infectious disease, which if found, were promptly isolated ; overcrowding in the lodging-houses was as far as possible prevented ; and the whole site constantly patrolled to ensure cleanliness and to detect the appearance of disease in time to arrest its spread. They were periods of constant anxiety and strenuous action, but of intense interest, since an officer was brought into close and intimate contact with people and conditions seldom met with elsewhere.

A prominent feature of the large fairs at Hardwar, as in a lesser degree at Allahabad, Benares, Ajudhya, Gya, Puri, and certain other localities, is the great gathering of religious ascetics and mendicants known as *jogis*, *sanyasis*, *gosains*, *sadhus*, *faqirs*, etc. —many of them attended by their *chelas*, or disciples. They are seen at ordinary times wandering alone, or in very small parties, all over the country ; but perhaps it is not generally recognised that most of them are banded together in great brotherhoods, with definite leaders who control the collection and expenditure of considerable wealth belonging to the community, and who possess great personal influence and authority with their followers. The writer has known many of these leaders, or *muhants*, long and fairly intimately, and has, as a rule, been struck with their intelligence and force of character. At Hardwar the clans are mostly those found in the Punjab, such as the 'Nirbanis,' 'Nirmulas,' 'Udasis,' etc. All these more important *akharas* (the word seems to be used to describe both the clans and their gathering places) have definite headquarters in large *dharmshalas* and en-

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campments, where they receive free rations and hold discussions. Bairagis appear to have little organisation.

Although to-day these religious ascetics and mendicants are of all castes, the custom of thus abandoning the world and living upon charity is of great antiquity in India, and, indeed, goes back to those remote times when the Brahman Desert Philosophers, Vanaprasthas and Sanyasis, were held in such esteem and veneration that great Western leaders of thought and action did not disdain to seek them out and learn wisdom from them. Among these, indeed, were such men as Pythagoras, Lycurgus, and Alexander the Great. Ancient writers, Strabo, Megasthenes, Arrian, pupil of Epictetus, and others, speak of the 'Brachmans' as a tribe or caste divided into two classes—'Brachmens' by descent, and 'Germanians' by election. The latter were only elected after very careful examination, and the code of both was originally very high and pure. The three guiding principles were reverence of the Divine Being, obedience to the laws and a hearty concern for the welfare of the society, and love of liberty and the obligations they were under to sacrifice their own particular happiness to the preserving of the form of government under which they lived in its full vigour, in order to preserve thereby the security and welfare of their posterity. They taught the doctrine of metempsychosis, imagining that in proportion as men heightened or depressed their animal faculties in this life they should fare in the next; that is to say, such as gratified their passions passing into beasts, and such as cultivated the virtues of the mind rising by degrees through the several classes of mankind until in the end they merited an entire freedom from body, and were received into the company of angels. Authors who speak of them as gymnosophists are but partially correct, for they only went naked when in seclusion; their public functions were always performed in robes. They usually confined themselves to one form of learning; thus one would be a philosopher, another would devote himself to the laws, etc. After spending thirty-seven years in the ministry they were allowed to quit it, and to live the remainder of their lives in towns, to eat the flesh of wild beasts, and to marry wives as they liked to perpetuate the race of Brachmans, though they were not to reveal any of the secrets of their philosophy to them, 'because there was great reason to doubt whether they would be discreet enough to conceal what they were taught, and, secondly there was no less doubt whether this accession of knowledge might not incline them to

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pride and disobedience.' They enjoyed the support and respect of all, and when the inconveniences of old age began to weigh them down, they ordered a pile of wood to be erected, and then, dressed in their best garments and singing hymns, they laid themselves down on their faces and presently remained there still and quite, without so much as a groan, until, fire being set to the pyre, they were consumed to ashes.

The Germanians, the second or elected class, were also known as *yoghis* or *Jogis*. They appear to have been as good and wise as the Brachmans by descent, but they did not enjoy the same privileges as the latter, for they could never marry or quit the order. A later writer, one Signor Pietro della Valle, a noble Roman, a learned and candid writer, and whose travels are justly esteemed as accurate as 'were ever made into this part of the world,' thus describes them in more recent times: 'The *yoghis*,' he says, 'are not Brachmans by Descent, but by Choice, as our religions orders are. They go naked: most of them with their bodies painted and smeared with different Colours; yet some of them are only naked with the rest of their bodies smooth and only their foreheads dyed with Sanders (sic) and some red, yellow, or white Colour, which is also imitated by many secular Persons out of superstition and gallantry. They live upon alms, despising Cloaths and all other worldly Things. They marry not, but make some Profession of Chastity, at least in Appearance, for in secret it is known that many of them commit as many Debaucheries as they can. They live in Society, under the Obedience of their Superiors, and wander about the World without having any settled Abode. Their habitations are the Fields, the Streets, the Porches, the Courts of Temples and Groves, especially where an Idol is worshipped by them, and they undergo, with incredible patience, Day and Night, no less the Rigour of the Air than the excessive heat of the Sun, which in these sultry countries is a thing sufficiently to be admired.' This description would be very fairly accurate at the present time.

Many hold that the Brahmans to-day are the people most opposed to British rule in India, dreading that their position, still very great, is being undermined and may presently be destroyed. But they need have very little fear of this for a long time to come. Hindus, and especially Brahmans, have under all dynasties had a great deal to do with the government of the country and held the highest positions, though often under the supervision of the ruling power, as was the case with Todar Mul and others under Akbar.

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They are, of course, no longer solely priests, but the caste—and it is impossible to dissociate caste from Hinduism—is still universally regarded as a thing apart, and its members as something more than ordinary men. They are, as a rule, proud, and of a pessimistic temperament, as is fitting to anyone living in the *Kali-Yuga*—that direful age and era of decadence, when life is short, falsehood and deceit have replaced truth, and when the great gods no longer strive together in the land.

To bathe at the sacred pool, the several brotherhoods proceed in great processions, and if two such of different clans collide there is trouble, and in past years such occurrences led to much bloodshed, so that now the magistrate confers with the leaders and appoints definite and separate times for each to march. It is a wonderful sight to stand on the light iron bridge already referred to at the pool, and to watch the approach of one of these processions. As soon as the barrier is raised in the street above, they march on in thousands, in some sort of formation, with numerous rich and costly silk flags and banners flying, to the weird howls, blasts, and screeches of conches, and long quaintly curved trumpets and horns, and the clattering of sticks together, until the broad and lofty steps are packed with devotees and fanatics—many stark-naked. In front and in the centre, in a palanquin richly canopied, are borne the objects of worship—a copy of the *Granth*, images of the gods, or balls of ashes—and on each side a lofty standard is raised. Arrived at the margin of the water, the palanquin is advanced into the pool and the standards slowly lowered in absolute silence. At this moment the most stoical observer cannot fail to feel a thrill of excitement. The instant they touch the water, it is as if pandemonium had broken loose. With shouts and cries of religious import, the whole wild crowd rushes into the water, and the pool becomes a mass of frantically excited humanity. It is a strange, barbaric scene, and one cannot fail to recognise that here the veneer of civilisation is very thin. Introduce a few mangled corpses and eliminate the European staff, and it probably affords a very fair presentment of what a great bathing was five hundred years ago.

Presently horns and trumpets are sounded, and the first rush troops out of the pool and takes its way along the paved roadway leading to the bridge over the river, to be succeeded by crowd after crowd until all have washed their sins away. And then the procession re-forms, and, with strange sounds and waving of flags, and headed by the leaders on elephants, returns to its encampment.

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The writer has often watched and pondered over these great gatherings of itinerant ascetics and religious mendicants—strange, wild personages, with hair (often false) coiled up high on their heads, curiously distorted sticks, long iron pincers, or black begging-bowls of *coco-de-mer* in their hands, often covered with dust and ashes and with no other raiment than a scanty waist-cloth. Here is a man reclining on a wooden frame full of large iron nails pointing upwards and passing into his flesh ; here is another with an uplifted arm, shrunken from disuse to the size of a stick and ankylosed at the shoulder-joint ; here is a *fiquir* who has vowed never to sit or lie down for eleven years and who takes his sleep hanging on to a padded rope suspended from a tree. No doubt there are some unmitigated rascals ; many others are rank impostors ; but, still, the majority are probably more or less sincere. Often when talking to them the writer has been interrupted by a respectful correction (though the *fauquir* never salaams) couched in excellent English from a weird figure, more or less attired, who has thrown up a position of considerable emolument and respectability in furtherance of a religious vow. One such personage, with hardly anything on to cover his nakedness and with long hair hanging down his back, was a friend of the writer's for years. He spoke and wrote excellent English and was reported to have studied at a Scottish University. He was possessed of considerable wealth, nearly all of which he gave away in charity, and was a man of much influence, with which he used to support the authorities at the time of the disturbances in connexion with plague measures. He lived in a little encampment on the island opposite Hardwar, and had followers whom he considered to be possessed of strange psychological powers, and he was very fond, as many of these men are, of the works of Marie Corelli. His letters were very interesting, and a correspondence was maintained for a long time, until he wrote that his environment was unsatisfactory, as he could no longer hold converse with the same spirits as of old ; so he went to Lhassa, but returning once more to the Punjab, fell ill of plague and died. Whatever the character of these *fauquirs* and ascetics may be, at all events the common people regard them as holy men, whom to offend is dangerous ; and the writer has seen the women, when the horde of dripping bathers in the procession has passed along the paved embankment, rush in and gather up the water from the puddles they have caused and carry it to their lips !

It is probably not very well known how many there are of these religious mendicants, but most likely there are tens of

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thousands in Upper India alone. They wander all over the land, moving from place to place, invading the privacy of dwellings where few other people can find admittance, and they are the repositories of great secrets. There are comparatively few telegraph or telephone posts in the rural tracts of India, but what a marvellous agency for the circulation of news and propaganda such a community may, if organised, become ! The system is simple. The word is passed to a man, 'Tell this in secret to five true believers' ; each of these passes it on to five more, and so on, so that information spreads in an ever-widening circle. These men claim to have abstracted themselves from all worldly things among which, it is imagined, politics are included ; still the writer is of opinion that it is most important that officials should keep in touch with the leaders of religious thought—and this is an elastic term. They very frequently will not be persons of much pretention, and the disreputable-looking figure sitting at the bathing ghat, and receiving alms with apparent indifference and complete mental abstraction, may be a man of very great weight in the community. But the wise official knoweth these things, and attendeth thereto. We have had some emergencies in Upper India in recent times—plague, pestilence, famine and 'unrest' ; and those called upon to deal with them have learnt many facts.

Nowadays the condition of pilgrimage to the great bathing fairs have much altered. To begin with, a great many people object to any form of control over their actions, and the effect is that, whereas probably just as many persons bathe at the sacred spots as formerly, the concourses at the great fairs themselves are somewhat smaller and the attendance is spread more regularly over the whole year. This, from a public health point of view, is an advantage. And considerable importance is to be attached to the greater ease and comfort with which pilgrims can now travel to and from such gatherings. Bacteriologists tell us that some animals, normally immune to certain pathogenic or disease germs, are rendered susceptible by being shaken up and otherwise frightened and disturbed. The writer holds the view, even as a sanitary officer, that in the greater comfort and security which pilgrims now enjoy lies the explanation of much of the immunity from epidemic diseases which has mercifully attended these great bathings in late years.

When, after some days are past, the fair is over, the people return by rail, in carts, or on foot to their homes, singing religious hymns and bearing most of them bottles of Ganges water enclosed

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in wicker baskets and suspended at either end of bamboo poles swinging on their shoulders. The author has seen large quantities of this water, quite clean and pure, stored in metal vessels in the cellars of a Hindu prince in Southern India, and was assured that it had been there for years, for, it is averred, the contents of the holy river never putrefy. And, indeed, such water, taken perhaps from a source at far-off Gangotri, probably contains little or no organic matter.

Fairs, such as the one it has been attempted to describe, occur all over India. They are primarily the occasion of religious observances, but they are a good deal more even than this. There is not a Hindu house or hut of which the inmates do not look forward with eager interest to joining in these gatherings. Children's ages are often reckoned from a *Kumbh*. Here one combines an act of merit with excitement and pleasure—here the ashes of the cherished dead are bestowed as they would have wished—here the business is transacted with the semi-religious recorder of domestic incidents—here old friends are met, new sights seen, and all the excitement, bustle, and religious enthusiasm. There is no action which could be taken by Government which would produce the same dismay and resentment as their prohibition. The part of the State as is well recognised is not to interfere unduly but merely to watch over and protect the people gathered here from injury, disease, and—incidentally—from one another. —(Lieut. Col. SAMUEL J. THOMSON in the *Nineteenth Century*).

## COTTON MILLS IN INDIA AND JAPAN

The first spinning mill in India was erected in 1817 on the banks of the Hoogly. Not much is known of its history, and the mills on the old site are the revival of the first attempt to establish the industry. In 1851 a mill was built at Broach, and in 1854 another at Bombay. From that time onwards the Indian cotton industry made steady, if not rapid progress, and by 1880 British India contained 58 mills with 1,461,598 spindles and 13,502 looms. Employment was given to an average daily number of hands amounting to 44,410, and approximately 1,078,708 cwts. of raw cotton were consumed. The initiation of the industry in Japan was somewhat later. In 1863 the first spinning mill was erected at Isogaama with English machinery, under the stimulus first of the

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Prince of Satsuma, and after his death of Prince Yoshimitsu. The second mill was erected in 1870 at Sakai. In 1875 the Kashima Spinning Mill was erected, and in 1878 the Government started several model mills of 2,000 spindles each. Four years later the Osaka Spinning Company came into being. But the first power-loom was not started until 1887 (by the Yodogawa Cloth Manufacturing Company of Osaka), and it was not till 1890 that the Japanese industry was fairly launched. In the twenty years, therefore, following that date a useful comparison may be instituted of the progress of the industry in both countries.

The material for the comparison is in the reports of the Bombay Millowners' Association and in the review of the history of the Japanese industry published by the Secretary of the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association. In 1890 there were 137 mills in India, and in 1908 241. In Japan at the same dates there were 30 and 89 mills respectively. No direct deductions, however, can be drawn from these figures, inasmuch as the last decade of the country saw many important amalgamations in the Japanese trade. More may be learnt from the increase in the number of spindles. In 1890 India had 3,274,196 spindles and in 1908 5,756,020—an increase of 2,481,824. In Japan the spindles increased from 277,895 to 1,611,168—an increase of 1,333,273. Cotton power-looms increased in India from 23,412 to 67,920—an increase more than in proportion to that in the number of spindles in spite of the imposition of an excise duty on the products of power-looms, from which the output of yarn is free. In Japan up to the latest date the number of looms has not increased to more than 14,000. So far, then, in the number of mills, spindles, and looms, progress in India has been considerably more rapid than in Japan.

Statistics relating to the consumption of cotton and the output of cotton yarn are not available before 1900 for both countries; it is characteristic of the Japanese industry that Indian, American, and Chinese yarn is often mixed. Besides these she imports a small quantity of cotton from Egypt, Annam, and Saigon, and further grows a small percentage at home. From 1900 to 1908, Japan's annual consumption increased from 434 million pounds to 610 million pounds—an increase of 176 million pounds. In India the consumption rose from 5,087,000 cwts. to 6,970,000 cwts.—an increase of 1,883,000 cwts. The consumption, therefore, has increased much more rapidly in India, and the comparison is a fair one, inasmuch as though Japan consumes double the quantity of cotton per 1,000 spindles that India does, yet she works just nearly

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double the number of hours per day. In the beginning of the century the output of Japanese yarn was 389,000,000 pounds and by 1908 this had risen to 506,000,000 pounds. In British India the average yarn output in the last four years of the century was 445,000,000 pounds, and by 1908-9 this had risen to 630,000,000 pounds. The increase in the case of Japan, therefore, was 117 million pounds, and in the case of India 185 million pounds. Two results stand out from this comparison. The first is that the progress of the protected Japanese industry has been considerably slower than that of the Indian, which works under a Free Trade *regime*. The second is that the imposition of the excise duty on the products of Indian power-looms has not prevented a large and rapidly growing measure of success. The industry which is alleged to be about to eclipse both Lancashire and Indian trade in the Far East has been notably less successful than the industry which is alleged to be hampered and restricted by the selfishness of Lancashire.

The efficiency of the Indian operative appears to be less than that of the Japanese. In the matter of wages there is probably not much difference. The calculation of the relative efficiency of the workers of the two countries is based on figures given for the Bombay Presidency by the Bombay Millowners' Association and by the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, Limited, for Japan. The Bombay Presidency represents a very large proportion of the total Indian industry. In 1908-9, according to the "Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India," the Presidency contained 71 per cent. of the spindles, 80 per cent. of the looms, and produced nearly 74 per cent of the total output of yarn and about 80 per cent. of the total output of cloth. Twenty-four per cent. of the Bombay spindles are mule and 66 per cent. ring. In Japan less than 3 per cent. mule. The Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, Limited, put the number of Japanese working spindles in 1909 at 1,578,506, the output of which was 1,048,145 bales of yarn (of 400lbs. weight each) of an average count of 21.3. In 1908-9 the 2,584,886 Bombay working spindles turned out 908,199 bales of yarn of an average count of a little below 16s. Japan, therefore, produced 165lbs. per spindle of average 21.3 counts, as against the Indian 140lb. per spindle of average 16s. The number of hours and days worked by the Bombay mills varies, but probably 13 hours per day and 309 days per year, or a total of 4,017 hours in the year, may be taken as correct. The Japanese mills worked 22.17 hours per day and 27.2 days per month, or a total of 7,236

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hours. Reducing the working day to 13 hours in both cases the equivalent of 556 days were worked in Japan as against 309 days in India. The fact that the output per spindle in Japan is roughly double that in India is thus accounted for by the longer time worked in the Japanese mills. The average counts are slightly higher in Japan than in India, but roughly speaking, the efficiency of the machinery appears in both countries to be equal. Not so the efficiency of the work-people. In Bombay Island, 105,751 work-people were employed to work 39,264 looms and 2,584,886 spindles. In Japan 84,314 work-people were employed in two shifts to work 13,813 looms and 1,578,506 spindles. The exact proportion of operative to looms is not known, but assuming the proportion of two hands to every three looms, which is probably not far from correct, 30.7 work-people were required for 1,000 spindles in Bombay, as against 20.8 in two shifts in Japan. These figures for India agree roughly with those given by Mr. Arno Schmidt, who reported that in an Indian mill of 23,424 spindles which he visited 1890 work-people were employed. The efficiency of operatives in Japan thus appears to be considerably greater than in Bombay.

We come now to a comparison of the import and export trade. Japan's imports of yarn have always been an exceedingly small proportion of her output. In 1908 out of a total output of 506 million pounds of yarn she exported just over 66 million pounds, or, roughly, 13 per cent., which was in the proportion of 16 to 1 of 20's counts and under. From 1900 to 1908 her imports and exports have both decreased, the former by 10,000,000 pounds and the latter by 16,800,000 pounds. According to the Review of Trade, of India, in 1908-9, the Indian mills produced 597,608,000 pounds of yarn of numbers 1 to 25, against imports of 4,095,000 pounds. Of numbers 26 to 40 she produced 55,239,000 pounds, as against 25,668,000 pounds imported and of numbers above 40 she produced 4,697,000 pounds, as against imports of 8,580,000 pounds. Thus only 9 per cent. of the total production consists of yarns above 25s, and these are spun chiefly in the Bombay mills. The imports of yarn were about 6 per cent. of India's total production, and a very small proportion of these was of counts under 25s. She exported 235,000,000 pounds, or more than a third of her total production. Since 1900 the yarn imports into British India have increased slightly, whereas her exports have expanded by nearly 120,000,000 pounds. The comparison of the foreign trade in yarns therefore tends in favour of India.

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A comparison of the piece-goods trade is more difficult, inasmuch as the Japanese returns are given in value and not in yardage. The British Commercial Attaché in his report on the trade of Japan in 1909 puts the output of Japanese piece-goods at 181,976,972 yards. In the same year she imported 114,000,000 yards from the United Kingdom, and this formed the bulk of her imports. The production in India is incomparably greater. Of grey and white piece-goods the Indian mills produced 771,130,000 yards, as compared with 1,729,870,000 yards imported, and of dyed goods they produced 192,330,000 yards, as compared with 462,830,000 yards imported. Thus India imported rather more than twice the total yardage produced by her own power-looms, and she exported 94,137,558 yards or rather less than one-tenth of her total production.

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN ONQUESTIS

### MR. BASU'S CIVIL MARRIAGE BILL

Although Bengal does not seem to be very much moved either one way or the other by the Civil Marriage (Amendment) Bill introduced into the Imperial Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, it is receiving a great deal of attention in other parts of India, especially in the South; and it may be said now that, barring a dissentient voice here and there, the country, as a whole, has pronounced in favour of the measure. Public meetings have been held in very many places in support of the Bill, and almost all the responsible journals have given their cordial support to it. Such staunch exponents of orthodox Hinduism as the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*, not to speak of others, have stood up for it. The *Punjabee* of Lahore has no doubt raised a dissentient voice, but its objection is not so much against the principles involved in the Bill as against government interference asked for in the shape of legislation. In spite of all these, it is gratifying to note that the opposition, be it from what quarter it will, has not been very strong, nor has the discussion been of that heated and acrimonious character which similar measures used to inspire in days gone by. Whatever may be in store for Mr. Basu's Bill, this of itself is of no small value showing as it does that the country as a whole is advancing slowly but surely in the path of progress. Indeed, that such a Bill has received so little opposition from the orthodox community is in a sense rather astonishing and means a great deal.

We are glad to find that such representative leading men as Justice Chandavarkar, Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee and Mr. Srinivas Ayengar have come forward to support this bill—Sir Pratul Chandra and Mr. Ayengar in the pages of the *Indian Review* and Justice Chandavarkar in course of a remarkable speech delivered recently at a meeting held at Bombay for the purpose of supporting the Bill.

The facts and arguments brought out by the above-named gentlemen prove conclusively (1) that neither the Act as it exists at present nor the Act as it is proposed to be altered can introduce any such changes into Hindu community which are not supported by Hindu *Shastras* or by Hindu custom in some part or other of

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the country, and (2) that the changes which the ultra-conservative section of the Hindu community dread and put to the credit of the amendments are already involved in the Act as it stands and the amendments make no difference on those points. For, under Act III of 1872, it is open to any Hindu to contract a Civil marriage, provided he makes a declaration that he does not "profess" the Hindu religion. There is nothing in the Act or any other law to prevent or disqualify him from calling himself a Hindu after having made the declaration and intermarried under the Act. In such a case he has every right to follow the Hindu religion and call himself a Hindu. The ultra-conservative section can not legally object to his doing that. But it has the right to excommunicate him if it so pleases, and this right of excommunication is not proposed to be taken away by the amendments.

The following objections are raised by the ultra-conservative Hindu against the Bill :—

(1) It will destroy the sacramental character of Hindu marriages.

(2) It will create an innovation in Hindu Society by sanctioning divorce.

(3) It will create difficulties in relation to succession.

(4) It may lead to marriages between parties so related to each other that may be regarded as incestuous or reprehensible.

(5) It may facilitate marriages between members of the same caste or sub-caste resident in different parts of India contrary to present practice.

(6) It may bring about intermarriages between different sub-castes of the same primary caste.

(7) It may legalize intermarriages between members of the four primary castes of Hindus.

(8) It may legalise intermarriages with non-Hindus.

The first of the above objections has been very ably discussed both by Justice Chandavarkar and Mr. Ayengar. On this point Justice Chandavarkar says :—

It is said that the Bill is revolting to the religious sense of the Hindus because it seeks sanction for civil marriage as legal, whereas the very basic idea of marriage, according to the Hindu religion, is sacramental. In considering this objection I pass by the fact that Hinduism, in spite of its sacramental idea of marriage, permits customs, prevalent among some castes within its fold, which make marriage more or less a civil affair. There was a case the other day in the High Court in which it was found that, in a certain

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caste of Hindus in Guzerat, a custom prevailed by which a man and a woman could legally become husband and wife by merely agreeing to live together as such without any religious ceremony. I do not, however, desire to lay stress on the fact of such customs as an answer to the objection I am noticing. That objection would be sound, if Mr. Basu's Bill had proposed to abolish the *sacramental* character of Hindu marriages and to compel the community to adopt the system of civil marriage ; or, again, if the Bill had sought to interfere with the sacramental idea of marriage more than the Legislature has interfered already by means of the law now in force.

Mr. Ayengar says :—

It is not every form of marriage known to Hindu law that was a sacrament. For women and Sudras the only sacrament is marriage and for Sudras no Vedic mantras are prescribed. The marriage of a bride or a bridegroom who is purchased can in no way be regarded as a sacrament. And yet the pervallence of the Asura form and of the other and never evil cannot be ignored. The nuptial texts were held applicable only to virgins, but they have been made applicable to re-marriage of widows by the Hindu Widow Re-marriage Act. According to one view, vicarious performance of *homum* for Sudras is permissible. The form of marriage in the Grahya Sutra, according to the expressed statement of Asvalayana, was only a common form. The Gandharva form of marriage was by the ancient Rishis premitted to all the castes and the only thing required to constitute it was the agreement of the parties. The Bill does not prevent religious ceremonies being gone through or marriage from being treated as a sacrament. Manu himself in one place says that the marriage tie is the result of the gift by the father and that the recitation of the nuptial texts is only for the sake of securing good fortune. It is perfectly clear that both the secular and religious forms of marriage were and are known to Hindu Law that though marriage undoubtedly is, the religious ceremonies connected with marriage are certainly not the basis of Hindu Society, and that the marriage rites are neither uniform in practice nor of equal importance and have not been without radical innovations.

It is not that marriage performed according to particular rites only is a sacrament. Every marriage contracted for the purpose of discharging the debt to the ancestors, in other words, for the sake of having a son is a sacrament. And the Hymn to Love and "the Vedic texts that are recited on the completion of the seventh step by the bride clearly show that the Hindus even in those early days

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had learned to regard marriage as a true companionship of the purest character, a union of pure hearts, for the cultivation of the best feelings of our nature." And this is the reason why a marriage without Vedic mantras is *per se* a sacrament.

As regards the dread for the introduction of divorce into Hindu Society, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar says:—

It is urged, again, by the opponents of the Bill that it creates an innovation in Hindu society by sanctioning divorce, which, it is said, is abhorrent to Hindu law and religion. Those who use this argument forget that there are castes among Hindus in which divorce is allowed by custom, which, according to Hindu religion and law, overrides even the *Shastras*. When some people speak and write in the name of Hinduism, they but think of a portion of it and forget what Sir Alfred Lyall has pointed out in his *Asiatic Studies* that Hinduism includes within its fold, and absorbs, all kinds of religion and custom and that it is in that way that it has preserved such vitality, as it has in its caste system. If some Hindu castes are permitted in the name of custom to have the system of divorce, what objection should there be to those Hindus who wish to intermarry to adopt that system? Their castes can outcaste them; the Legislature is not asked and is not going to deprive the castes of that power. The men who intermarry will of course continue to call themselves Hindus. Why should Hinduism object to that? Mr. Basu's Bill will effect no change which is new to the history and traditions of Hinduism.

Mr. Ayengar says:—

It is enough to say that people who do not wish to have the right of divorce need not avail themselves of its provisions. The right of divorce exists by custom, in various parts of the country, and need not by itself make the marriage tie looser. It may conceivably make for purity, and provide a solution of some acute domestic problems. We are perhaps too ready to assume that every Hindu household is filled with peace and happiness. The undoubtedly high average of domestic felicity is due to the ineradicable greatness of Hindu women rather than to any institutional peculiarities. Though divorce is now, apart from custom, unknown to Hindu Law, the correctness of the current view that it was always unknown to Hindu Law is open to question. The marital tie was severed in several cases and the wife was enabled to re-marry. In addition to this perfect type of divorce, there was another form of divorce by which the wife was put away without being completely released from the husband, in other words, without being enabled to

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re-marry ; and she was not entitled to rights of inheritance. The fact that a wife who was separated from bed and board was entitled to some kind of maintenance does not detract from the view that divorce, perfect as well as imperfect, was known to Hindu Law any more than the grant of a permanent alimony at the discretion of the court after a decree absolute is inconsistent with the dissolution of marriage thereby effected. The orthodox party should, however, be eager to welcome this feature of the Bill as it will decidedly limit the area of inter-marriage and cool the ardour for experiment.

On the 3rd point Mr. Justice Chandavarkar expresses himself thus :—

But it is said that the Bill, if it become law, will create chaos in the constitution of the Hindu family system. For instance, suppose a Hindu co-percener in a joint Hindu family marries a Mahomedan under this law, the sons of the marriage will call themselves Hindus and claim shares in the joint family. We are asked—will this not be a monstrous evil? Suppose it is. That evil will not be due to and be a creation of Mr. Basu's Bill. The evil exists now, and has existed for more than half a century on account of what is known as the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850. Under its provisions, if a Hindu becomes a Mahomedan or Christian and loses his caste, he does not forfeit his rights of property and inheritance which he had under the Hindu law before his conversion to the new faith. Mr. Basu's Bill effects no change, creates no revolution at all in this respect. Its opponents are quarrelling in its name with laws which have been in force for years. And yet these laws have not revolutionised Hindu society.

Mr. Ayengar says :—

The Bill, in fact, removes a difficulty caused by the existing Act III of 1872 which however must be taken to be set at rest by the decision of the Privy Council in a case from the Punjab. The Indian Succession Act was pronounced inapplicable to Jains, Sikhs and Brahmos who were held to be Hindus governed by the general Hindu Law. A Hindu by becoming a Brahmo does not necessarily cease to belong to the community in which he was born. Departures from the Hindu regulations regarding diet and ceremonial observance, and other similar lapses from orthodox practice, cannot exclude from the category of Hindu—for purposes of succession and other purposes mentioned in the Civil Courts Act—one who is born within it and who never becomes otherwise separated from the religious communion in which he is born. Hindu Law is not the monopoly of orthodox Hindus.

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The remaining points are dealt with by Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee. We quote below his observations on these points. He says :—

Let us now discuss specifically some of the prominent changes which the Act is calculated to bring about if it is in wider operation.

*First.* It may lead to marriages between parties so related to each other that we regard their union as incestuous or reprehensible. On this question I personally think the restrictions of Hindu Law are very wholesome and, if it could be done, would propose to do away with the provisos to section 2 of the Act which would leave the restrictions untouched. This, however, may possibly not suit the advanced sections of Brahmos. As it is, the degrees prohibited in proviso 2 or such as to obviate the objections of most people who dislike marriages between close relatives. It must not be forgotten that custom among us is not uniform and in the most intensely orthodox part of India, *viz.*, the South, marriages between first cousins on the mother's side are permitted.

*Secondly.* It may facilitate marriages between members of the same caste or sub-caste resident in different parts of India contrary to present practice. It is, however, admitted that the practice is of modern growth and did not exist in pre-Mahomedan days. It is not founded on religion and its abrogation is much to be desired. Rajputs, at least of the higher classes, have continued to intermarry from different parts of India and recently there is a movement among the Kayasthas towards similar intermarriages. In Bengal and in the Punjab, the restrictions against marrying in a different section of the same sub-caste are being fast abrogated. This objection therefore has no force.

*Thirdly.* It may bring about intermarriages between different sub-castes of the same primary caste. Such marriages are not unknown at the present day and cases relating to them have come to Court in all parts of India. The trend of authority in the High Courts and the Privy Council has been to uphold their validity on the ground that there is really no religious prohibition against such marriages.

Thus, this so-called danger exists independently of, and is not created by, the Act. The Act might be helpful in clearing the situation as regards this point and thereby checking litigation which are points in its favour.

*Fourthly.* The Act may legalize intermarriages between members of the four primary castes of Hindu society. Here again the

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present practice differs from that of earlier times—for Sanskrit literature is full of allusions to such intermarriages. All the Hindu law-givers recognize it, and some of the earlier commentaries also mention the same and do not forbid it. The *Mitakshara* refers to such marriages saying, "under the sanction of the law instances do occur". As regards the present practice, such marriages have been abolished, but it is believed that in Nepal, to which the disorders consequent on the Mahomedan conquest did not extend, they are still in vogue. In the Punjab Hills too, the prohibition is generally not so strict and the Jats of the Punjab practically ignore it. There is hardly any Smriti laying down the prohibition, though it is acted on throughout the greater part of India. There is no cogent ground why, if custom has changed in the past, it should not change now. Custom depends on the consensus of opinion in the community in which it prevails, and the growth of such opinion cannot be overlooked nor positively interdicted.

*Lastly.* It may legalize intermarriages with non-Hindus. This is quite possible and instances of such marriages in old times are not altogether wanting. The historic instance of the Maurya Emperor, Chandragupta, having married a Greek Princess, the daughter of Seleucus Nikator, and the alleged marriage of the daughter of Yezdgird III, the last Sassanide King of Persia, with one of the rulers of Mewar mentioned in Rajput annals, are cases in point. Marriages of Rakhasha, Naga and Gandaharva women with Kshatriyas are constantly spoken of in the Sanskrit epics and other religious books. Some of these belonged to other races than Aryans and some were non-Hindus. Marriages between Hindus and Buddhists were quite common in the days of Buddhist ascendancy. Even now the Princes and Nobles of Kathiawar have marriages with Mahomedan women whose male issue frequently succeed to their fathers' states. Some Nobles of Hyderabad have Mahomedan wives. All these people are orthodox Hindus in other respects and Hinduism has been very well studied in the strain of their inclusion in the ranks of its votaries. In Upper India, intermarriages with Jainas frequently take place. Broadly speaking, however, this would involve a momentous change from the present practice and would be distasteful to the great bulk of Hindus.

*But all these consequences are, as already pointed out, involved in the Act as it stands. The amendments make no difference on these points; they merely aim at not driving those who contract marriages of this nature from the fold of Hinduism against their will.*

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It is suggested that as the proposed law will be taken advantage of by a very few only, no legislation is necessary. In answer to this, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar very pertinently says:—

It is not a question of numbers as was said and said truly by that great-minded English official who piloted the Widow Marriage Bill in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy. It is a question of conscience. If a Hindu believes in the Hindu religion in all respects except as to caste and the rule prohibiting intermarriage and desires to intermarry and yet remain a Hindu, what right has the Hindu community to say to the Legislature: "Prevent him from giving effect to his convictions and force him to do as we dictate." Nay, has not Hinduism gone on allowing castes to be formed within its fold on similiar lines? This is the narrow issue raised by Mr. Basu's Bill.

Sir Pratul Chandra also holds very decided views with regard to the question whether Government should legislate in this matter for Hindus, when opinion in favour of such legislation is not unanimous. He says:—

I venture to think that it should. Hindu Law professes to be based on divine authority but it is like other laws, a branch of sociology, and with the progress of society is apt to get antiquated and unsuited and insufficient for the needs of the people. Positive law is constantly lagging behind the times and the efforts of statesmen and legislators are constantly directed to close or narrow the gulf and the necessities of a progressive society as Maine points out in his *Ancient Law*. Now the corrective has hitherto been furnished by the growth of custom which is recognized by Hindu law-givers as paramount law. This is how Hindu society has managed to endure in the past though inefficiently and with difficulty. But under British law, custom, after it has once passed through the crucible of a court of justice, becomes crystallized and incapable of expansion or alteration. The result is to stereotype the existing state of things for all time. No change is possible unless there is a change of religion. Surely this would be an intolerable state of things and the Government would be justified in giving some relief to the progressive section of its Hindu subjects. In the past Government has interfered by positive enactments abolishing existing practices in the interests of humanity and morality, *e.g.*, in the case of *sati* and of loss of caste, the Age of Consent Act and the Widow Marriage Act.

## INDIAN MILITARY EXPENDITURE

Mr. D. E. Wacha recently read before the Deccan Sabha of Poona an extremely interesting and illuminating paper on Indian military expenditure. This paper has now been reproduced in the pages of the August number of the *Indian Review*.

The growth of the army expenditure in India is exhibited by Mr. Wacha as follows :—

				Crore Rs.
1884-85	...	...	...	17'05
1885-86	...	...	...	20'06
1890-91	...	...	...	21'09
1891-92	...	...	...	22'66
1893-94	...	...	...	23'53
1894-95	...	...	...	24'31
1898-99	...	...	...	23'05
1899-1900	...	...	...	26'44
1900-01	...	...	...	23'20
1901-02	...	...	...	24'24
1902-03	...	...	...	26'44
1903-04	...	...	...	27'21
1904-05	...	...	...	31'03
1905-06	...	...	...	29'50
1906-07	...	...	...	30'25
1907-08	...	...	...	28'86
1908-09	...	...	...	29'40
1909-10	...	...	...	28'66

Two fundamental causes of this increase are : (1) The fateful Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 ; and (2) the change of policy of the Government of India in relation to the frontiers and trans-frontiers since 1885. The amalgamation scheme was forced on the Government of India in 1859 by the Home Government against the almost unanimous opinion of the most trusted and experienced British officers who had served for a lifetime in the army in this country, notably General Sir G. Balfour whose vigorous condemnation of it may still be read with profit in the evidence recorded by the East India Finance Committee of 1871-74. The net result of that fateful scheme has been that lakhs upon lakhs have been claimed and exacted by the British War Office for a variety of purposes, often of a most unfair and unreasonable character, which have from time to time formed the subject of vigorous remonstrances by successive Governments of India and by many a Secre-

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tary of State. These exactions have not been a little fruitful in disturbing the estimates of Indian Revenue. And it is evident to those who have fully studied the financial evils of the greatest magnitude which have flowed from this onerous scheme during the last 50 years and more that lakhs upon lakhs will continue to be claimed and exacted by the rapacious British War Office in the future till the hardened conscience of England in this matter has been aroused by some great parliamentarian in the House of Commons and the scheme knocked on the head.

Before the direct government of the country was assumed by the Crown in 1858, the European branch of the Indian army, it should be remembered, was partly recruited in this country and partly in England. Its combined strength at the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny was 39,375 British, and 214,985 Indian troops. After the close of the Mutiny, it was decided that the Indian Army should be recognised on the basic principle of one European soldier to every two Indians. The entire organisation of the army was to be directed from England by the War Office. Whatever changes took place in the army organisation, these had to be adopted here without one if or but, without counting their cost and without a consideration of Indian conditions which are so widely different from those of England. In short, the Indian Government was to be deemed next to negligible and the Indian taxpayer never to be thought of. Is it a wonder that such an one-sided and unfair scheme was condemned *in toto* by Indian military experts from the very day of the amalgamation? The exceedingly burdensome nature of the scheme was fully inquired into by the East Indian Finance Committee, consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament, who recorded evidence on Indian affairs from 1871 to 1874. No member thereof was more assiduous in getting at facts, and scarchingly sifting them to the bottom than that great friend of India, the late Professor Fawcett. Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was Governor of Madras and afterwards Finance Minister in 1865, observed in his evidence on the scheme: "it was based on a principle which has been found to be extravagant and crushing in practice." Mr. Fawcett himself, after having ably mastered the full details of this "extravagant and crushing scheme," condemned it in the following scathing terms:—"A few years after the abolition of the East Indian Company, what is known as Army Amalgamation Scheme was carried out in direct opposition to the advice of the most experienced Indian statesmen. India was then, as it were, bound hand and foot, to our own costly system of army

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administration, without any regard apparently being had to the fact that various schemes of military organisation which may be perfectly suited to a country so wealthy as England, may be altogether unsuited to a country so poor as India."

This is exactly the position to which India has been reduced by the mischievous Amalgamation Scheme of 1859. It has been in force now for 52 years, during which many embittered controversies have taken place between the India Office and the War Office but in which the former has hardly been ever completely successful. Heavy claims, sometimes of a most irritating character, were preferred against India on which the Secretary of State had had to arbitrate with but little relief to the Indian revenues.

Some of the charges which have been the subject of many indignant and emphatic protests by the Government of India are the following : (1) Capitation allowance ; (2) depot charges ; (3) transport charges ; (4) store charges ; (5) regimental pay of officers and soldiers and their allowances ; (6) furlough charges ; (7) field and ordnance arms and ammunition charges ; (8) miscellaneous, and last though not the least, pensions to retired officers and soldiers. The total of all these, it may be mentioned, came in 1908-09 to 4·67 million sterling or, say, 7 crore rupees ! But they were not half so burdensome 30 years ago, though even then, the Government of the day used to inveigh against it.

We may now turn to the other fundamental cause. With the close of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty, Sir John Lawrence's peace policy came to an end and the forward policy of Mr. Disraeli and Lord Lytton was retried by India's first "Imperial" Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, who was supported by Lord Randolph Churchill, who was then the Secretary of State. They completely overthrew the old policy. At each end, say, at Westminster and Calcutta, there was to be found at the helm of affairs a person deeply imbued with the spirit of spread-eaglesism. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce was vigorously plying its suit for the opening up of Upper Burmah by any means. It was urged that British merchants in Mandalay were molested and otherwise obstructed. Exaggerated, if not fallacious, accounts about the so-called anarchical condition of the dominions of King Theebaw were circulated by a venal Press. As a combined result of these events, Lord Randolph resolved to hoist the British flag at the capital of the Alamporas. The preliminary step was taken, namely, of augmenting the Indian Army. In defiance of the recommendation of the Simla Army Commission that 60,000 British and 120,000 Indian troops would amply suffice to meet all emergencies and

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requirements, internal and external, that masterful Secretary issued his mandate to increase the forces by 10,000 European and 20,000 Indian soldiers. Thus the Jingo policy was fully set in motion again, and it is a truism to say that since that time, more or less with temporary interruption, that policy has been allowed to have its free sway in India.

It is superfluous to say that more or less this new-fangled policy held its ascendancy during the Viceroyalty of Lords Lansdowne and Elgin. There was the Kashmir imbroglio and the subsequent occupation of Gilgit, Hunza and Nagyar. The Chitral expedition followed and later on the inglorious expedition to Tirah. All these were the fruitful products of that ascendancy. But the policy became exceedingly mischievous during the masterful and "strenuous" Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. No Viceroy came to India more steeped in the reddest of red Imperialism than he. It eventually led to that so-called "peaceful" expedition to Lhasa, with the ulterior object of threatening China in South-west Yunan. His ludicrous spread-eagles and pompous Caesarian attitude in the Persian Gulf is well-known. In his person Lord Curzon demonstrated to the hilt the truth of the statements made by high officials of State before the Welby Commission, that Indian finance was liable to the greatest disturbance with a strong Commander-in-Chief and a too militant Viceroy. But for the fat profits chiefly derived from the enormous coinage of rupees, the financial disturbances would have been seen at a very early date. The taxation imposed last year might have been earlier imposed by Lord Curzon himself. His surpluses were in reality wind-falls and spent after the manner of spend-thrifts, though we must acknowledge with thanks the remission of the salt duty. In the matter of the new-fangled organisation carried out by Lord Kitchener, entailing further permanent burden on the revenue, Lord Curzon was one with him. Thus, the policy having been what I have described above, is it a matter for surprise that from the days of Lord Dufferin to those of Lord Curzon, military expenditure, as already shewn in the early part of this paper, was allowed to mount upwards by leaps and bounds?

As regards the retrenchment of army expenditure, Mr. Wacha says :—

No substantial retrenchment can be effected in the army expenditure unless the strength of the entire force, European and Indian, is brought back to what it was in 1885. There are most cogent reasons for such a reduction, seeing that the conditions which prevailed from 1885 till the date of the Anglo-Russian

convention have altogether changed for the better. There can be no fear of external aggression from any European or even Asiatic Power, either from the north-west or north-east. The internal duties of the troops have been considerably lightened by the increased reserves by the larger volunteer force, by the armed native police, and by the trained Army of the Native States. Thirdly, there has been enormous improvements and facilities of communication. Fourthly, more fortifications, military defence works, and strategic railways have been constructed. Lastly, the army to-day is infinitely more efficient every way in arms and accoutrements than it was in 1885. Each and every one of these are strong reasons in favour of a reduction. Apart from that it is highly imperative to modify considerably the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, which has been the perennial source of increased Army charges for European troops, not infrequently of a character to embarrass the Indian exchequer as the Government of India has to its cost felt times out of number. It is an unequal partnership of a most burdensome character and withal so unjust that it offers next to no voice to the Indian Government to resist crushing charges imposed from time to time. The scheme, from the very first, has been condemned by experts some of whom have not been slow to observe that it is a convenient instrument for the War Office when opportunity offers to serve the exigencies of British estimates. Such an one-sided and grossly iniquitous scheme needs either to be ended or mended. And lastly, the Imperial policy in reference to the maintenance of its supremacy as an Asiatic Power in the East requires to be so far modified as to diminish to a large extent the financial liabilities and obligations it imposes—liabilities and obligations which should equitably fall on the British Treasury and against which the Government of India has persistently protested and appealed to the Imperial Government but hitherto in vain.

## INDIAN LAW AND ENGLISH LEGISLATION

Under the above heading, Mr. Justice C. Sankaran Nair contributes the first of a series of articles to the *Contemporary Review* of September last. In this article he discusses the difficulties of social legislation in India, but does not put forward any suggestion as to how they may be remedied. We believe these suggestions will come later on in a subsequent article. He says :—

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Laws must conform to and vary with the ethical and practical needs of a community. In ancient India they did so vary and develop. In the old days each class or community made its own laws, and administered justice among the members of its own class. The King had little to do with the internal organisation of a caste or a class, or its administration of law amongst its members. The Brahmin Pundit declared the mode of life and the laws designed to attain spiritual bliss. The community generally followed the Brahmin lawyer, and their rank in the social scale depended upon their conformity in life and usages to the Brahmin Shastras. But it was left to the community to follow the whole or any portion of the law, as declared by the Brahmin Pundits. There are instances of communities who follow usages in direct conflict with Brahminical teachings. Where the Brahmin Pundits differed, the community made their choice. If, again, a section held views different from those of the majority, that section had merely to designate itself a different caste, and it obtained, *ipso facto*, legal sanction for its tenets. This process had gone on for centuries, when the Hindu Law first fell under the eyes of British officers, and it went on under the eyes of British officers, in provinces where the theories of English law were not being rigidly applied; nay, it is going on under our eyes to the extent the law will allow it. If there was only one man who wished to leave his community he might do so with personal immunity, but with the result that all relationship between him and the rest of the community was cut off. He might marry and live a separate life. This system is in accord with sacred Hindu Law. Both Manu and Yajnavalkya, whose commentaries with one exception now guide the courts, declare the following to be the Dharma or guide of a man's conduct :

"Sruti, Smriti, Sadachara, Svasya Cha, Priya Atmana" which is thus translated : "the Veda, the Sacred Tradition, the customs of virtuous men, and one's own pleasure."—*Sacred Books of the East*, 25.

The right of every man to act according to his own pleasure sufficiently circumscribes individual liberty within reasonable limits, while allowing full scope for it when another person is not affected. After the schism in the Hindu religion brought about by the rise of Buddhism, the commentators, afraid lest so wide a statement should be taken to justify conversion to another religion, declared that a man had his choice only when there was a conflict among the sacred texts, and that the authority of each of the four sources above enumerated should prevail in the order named. As some

sacred authority can be found to justify almost any departure from recognised practice, the gradation of the authorities made no practical difference. Questions in dispute were to be decided by an assembly consisting of a certain number of persons, or it might be by even one Brahmin, versed in the law.

It will be seen that the King is nowhere referred to as the source of law. His functions seem to have been limited to administering the law.

The above conception of law is utterly foreign to British Jurisprudence, where the sovereign alone is the source of law. The English judges, therefore, did not act upon this theory, and perhaps it was in the best interests of Indian society that they enforced the English view.

The British Government have declared that the Hindus shall follow Hindu Law in their domestic relations, and in all questions of inheritance. They have thus imposed on all Hindus the necessity of following the Hindu Law as declared by the Shastras and the religious rites required to constitute such relations, or to generate any claim under Hindu Law. A Hindu may feel that the injunctions of the Shastras ought to be disregarded, that they are tyrannical, and breed misery; but he is bound to follow them. If he disregards them, he may find that his wife is only a concubine in a court of law, and his children all bastards without civil rights. It is unnecessary to enumerate other consequences.

If, then, in some of these respects there is a proved necessity for change in the interests of the well-being of our society, how is such change to be effected?

The old policy of the Hindu Law of allowing each class to make its own laws is now impossible; a system which is based on the theory that the Sovereign is the fountain of all law has no place in it for such a policy.

There remain, then, two methods; judicial legislation and direct legislation by the Legislative Councils. In England, till recently, it was usual for English Judges to mould the law to the requirements of English people, in some cases even in defiance of legislative enactment. That was natural enough, seeing that the Judges felt the pinch of the law themselves equally with their relatives and friends. But English Judges in India are not affected by the rules of Manu, and are not therefore personally interested in seeing reforms carried out. They are sworn to administer the Hindu Law, and there is nothing to deter them from administering it without regard to consequences. No doubt in some cases, when

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they saw their way clearly, they did not hesitate to introduce vast and beneficial reforms in the Hindu Law. The removal of restrictions on alienations of property, the relaxation of bondage within the family, the introduction of wills, the decided amelioration of the status of women, are well-known instances of reformatory judicial legislation. If the Privy Council had had its way and had been loyally supported in India, the Hindu Law would have been substantially released by now from the benumbing influence of dogmatic religion. It may be regretted, therefore, that owing to the increasing influence of Indian Judges, the English Judiciary have ceased to take the same active part that their predecessors did in moulding the law to the requirements of the people. It has also to be remembered that judicial legislation cannot be safely entrusted to judges who are not themselves governed by that law. The Indian Judges generally belong to a class imbued with notions derived from ancient books on religion. Their tendency is to accept the law as laid down exclusively in the old religious books, and to forget what Mr. Mayne pointed out years ago, that those who derive their knowledge of law not from books, but from practical acquaintance with the Hindus in their old homes, did not admit that they were governed by any Brahminical Law as laid down in such religious books. Our Indian Judges have not the traditionary instincts of the English lawyer, who regards law as a living and growing organism; and in their hands, therefore, the law has a tendency to become not progressive, but reactionary. It is a matter of common observation that almost all the rules of Hindu law in favour of progress were laid down by English Judges against the protest of Indian Judges of great eminence. That English Judges have not yet succeeded in stopping the consecration of young girls to prostitution in temples, and that they hesitate to enforce the provisions of the Penal Code and root out the institution of dancing girls by treating their usages as immoral, is perhaps one of the latest concessions to Indian Judicial opinion.

It may be asked, why should not the Legislative Councils modify the Hindu Law where, in the interests of progress, it requires alteration?

As regards this, Mr. Justice Nair observes that the experience of the past does not hold out very high hopes in this direction and that the remedy must be sought for elsewhere. The virulent nature of the opposition that came from the orthodox quarter against the Sati enactment, the Widow Remarriage Bill and the Consent Bill shows that those who delight in calling themselves orthodox Hindus are

still as intolerant as ever. Their mind is still at the stage where it was before the Sati Regulation. They are themselves not prepared to take the forward step, and they oppose, tooth and nail, not only any attempt made to upheave society as a whole, but the slightest move made by reformers in the Legislative Councils that may have the effect of weakening the power of the priestly caste or of promoting the freedom of women. While education has, on the one hand, swelled the ranks of the social reformers, it has had the effect, on the other, not of permeating orthodox Hindus with liberal ideas of progress, but of strengthening and hardening the reactionary element in them. Almost any practice is supported by sacred texts, which educated orthodoxy brandishes in the face of the reformers, just as we saw the Vedas and the Shastras brandished in the face of Ram Mohun Roy in defence of the barbarous practice of Sati. It is equally true that the reformers are busy collecting other texts, equally sacred, in support of their measures. In fact, it is the general tendency of Pundits all over India to ferret out from the Shastras such texts as their patrons would like to have, and to scare away by specious objections other texts that may seem to have any bearing to the contrary. As one of them told Sir Alfred Croft, when the Bill to raise the Age of Consent was under discussion in 1891, they are ready to prove from the Shastras that "the Bill is right or the opposite."

Under the present conditions, this state of things renders it practically impossible for the members of the Legislative Councils to reform generally the Hindu Law. In countries governed by an elected Legislature, any party pledged to carry out a measure begins with the education of the electorate. The chances of success increase with the number of representatives pledged to support its cause in Parliament. When the final appeal is made to the electorate upon the main question of reform, and a majority is returned in its favour, no possible objection can be taken to the measure being finally passed by Parliament; nor can the disappointed side fairly complain of the result. But in India all this is not possible. The conditions under which elections are held here make it difficult to turn an election upon any definite issue of social reform; and as the electorate, *i. e.*, the Local Boards, consist of quite as many members nominated by Government as elected by the people, even if we could get the elected representatives of those Boards to vote upon any particular issue, it would be open to the opponents fairly to urge that the results of such an election should not be regarded as a true index of public opinion.

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Furthermore, besides the members elected by Municipal Councils and District Boards, there are many others who are nominated by Government, and nomination, as it now takes place, detracts, as a matter of course from any weight attaching to the opinion of such members as representatives of the public. On the whole the Legislative Councils, as we now have them, cannot be expected, as representatives of public opinion, to deal with questions of social reform.

## REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

### HISTORY OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ—Vol. I

[*By Pandit Sivanath Sastri. Published by R. Chatterjea at 210/3/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*]

The author of the volume before us commences his work with a preface in which he describes at some length the circumstances under which he came to write the book. "I commenced writing this book," he says, "during my residence in England in the year 1888 at the urgent request of the late Miss S. D. Collet, the well-known historian of the Brahmo Samaj. Under some peculiar circumstances which need not be related here, she insisted upon my taking up this work and placed all her records at my disposal. After having gone through the first portion of the work I had to leave that country. Upon my return home, I laid it aside, owing to my numerous engagements in other ways, only resuming it from time to time, till there came a consideration which influenced me almost to give it up altogether. I was deterred by the thought that having been one of those who had a leading hand in the organisation of a schismatic Brahmo movement, I was not the proper person to write a history of the Brahmo Samaj, and that it should be left to outside observers. I remained in this state of hesitancy for years when there came another impulse from another direction. The dying request of my esteemed friend, Mr. A. M. Bose, conveyed in the words—"Please do not fail to record our version of the story"—finally impelled me to resume the narrative. After his departure from this world, I devoted much time to self-examination and prayer before finally making up my mind to resume it with the thought that,—'fact is fact and history is history, let me record the facts and leave the readers to form their judgments. I have tried my best to do so.'" No one who grasps its true meaning and significance will need to be told that it was no easy task which the writer thus set to himself. Fact may be fact and history may be history, but how many even among the most famous and successful historians of the world have been able to record facts as such, and in a spirit of absolute disinterestedness? The truth is that neither the power of observation and study nor the faculty of description are purely

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passive instruments. The activity of the ego does impress itself upon what we call fact, and it is only by so impressing itself that it is able either to understand the fact or to interpret it. And the activity of the ego includes, except in the case of men who have undergone a long course of scientific training, various prejudices and preconceptions which colour men's outlook in all their observations or reflections as well as in their speeches, their writings, and their actions. It is this which makes the writing of an impartial history so difficult. The difficulty is particularly great in the case of a writer who, like the author before us, undertakes to write a history which he has himself helped to make. All that is best in him combines with all that is worst to render his task one of superhuman difficulty. Very often he can make his narrative impartial, only by making himself indifferent and the narrative itself dull and uninteresting. In truth he is not often impartial, and if impartiality means, as our author seems to imagine, 'leaving the reader to form his own judgment,' he is never impartial. We are not sure, indeed, if impartiality in this sense can be worth achieving for any man, far less for a historian in the proper sense of the term. Not only is the power of forming judgments upon men and events a sacred human function which no man would be justified in surrendering, but it is a function altogether inseparable from the task of the historian. A bare chronicle of events in the human world is not history, as we understand it to-day. The task of the historian is to record the progress achieved, or the deterioration suffered, by branches of the human family from day to day and from generation to generation in morals, manners and religion, in organisation and discipline, in education, science and art, in industry and commerce, in laws and in government, in the sacred domain of human liberty, and to find out the causes which have been at work in each period of a people's life, making for either advancement or retrogression, to explain the origin and trace the growth of leading ideas and conceptions, secular and religious, of institutions, customs and usages. No historian who in the fulfilment of this task resolves to withhold his judgment upon the phenomena he is describing would succeed in producing a work of the first order or indeed any work which posterity would not willingly let die. It is not incumbent upon any body to sum up his judgment in a customary "yes" or "no", or "good" or "bad." But judgment of some kind is presupposed in every line of a great historical work, and in many cases the judgment is of a pronounced order.

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Such being our conception of the true function of history, we do the author of the volume before us no injustice when we say that he has not succeeded in "leaving his readers to form their judgments", in the sense of entirely withholding his own judgments from them. His treatment of his opponents, their ideas, their ruling principles and their actions, is throughout characterised by scrupulous fairness, but he has not perpetrated the folly and the absurdity of studiously concealing his dissent from them. He has not assumed the role of a superior person condescending to bestow praise and blame upon men and things, but he *has* distributed praise and blame according to his lights. Thus, after referring to the valuable services of Babu Keshab Chandra Sen, the writer exclaims: "But alas! much of the good effects of these valuable services was neutralised by the Kooch Behar incident." Again in bringing the volume to a close the writer says:—"The Brahmo Samaj rose with Keshab Chandra Sen; with him perhaps it has gone down in public regard. I say this with great, very great, regret and with a sense of shame that we, the standard-bearers of the new faith, have not proved quite worthy of the trust reposed in us." No judgment could have been more pronounced and none more appropriate. The affectation of impartiality which would exclude such judgments from a work of the kind we have before us is a disease, not a sign of health.

This brings us to consider the wider question, namely, whether a man who has taken a leading part in a movement is, by that circumstance, disqualified for the task of being its historian. There is absolutely no doubt that for such a man it is difficult to be impartial and unbiassed. The temptation to exaggerate his own side of the case, where there are more sides than one, may easily prove stronger than his love of truth or accuracy, and in the name of history he may be sitting down coolly to write what is little better than fiction. But this is a one-sided view. The advantages of a historian who has taken a part in the preparation of the movement whose history he is writing are also by no means negligible. If he can resist the temptation to which he is too often exposed, he is likely to write far more effectively than an outsider. He knows all the men; he knows all the forces at work. Being familiar with all things he knows far better than others the difficulties which confronted the several sets of actors, the temptations to which they were exposed, the considerations which determined the attitude of each group at the successive stages, the help they received from sur-

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rounding bodies of facts or men, or the obstacles they met with. What others must gather from contemporary and often conflicting records, he knows at first hand and knows beyond the possibility of dispute. Few readers who have read the volume before us can doubt that the writer has had all these advantages in a pre-eminent degree, owing to the circumstance of his having been a leading actor in the drama whose successive chapters he is unfolding. And these advantages, one must note with pleasure, have not been neutralised, as they would have been in the case of a writer in whom the spirit of egoistic self-assertion was more aggressively present, by a constant and teasing endeavour to make out every body, who has had the misfortune to differ from him, to be either a fool or a knave or perhaps both. Greatly as our author differs from such men as Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Babu Keshab Chandra Sen, one will search in vain for a single epithet in any part of the work, used with reference to either of them, which can be regarded as offensive or harsh. For the rest, it may justly be said that there is at least no bias against truth. One method which the writer has adopted for doing all the justice in his power to his opponents is worthy of all praise. In all cases of conflict of opinion he has tried, to use his own words, to state facts in the language of the parties concerned. Thus in describing the Cooch Behar incident, he has drawn freely from such books as Mr. Protap Chandra Majumdar's "Life of Keshab Chandra Sen" and Bhai Gaur Govinda Upadhyay's Bengali life of the Minister, and has given Babu Keshab Chandra's side of the case as much as possible in the words of his most accomplished and competent advocates.

The author very appropriately commences his narrative with a reference to the state of Bengal at the time of the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj. "The Brahmo Samaj" is perhaps a somewhat inappropriate name for the little band of worshippers of the One True God, as they called themselves and as they came to be called by others, who used to meet in the house of prayer consecrated by Raja Ram Mohun Ray on the 23rd of January, 1830. Apart from the form of prayer adopted by them, which was essentially theistic, there was hardly anything to distinguish the vast majority of this band from the rest of their countrymen. The movement of social reform with which the Samaj came to be identified at a later stage and which has been its most conspicuous feature ever since in the eyes of the vast majority of men was at the time hardly dreamt of by anybody except the great founder of Brahmoism who, as we know, protested to the last moment

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of his life his adherence to orthodox society in almost everything except idolatry. Still there is no doubt that the foundation of Brahmoism was the starting point of a movement of reform and renovation in this country the end of which is not yet in sight. It was in fact the starting point of the transition from the old order of things to the new, from mediæval to modern India. No part of modern Indian history would be more interesting than the page which deal in the proper spirit and manner with this supremely interesting, this momentous, transition. One is constrained to say that the author of the volume before us has not adequately realised the importance of this theme or he would not have devoted barely a dozen pages to it. That he has not done justice to the subject cannot possibly be denied. He has drawn attention to some of the main features of the condition of social and religious life, such as it was at the time, but his treatment of the era immediately preceding the era of Brahmo illumination remains the least satisfactory part of his valuable work. When one considers the laborious care which historians of similar movements in the West have taken to explain the genesis of such movements, one must confess to a feeling of disappointment that our author should have contented himself with so meagre a treatment of so vast a subject. This, however, is a defect which the book before us shares with most other books of the same kind of which we have knowledge. The history of India immediately before the British advent and of the early days of British rule, like most other periods in the life of our people, is unhappily yet to be written, and it is not altogether surprising that our author should have contented himself with a bare reference to such facts as are fairly within the knowledge of the average reader.

The book is divided into three chapters, the first of which, commencing with the foundation of Brahmoism, brings the narrative down to the death of Raja Ram Mohan Ray. The second commences with the conversion of Devendra Nath Tagore and gives a fairly exhaustive account of the second great epoch in the life of the Samaj, the memorable epoch which culminated in the secession of Babu Keshab Chandra Sen and his party from the Adi Brahmo Samaj. It was during this period that Brahmoism became a living and a potent creed, partly through the unceasing efforts of the Maharshi, partly through the zeal and ardour of younger men, headed by Babu Keshub Chandra Sen. What is now known as the Brahmo Samaj owes its origin not to the great Raja, but to the Maharshi, and even more

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particularly to Babu Keshab Chandra Sen and his associates. The struggle of the Brahmo Samaj during this period to adjust itself to its environment and also to make its existence felt, as well as the internal struggle which culminated in the schism, are dealt with by the writer with a fullness of knowledge and an amplitude of detail which leaves little to be desired. The third chapter opens with a description of the state of things in the Brahmo Samaj, more particularly in the branch of it under the leadership of Keshab, at the time when the first schism took place; and after referring to the vigorous activities of Keshab and his associates in the cause of the consolidation of their church it concludes with an account of the second great schism in the Brahmo Samaj. The most notable part of the chapter, as, indeed, of the whole book, is the portion that relates the Cooch Behar marriage incident. The different phases of that incident are described with a wealth of detail which could only have come from personal and first-hand acquaintance with the struggle. The writer gives his own version of the events leading up to the schism, which is the version of the most progressive branch of the Samaj at the present day, and gives also the version of his opponents; and if he does not "leave the readers to form their own judgment," he at any rate deals with his opponents in a spirit of fairness which might well be an example to political controversialists. We are perhaps too near the time to be able to form a judgment upon this memorable episode, which posterity would accept in every detail, but so far as its essential features are concerned, few men at the present day would be disposed to deny that truth and justice were alike with the secessionists. Not only was the doctrine of *adesh* upon which the great leader of the New Dispensation church relied altogether repugnant to modern ideas and modern thought, but the older leaders followed a procedure for silencing their opponents which was nothing if not arbitrary. The schism itself, which the attitude of Keshab and his associates made inevitable and which was the immediate effect of the Cooch Behar marriage, was in reality conditioned by deeper causes. An ardent social reformer as Keshab Chandra Sen was, a time had come when he could no longer keep pace with the march of the spirit of reform. It was the developing difference between the two groups on certain questions of social reform and also on the question of church government that had been slowly preparing the crisis which the Cooch Behar marriage precipitated into a schism. The schism has in our opinion been all for the good of the Samaj, for it has brought into existence an organization which in most essential features represents an advance

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upon the preceding Brahmo organizations. If Babu Keshab Chandra Sen and his associates had been more conciliatory than they actually were or if the younger party had been less zealous in upholding the doctrines and principles which they held dear, the schism might have been avoided. But the important thing to remember is that the continued association of the two parties would have acted as a clog so far as the younger and more advanced members were concerned. Not the least important function of the Brahmo Samaj in India is to act as an exemplar to orthodox society in certain respects. This function can never be adequately fulfilled by an organization which is not sufficiently imbued with the spirit of reform and progress or whose constitution is not sufficiently elastic to enable it to move with the times. Whether the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj itself which the schism brought into being has been able to keep pace with the march of men's ideas and of the great moral, social and economic forces working in the bosom of Indian society is one of those questions which we are not called upon to answer in reviewing the volume before us, for it stops at the foundation of this branch of the Samaj. The time for answering the question, whether for the reviewer or the author, will come while dealing specifically with the activities of this branch.

The most glaring and conspicuous defect of the book lies in its treatment of the Brahmo movement virtually as an isolated movement in the life of the community, or rather of a small section of the community. There is no reference in any part of the book to any contemporary movement, no sign of a recognition on the part of the author of the great truth that a society is an organism and that there is usually a relation of inter-dependence among the movement, through which and by means of which it seeks to fulfil itself. The Brahmo movement might be above everything else a movement of religious and social reform, but social and religious reform itself to be real must form parts of a wider movement, a movement which is intellectual as well as moral, political and economic as well as social or religious. The new-born self-consciousness of Hindu Society of which the Brahmo Samaj was a product produced other results of an equally momentous kind. The Brahmo Samaj itself, as the writer himself recognises, was made possible by the intellectual awakening which followed in the wake of the introduction of English education and English influences, and when it came into being it naturally acted on and was in its turn reacted on by the other movements which the same causes had brought into existence. Altogether what

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strikes one most in perusing the book is that while it is so admirable in temper and spirit, so fair in its treatment of opponents, so accurate in the presentment of details, it at the same time suffers from the defect which is inseparable from a historical book produced by a writer who has not the proper equipment of the scientific historian. As a narrative, the book is profoundly interesting ; as an attempt at explaining the origin and evolution of a great movement, it is but a partial success. The impartiality of the historian the writer can justly claim, but not his insight nor his comprehensive grasp of bodies of mutually dependent facts. Nothing, in fact, seems to be more conspicuously lacking in the historian whose work we are noticing than the sense of the unity of all history. He has a fine sense of parts, but not a sense of the whole. A good and faithful chronicler, his ideas of perspective are too narrow. While therefore we commend the book most heartily to all who wish to have a fair acquaintance with the successive stages through which the Brahmo Samaj has passed since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Ray and the leading incidents in each stage, we cannot commend it to those who want to have an adequate idea of the rise and growth of the Samaj as a factor, and a highly important factor, in the wider life of the community.

**H. N. R.**

# ARTICLES

## EVOLUTION OF HINDUISM AND MR. BASU'S BILL

In the August number of the *Indian World* the editor makes the following reflection regarding Mr. Basu's Bill : "If the Bill is allowed to be passed, it will rank much higher in the social history of India than even Lord Bentinck's suppression of the *Suttee* and infanticide or Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's Remarriage of Hindu Widows Act." Considered as an estimate of the far-reaching possibilities of the Bill, this is, if anything, an understatement rather than otherwise. And then the editor goes on to indicate, in necessarily brief outline, but with just precision and insight, the various beneficent ways in which the enactment may be expected to operate towards the purification of social abuses, the growth of social reforms, and the up-building of the Indian nationality generally. The present article only seeks to develop these suggestions in more detail, but with some diversity of light and setting, and thus make some contribution, however humble, to a serious discussion of this important subject.

The problem of social reform has become an imperative necessity at the present day. In one sense it is bound up with the very principle of the British occupation of India, and is part of the larger question of the synthesis of the East and West. To start with, we have had the partly unsettling and partly liberalising influences of the British connexion in its most general administrative and economic aspects. An interesting example of how an administrative measure gives a fillip to social agitation is found in the question of classification raised under the recent census operations. We have had next the more definite force of English education, and more specifically, the inspiring stimulus of the English literature. The various religious movements, themselves the product of the same general conflict of ideas, have had also a direct and potent influence on this important question. These have led to the formation of communities more or less independent of the present stock. Some of the more advanced of these bodies have, indeed, in the first impetus of reaction, so far detached themselves from the main social polity that no regular channel of gradually progressive-recruitment, so to say, is now left open between them.

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They are like positions held too far in advance of, and without any secure communications with, the base. For the most part, they are fed by that stream of strugglers who are, owing to a great variety of causes, but mostly other than purely religious, in daily increasing numbers, forced out of the pale of the orthodox community. Those continual desertions weaken the general community, for they, quite naturally, include some of our best men of talent, enterprise, and character. On the other hand, they do not bring any corresponding accession of strength to the reformed communities, for they do not quite assimilate with the latter. There is no healthy process of absorption or incorporation ; the connexion remains more or less internal, and even reacts unfavourably upon that inner tie of religious unity which binds, or ought to bind, these organisations. This is indeed the draw-back of making social organisation an immediate corollary of particular religious dogmas. When the religious feeling rises in flood, it sweeps past social barriers, which it would take decades of patient reforming industry to remove or break through, and plants the standard of humanity leagues ahead. But when the tide has receded, and we are left on the dull shore of routine, then definitions, restrictions, exclusions again appear to choke the path of progress. But let us not forget the supreme service that the various religious movements have done for the cause of social reform. In fact, the sense of social justice and humanitarian zeal formed a good part of the inspiration of these movements. For the first time, they enabled us to shake off the moral inertia of ages, and to develop a determination to *do* and *dare*. Almost necessarily, perhaps they somewhat overshot their time, but to them belongs the very great credit to have prefigured in a distant, and if we will have it so, imperfect way, the transformation that our society, if it is to survive and thrive, is bound to undergo. From the necessity of those earlier times, social reform was sought to be carried out too much in a spirit of negation and revolt. In the reaction that followed, and we should also add, with wider culture and intellectual outlook and more extended sympathies, a desire to overcome this limitation naturally arose. To this desire, we have the various conferences and associations for social reform, with educative aims more or less, and easily laying themselves open to the charge of being merely academic. Yet another attempt in the same spirit of compromise and adjustment, but with more directly practical objects, are the various caste organisations of more recent growth. But for reasons presently to be adverted on, these associations, though

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abundantly fruitful of discussions, have not yet shown corresponding results. The discussions lack breadth and perspective, and run more or less in traditional groove, and, not unoften, show a spirit of reaction. But they have been, in one way or another, very provocative, which is a distinct gain in the present circumstances, and seem to have made some appreciable dents on our case-hardened indifferentism. The growth of political feeling and aspirations, and, let us add, a growing sense of a common and serious stake in the Government of the country, have been also unifying and liberalising influences of an incalculable value. This brief review of the main currents in the social life of our people would be wholly incomplete, were no reference made to those more recent and notable events in the political world, both here and abroad, which have wonderfully stimulated the patriotic sentiment, and with the increasing pressure of the economic condition, which have led to the inculcation and wide acceptance of the ideal of Swadeshi. And this newly developed self-consciousness, and longing for self-expression and self-fulfilment, the joint product of a wholesome spirit of reaction and assimilation, has been accompanied with a correspondingly deepened sense of the historical condition of our progress, of the extremely complex and multiform character of the Indian social polity, of a national destiny proportionately comprehensive and exalted, and of the need of the requisite wisdom and patience in working it out. And to this new *illumination*, the theosophic movements in their general character, and in our province, at least, the wonderful renaissance of the Bengali literature in some of its aspects, have notably contributed. The Bill under discussion comes most opportunely at the present moment, as it tries to push the most progressive social tendencies of the day over the widest breadth of the area.

The institution of marriage is the binding cement of the social fabric, and Mr. Basu's Bill touches on this central principle. Its importance and power for good are, therefore, far greater than any question of piece-meal reform or the eradication of particular abuses. It is the main merit of Mr. Basu's Bill that it will help to co-ordinate, incorporate and organise the various scattered and sporadic forces and activities making for progress. It will put the question of civil marriage, or for the matter of that, social reform, on a strictly scientific basis, free to receive what reinforcement it can from religious and racial movements, but with none of their disturbing or reactionary accompaniments. It will serve the individual and society equally well. It will respect the rights of the

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individual conscience, and will free the social sense of the community from the *vis inertiae* of the traditional forms which it is fast outgrowing. Viewed in this light, it is an extension of the principle of religious liberty itself. It may afford some cure of those social hypocrisies and conventions by which many of us patch up a fictitious truce between orthodoxy and latitudinarianism. It will open a possible way for the peaceful devolution of Indian Society, and afford means for the eventual incorporation of those *disjecta membra*, those more or less amorphous bodies, by which the parent community finds itself surrounded to-day. But while all this and much more is true of the essential *tendencies* of the Bill, its chief merit lies in its future. After all, the prospects of social reform depend on social vitality and it is still somewhat doubtful and uncertain how far we have been, or shall be, able to adjust ourselves to our new environment. For the present, it is not to be expected that the measure will produce any radical change in the existing state of things. It will create no revolution, far less hasten on a millenium. Those know very little of the undoubted strength of our social system, and the part legislation plays in social reconstruction, who imagine that the Bill, if passed, will produce wholesale desertions from the ranks of the orthodox society. Such a contingency might be extremely alarming, but for the fact that it would never come to pass. Indeed, were it otherwise, this very circumstance would be the worst condemnation of the existing system, and the best justification of the proposed measure. The thing is that for the present things would very much go on as now. But the knowledge that people have an alternative course in this to fall back upon will greatly strengthen the hands of the reformers, and stimulate those agencies of progress that are now doomed to comparative sterility or impotence. For the rest, the law is in one sense a negative or permissive measure. It does not displace any other ritual or form of service that people may think fit to adopt. It is possible to imagine that at some future day it may be superseded by some binding ceremony founded upon social consent. But for the present and an indefinite length of time to come, its scope of usefulness in our complex and multiform community is practically unlimited. It will serve as a good working principle for social reform and also as a definite, if rather distant, objective for it. It has been the bane of our social reform movement that we have practically left everything to individual initiation and enterprise, and even caprice. Whatever social transformation there has been, it would be hardly just to call it

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re-construction, has been brought about mostly by the forces of disintegration and detrition. But this state of things should not be. Society must react with sufficient energy on the changes that are almost inevitably introduced into it by the sheer force of the environment. These must be self-conscious, self-purposed effort ; the social organism must develop as such, otherwise its nerves and cells must come to atrophy. If we can carry out even a minor item of social reform by our corporate and self-directed activity, we shall have done more for the cause of social progress than any amount of transformation wrought by the forces of disintegration, personal and impersonal, that are so fully active at the present day. But while this should be our ideal of social reform, and the caste organisations are so far right in principle, experience has brought to light certain practical difficulties in the present state of things. These organisations are faulty in so far as they do not sufficiently take advantage of *all* the progressive elements of our society. To do so, their constitutions should be broadened. There should be inter-caste and inter-provincial organisations agreeing to *act* upon a definite programme of reform, however moderate. In the present state of things, it will be a pious wish more or less that we should be able to carry out reforms by a unanimous social vote, or one of preponderant majority. We should do well to remember that the actual fighting force of every forward movement must be a limited number. It is enough if the bulk of the people among whom the propaganda is to be carried on are morally acquiescent, or even not actively hostile. It is quite possible that Mr. Basu's Bill, if passed, will help to call into being an organisation, not necessarily limited to particular castes or provinces, pledged to carry out certain reforms, and actually doing it. It may be that these organisations may at first find themselves in conflict with each other according to the greater or less extent to which they are prepared to carry out the *principle* of the Bill. But the prospect need not dismay us in the least. For we may be confident that the nascent affinities of these newly liberated bodies will all the more hasten a general coalescence. This will, besides, have a healthy reaction on those bodies with more limited aims that exist at present.

The Hindu religion is, no doubt, largely bound up with the social polity, yet the social polity does not exhaust the religion. Those who say so speak only from the outside. True, Hinduism does not readily lend itself to being formulated in a definite creed. But that should be one of its main merits, as it best agrees with

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the scientific temper of the age. Regarded as a means of guidance and training of man as a spiritual being, it attempts to be the most systematic and comprehensive of any. Its strong point is the union of speculative freedom with the particularity of elaboration of spiritual disciplines for different types of character. Allied with this is the confident promise it holds out of those profounder possibilities of spiritual intuition and beatitude, which are regarded with such superstitious feelings of incredulity, jealousy and contempt by the protestant and secular world of to-day, but which was the real soul-force of all the great world-religions in the days of their prime. The time has almost gone by when it was the fashion to deride or discredit the inner truths of our faith as nothing but the mystifications of an obscurantist priesthood. The progress of theosophy and spiritualism has inspired even the ordinary work-day people with a sort of half faith in those things, at any rate tempered their scepticism and indifference with respectful curiosity. Here again Hinduism is nothing if not scientific. It applies its psychological theories in the sphere of spiritual discipline in quite as thoroughgoing a manner as a Froebel or a Pestalozzi in the sphere of education. It holds fast to the individualistic or temperamental standpoint—the only secure standpoint perhaps in such a case and attempts to lead the individual initiate, step by step, in the selected path. It is not to be denied that in this direction it has run into extravagances of sorts. But after all what system is free from the defects of its excess? Hinduism has shown itself capable of great and successful attempts of social expansion, adjustment and assimilation, and who can tell that successes equally great may not attend it in the future? At least, we should all hope and act in that spirit. The genius of Dayananda has shown how radical and sweeping a reform movement may be, while still true to the dogmatic standpoint of Hinduism, and keeping itself in line with the great historical transformations it has undergone. Of course, no critic is competent or obliged to forecast with anything like certainty the form renovated Hinduism may be destined to take. But whatever it is, it will be the furthest off from that narrow and illiberal orthodoxy which, however unhistorically or extravagantly, is assumed to represent Hinduism at the present day.

The genius of Hinduism consists in its universalism of thought, and spirit of practical accommodation and tolerance of contradictions. It is this which has made the caste-system so long-lived, and tolerable even at the present day. The spirit of accommodation and tolerance has, however, been stiffened by an intelligible process of

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transformation, into a rigid conservatism in the rules of observance and practice. To a certain extent, this might have been rendered necessary but for our depressed political condition to which again it might have been a contributing cause. But it is quite evident that a policy of self-inclusion and entrenched resistance, so to say, is no longer possible nor desirable. The critical spirit of the day has effectively sapped the only real and secure foundations of our code of observance and practice, viz., the moral faith and sense of ceremonial sanctity on the part of those who obey it. The restrictions about food, travel, touch &c., against which so much of the traditional animus is yet directed, have been notoriously relaxed in practice, and are often conveniently ignored. It is my impression that if the overland route from India to England were opened to-day, in ten years' time these restrictions will have practically disappeared. Besides, in clinging to our policy of isolation we do not sufficiently take advantage of the very favourable conditions insured by the *Pax Britannica* under which we live. Hinduism was like a fortress which did well enough so long as it could hold out successfully against those forces of disruption by which it was for centuries assailed. But at the present day when its rules have been seriously breached and the invading forces are heavily pushing in, the only practicable generalship requires that we should, while not altogether leaving the vantage of its protecting walls, lay out our forces more in the open. In the great struggle of the civilised world of to-day, we require to mobilise our social forces from top to bottom. Our aim is not to cultivate statical virtues in the rank and file, and a rare excellence in the select few. The general good, the good 'in the widest commonality spread,' is to be the motto of our best efforts of social service and regeneration, and all should have equal part and opportunity in achieving this noble object. It is very likely that the progress will be extremely slow and even disappointing, but we should not lose heart, for the conditions of our professed task will be proportionably arduous.

The union of catholicity of sentiment with strict obedience to rules of observance is no doubt a subtle principle, and gives a certain suppleness to the national character. But it has its dangers, which are only too well-known. It has lulled and debilitated our practical instincts, never very strong perhaps constitutionally and historically, and has dulled the sense of social equity and the social conscience. While, therefore, a thorough reformation of our social polity is absolutely necessary, no thoughtful man desires a violent breach with the past. We are accustomed to speak of

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the water-tight compartments of Hindu Society. In one sense, this condemnation is quite just. But otherwise every part of the Hindu social fabric is planned on a generous scale and measure. Within its ample chambers, its various component sections find more liberal accommodation and protection than in any of the dissenting organisations now existing. Even the caste-system does not work out so ill in practice as it seems repugnant in principle. Caste virtue was constituted a social merit irrespective of particular castes, and in that way it ministered to the self-respect of the individual. The system was practically unconnected with any material political disabilities, which have elsewhere proved such a fruitful source of irritation. Its industrial limitations served definite economic purposes of no mean importance in their time. At the present day these limitations, with civil disabilities of all sorts, have practically ceased to exist. Hinduism has covered the whole of this continent with a net-work of self-acting organisations for religious ministration and social service. What schemes and establishments could we expect to devise which would be at all an adequate substitute for this simple and efficient machinery, specially in regard to the great masses of our population? Its great ascetic orders, and round of holy places, fairs and pilgrimages inspire respect even in those who do not own its sway. Its traditions reach back into the remote and misty past, and are the most rich and varied of any that we know of. Its rituals and services are almost always simple and inoppressive, and at the same time profoundly spiritual. Its rites and ceremonies are full of colour and social tone, and often replete with beautiful symbolism. The way in which the *rakhi bandhan* ceremony has been adapted to a social and political purpose on an historic occasion shows the latent vitality of many of its rites and ceremonies, and that, in a purified condition, they may be destined to survive and serve much longer yet. In the varied range of its rites, ceremonies and institutions is locked up a capital of popular devotional feeling and sentiment which is, indeed, too great and precious to be lost by a violent disruption of existing practices. Nobody is, of course, interested to deny the thick crust of abuse that masks its noble features to-day. But if what I have striven to say has any meaning, nothing can be more superficial than to seek to imprison the subtle spirit of Hinduism in a set definition, leastway to identify it with its obvious abuses, which are, for the main part, crystallised in its present social constitution. The spectacle of diversity presented by the existing ordinances and practices, among the various classes

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and communities following the Hindu faith, should teach us how futile it is to hope to find an adequate expression of Hinduism in any particular set of rules and formulæ. What we plead for in all earnestness is that Hinduism, and for the matter of that every professed, historical creed, should have a fair chance to develop more and more in consonance with the social and scientific spirit of the times : that all those who care to remain within the fold of Hinduism should have the same privilege and equal opportunity of working the rich mine of its spiritual treasure, according to their special gifts of insight and aptitude, and grow with its growth ; that nothing should be allowed to hamper fulfilment of that higher destiny which we fondly hope is still in store for the Hindu faith ; that nobody should be obliged to renounce the name of Hindu or cut himself off from all those resources and all the wealth of historical environment and inspiration which Hinduism affords ; and that no one who professes its tenets should be called on to identify himself with any particular type of social constitution, least of all that antiquated, magical and make-shift arrangement which passes for such at the present day. It is because we hope that Mr. Basu's Bill will contribute, however indirectly, to the eventual realisation of these objects, that we welcome it so very cordially. We have confined our remarks mainly to Hindu Society, as it stands most in need of reformation, and as the Bill affects it more immediately than any other. We hope, however, that the sentiments to which we have given expression will commend themselves to every patriotic Indian, Hindu or otherwise, for they have not been conceived in any sectarian spirit. I have not touched on the legal aspects of the question, as the Bill will make them no worse or better than what they now are.

In conclusion, I may repeat that no great results are of course immediately expected from the passing of the Bill. It is unfortunately too true that the social conscience in India, has not, except in comparatively few people, been roused to a point strong enough to insure practical compliance with its dictates. It is unfortunately too true that while money can flout or buy public opinion, men of moderate means are severely handicapped in giving effect, in their private spheres, to their desire for reform. And their hands are the more effectively stayed by those social ordinances and terrors with which the institution of marriage, more than anything else, is still so securely hedged round. This lays the odds heavily against that great body of middle-class educated people whose desire for reform, though hardly aggressive, is still sufficiently sincere. The

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Bill, if passed, will hearten and rally this great body of moderate opinion, which otherwise does not seem to make any steady headway. It will equalise the conditions of the struggle between the orthodox and the liberals, and will undoubtedly release the tension created by the growing discordance between opinion and practice. In our humble opinion, it will do far more than that in the evolution of the Indian nationality in the more or less distant future. But even it does no more than the minimum that can be confidently predicted of it, it will have deserved all the good, and belied all the evil, that is being said of it.

Rashbihari Mookerji

### THE TAKKASILA AND ITS UNIVERSITY

About the time when Buddha flourished, the border-province of Gandhara was a stronghold of Brahmanical culture and learning. Its capital, Takkasila, situated in a valley and watered by the waves of the Hyphases (Beas), was a city far-famed for its wealth and learning. Arrian describes it as 'a large and wealthy city, and the most populous between the Indus and the Hydaspes;' Strabo declares it to be a very large city, and adds that 'it was governed by good laws and the surrounding country was thickly peopled and very fertile,'\* and Pliny calls it a famous city. In fact, nearly all the Macedonian writers under Alexander were loud in their praises of the glories of Takkasila. But this city was already a very renowned place and a pre-eminent seat of learning in India long, long before 'the great Emathian Conqueror' was even born. The Mahabharata legends about the great 'snake-sacrifice' performed here by Janmejaya† seem to point to the historical conclusion that it was for a long time the scene of hostilities between the Aryan conquerors and the aborigines. At any rate, Takkasila must have been one of the earliest colonies of the Aryan settlers in India who chose this site on account of the beauty of its scenery and the fertility of its soil which attracted the notice of Hiouen Thsang even so late as the 7th century A. D.‡

The origin of the name of this city is now almost inextricably

\* Strabo's Geography, Book XV—McCrindle's *Ancient India*.

† Adiparva.

‡ See Watters's 'On Yuan Chawng,' Vol. I, p. 241. In Nepalese Buddhist literature, it is said that Takkasila occupied the site of a more ancient city named Bhadrasila (Rajendra Lal Mitra's 'Buddhist Literature of Nepal,' p. 310, referred to by Watters, Vol I, p. 241).

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involved in Hindu and Buddhistic myths. Both in the Ramayana and in the Mahabharata, its name is derived from Takka, the son of Bharat and nephew of Rama, the epic hero; the Chinese traveller Fa hian fancifully derived it from an old legend of Buddha's having made an alms-gift of his head here (lit. Head-cut), while its real etymological meaning is 'rock-cut' having reference to its situation in a valley. Again, Takka or Takkaka is the name of a race of non-Aryans in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and the city might have got its name from these non-Aryans who were its original inhabitants. But whatever the origin of its name, it is undoubted that in days of very remote antiquity, Takkasila used to be resounded with the 'ten cries heard in a populous city'—"the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute; the sound of singing, and the sounds of cymbal and of the gong; and lastly the cry, 'Eat drink, and be merry!'"\*

The city of Takkasila, however, was more an Asiatic than an Indian city, and its cosmopolitanism has been very finely described by the pen of an Irish lady: "It lay on the highway of nations. Past its very doors streamed the nomadic hordes of invading Scythian and Tartar, both before and after the birth of the Christian era. . . In the Moorish University (Cordova), African, Arab, Jew and European all met, some to give and others to take in the great exchange of culture. It was possible there to take, as it were, a bird's-eye view of the most widely separated races of men, each with their characteristic outlook. In the same fashion, Taxila in her day was one of the focal points, one of the great resonators, as it were, of Asiatic culture. Here between 600 B. C. and 500 A. D. (?) met Babylonian, Syrian, Egyptian, Arab, Phœnician, Ephesian, Chinese and Indian. The knowledge that was to go out of India must first be carried to Taxila, thence to radiate in all directions."† The sphere of its intellectual influence thus "extended to Persia in the West, to Bactria in the North, and to Magadha and Prachya in the East."‡ Being thus a cosmopolitan Asiatic city, Takkasila had peculiar advantages as an educational centre and a university town.

In fact the mingling of peoples at Takkasila left some traces on

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\* See *Maha-parinibbana Sutta* and *Maha-Sudassana Sutta* (Rhys Davids's *Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., pp. 100, 249).

† Sister Nivedita of K. K. V. in the *Modern Review*, Vol 2, No. 11, pp. 144-45.

‡ S. C. Das on Universities in Ancient India, *Hindustan Review*, March, 1906.

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the educational establishment of the place. Both Scythian and Hellenic influences probably acted to great results on the theatre of Takkasila's intellectual life. The city itself was originally inhabited by the Scythian people—the Getæ of the Chinese, the Scythi of the Greeks and the Takkas of the Hindus.\* Hellenic culture also came into contact with the life of this University town after the invasion of Alexander. The city, as every schoolboy knows, had given military aid to the great Macedonian invader, and Alexander himself sojourned here for three days ; and it is more than possible that Greek settlers from the new towns, Nikaia and Boukephala,† founded by Alexander to commemorate his invasion of India not very far from Taxila, sometimes visited this city. Philostrates (2nd cent. A. D.), the author of the " Life of Apollonius of Tyana," tells us the story that when his hero, who imitated the practice of his master, Pythagoras, in travelling widely to extend the bounds of his knowledge, went to Taxila while on a visit to India, he was welcomed by the King of that city in Greek ! Apollonius is also reported to have seen outside the city walls a magnificent shrine hung round with pictures on copperplates representing the feats of Alexander and Porus. We need not take for gospel the stories of Philostrates, but that Greek influence must have been felt to a considerable extent in Takkasila admits of little doubt. There was a later influx of Greek influence into Takkasila under the Greco-Bactrian King, Eukradites, successor of Demetrius, in the 2nd cent. B. C., in whose dominions this city was included and from whom it was wrested by the Scythian Abors.

These two foreign influences had probably great effect on Takksila's intellectual culture and educational methods. For instance, the custom of receiving money in exchange for teaching, which was in vogue in the University of Takkasila, is foreign to Hindu or Buddhistic culture. Then again we know that Takkasila was a great seat and nurturing ground of Hindu medical science which, as is well-known, shows very striking resemblances to the Greek in its humoral pathology and other points. And it is just

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\* Gandhara, of which the capital was Takkasila since the earliest times, is included in early Chinese works in the country of the Getæ of North India. See S. C. Das on Universities in Ancient India, *Hindustan Review*, 1906.

† See V. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 2nd Ed., p. 65. When the troops of Alexander objected to further progress in the Indian interior, the great warrior is said to have delivered to them an inspiring address which was replied to by Koinos, his great cavalry general in the conflict with Poros. In the course of his reply he spoke of the diminution of Alexander's army, among other causes, through the number of unwilling exiles in newly founded cities.

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possible that Hindu medical ideas came into contact with the Greek in the University town of Takkasila. But at least this much we may regard as certain that the University was affected by the two influences we have mentioned, viz., Scythian and Greek.

The main sources of our knowledge about the University of Takkasila are the Jataka book and the story of Jivaka in the eighth *Khandaka* (section) of the Mahavagga.\* There are references also to this University in the derivative Buddhist literature of China, † but the Jataka book alone supplies us with references sufficient to give us some idea of this old-world University. This book, which contains the oldest collection of folk-lore in any language in the world, has been carefully analysed by two eminent scholars ‡ and the conclusion has been arrived at that the political and social conditions depicted in it belong "to the state of things that existed in North India in and before Buddha's time."§

At that time the University was at the height of its fame. And its fame must have been alive at least till about the middle of the 4th century B. C. when the Mahavagga is known to have existed.|| But Takkasila was still an important place about 100 B. C., when it was the capital of a Scythian satrap named Liaka,¶ and if the biographer of Apolloniers of Tyana is to be believed, it was not shorn of its magnificence even in the 1st cent. A. D. Besides these, we have little chronological materials to go upon in determining the duration of the University of Takkasila.

This University, like all other colleges or universities in ancient India, was a residential one and it was divided into departments of study, each under a special teacher. These departments covered eighteen branches of learning—a classification found in the *Upanishads*—which constituted the liberal culture of those days, viz.,

\* I have consulted the English translation of the Jataka book published in 1893 (6 Vols.) under the editorship of Cowell and the Mahavagga in the Vinaya Texts (part II) of the S. B. E. series.

† As in Ta-Chuang-Yen-Hun-Ching, ch. 8, 15 referred to by Mr. Watters in "On Yuan Chawng," Vol. I, p. 240.

‡ George Buhler in the *Indian Studies*, No. 5, and Rhys Davids in *Buddhist India*, ch. XI.

§ Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India*, p. 207.

|| See Rhys Davids and Oldenburg's Preface to the *Vinaya Texts* in the S. B. E. Series.

¶ See Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 2nd Ed., p. 57—Foot note. The names of Diaka and Patika, who governed North-Western Punjab at Taxila, are found in a copper-plate inscription in which the foundation of a monastery and the placing of a relic of Sakya Muni are recorded. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 34 ff, referred to by Bhandarkar in *J. B. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 374.

चक्राणि वेदावतारी जीर्वाद्यान्नाविहारः ।

चर्ममालं पुष्पाञ्च विद्याभित्तचतुर्द्वयम् ।

आयुर्वेदी चतुर्वेदी नाभ्यर्चयेति ते नमः ।

चर्ममालं चतुर्वच विद्याभित्तचतुर्द्वयम् ।

For instances, the Jataka book gives us stories of many princes who attained proficiency in archery (चतुर्वेदः) in this University\*; the use of charms (नाभ्यर्चः) is also referred to more than once or twice, and we have the interesting story of one student of this science who turned it to monetary account by an exhibition of snake-charming; † state-craft (चर्ममालं) also received its due share of importance, and the great Taxilan Brahmin, Chanakya, the minister and friend of Chandragupta, whose practical application of the science of state-craft in the service of his master has been made the plot of a Sanskrit drama entitled *Mudra-Rakshasas* by Vishakhadatta, made time amidst the engrossing duties of his ministerial office to compose a comprehensive treatise on चर्ममालं. This has been recently discovered and is now being translated. ‡

But the science which received special cultivation at Takkasila was the science of medicine (आयुर्वेदः). It was as a centre of medical learning that this University seems to have enjoyed an Asiatic reputation, and the story of a Chinese prince who went to Takkasila to find a remedy for his ophthalmia would, among other facts, bear witness to this fact.§ The situation of Takkasila was to a great extent responsible for its being a seat of medical culture. The Ayurveda system of medicine, which was cultivated here, consisted chiefly in herbs, salts and aromatic plants and the north-western parts of India have always been famous for the abundance of these pharmacopoeial materials. The Macedonian writers under Alexander and other medieval travellers from the west like Marco Polo as well as Hiouen Tshang and others amply attest this fact. In the Mahavagga, we are told that when Jivaka was studying medicine at Takkasila, the medical professor asked him to take a spade, seek round about Takkasila a *Yojana* on every side and bring to him all plants which were not medicinal. Jivaka did as he was bade

\* See *Asadisa Jataka* (Vol. II, p. 60), *Culladhamuggaha—Jataka* (Vol. III, p. 144), *Sarabhanga Jataka* (Vol. V, p. 60.) etc.

† See *Campeyya Jataka* (Vol. IV, p. 28) and also *Anabbhirati Jataka* (Vol. II, p. 68)

‡ In the *Indian Antiquary*.

§ This story is found in Kumarajiva's *Chinese version of Asvaghosha's Sutralankara Sutra*—a collection of didactic stories (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1183). See *Communication on Asvaghosha and the great epics* by K. Watanabe in J. R. A. S. for 1907, p. 665.

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to do, but he could not light upon any plant which had not medicinal properties.\* Jivaka, who was the friend of Buddha and court-physician of Bimbisara, the Magadhan King, is said to have studied medicine with Aitreya, a medical professor of Takkasila and this Aitreya has been sought to be identified with the legendary medical authority of that name. We have, however, some historical evidence that medicine received special cultivation at Takkasila in the Bower Manuscripts, now published, which were discovered by Dr. Hoernle in Yarkand about twenty years ago. The manuscripts have been subjected to critical examination and the inference has been drawn from their age and the nature of the Kashgar-Brahmi characters in which they are written that they were "more the results of the seat of Sanskrit learning of Gandhara than of Magadha."† These manuscripts contained a set of the earliest medical treatises of India. Now Gandhara twice became the chosen home of Sanskrit learning in India—once about the time of Buddha and again under Kaniksa. But this second period was a period of exclusively Buddhist philosophical culture. We must, therefore, refer the results embodied in the Bower Manuscripts to the former period when Takkasila was the intellectual capital of Gandhara and when other circumstantial evidences, such as the story of Jivaka, prove it to have been a centre of medical culture. So far about the subjects taught and cultivated in the University of Takkasila. But it would not be quite accurate to speak of these pretty numerous subjects being 'taught and cultivated' at Takkasila in the modern sense. These were not embodied in text-books prescribed for study, as we find much later on—about 1000 years afterwards—in the University of Nalanda. A knowledge of them was imparted to students by oral instruction, the systematisation of the subject being left to the intelligence of the teacher. The grammatical work of Panini also is conclusive proof that the scientific principles of systematisation were known and applied with remarkable results in India, even before the University of Takkasila came to fame. Books, however, in the 6th cent., B. C. in India were hardly known,‡ students being taught through the medium of *memoria*

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\* *Mahavagga*, Khandaka, VIII, 1, 7 (S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 175). Strabo quotes Onesikritos who observed it to be one of the characteristics of the people of Moussikanos that "they studied no science with attention except medicine." M. corresponded more or less closely with what was known subsequently as Upper Sindh.—Mc Crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 41.

† See S. C. Das's *Universities in Ancient India*, *Hindustan Review*, March, 1906.

‡ See the conclusive proofs adduced by Rhys Davids in Chapter VII of *Buddhist India*.

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*technica*. These *memoria technica* were called 'sutras' in Sanskrit and 'suttas' in Pali. There was an enormous advancement on this primitive method of instruction (in respect of which the Babylonian Universities enjoyed an advantage in having a good stock of clay cylinder books) in the later Indian universities with their wealth of well-assorted libraries.

Some idea of the life of this university also can be reconstructed from existing materials. Students, when they were sixteen years of age, used to come here to study from various parts of India, from princes of blood royal like Prasenajit from Kosala\* to stray waifs like Jivaka from Magadha, embracing all grades of society, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. The Jataka book is replete with stories of princes of royal houses going to Takkasila to receive education† and the salutary effects of a course of training for a prince at Takkasila, are thus spoken of in a Jataka story: "kings of former times, though there might be a famous teacher living in their own city, often used to send their sons to foreign countries afar off to complete their education, that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness and endure heat and cold, and be acquainted with the ways of the world." The story, from which we shall quote extracts later on, then goes on to tell how Brahma Datta, (a name as good as Richard Roe in the Jataka book) king of Kasi, sent his son to Takkasila to enable him to obtain these benefits from a course of training there. ‡ In a very curious story the five Pandavas of Mahabharata fame are represented as having studied at Takkasila and married Kanha (Draupadi) at her *svayambara* (self-choosing of husband) ceremony on their way from Takkasila back home. A very garbled version is given of the story, and Draupadi is represented not as one of the five women of legendary chastity, but as a plotting adulteress. § The University of Takkasila was thus, as may naturally be expected, a little aristocratic in character—an Indian Oxford, as a modern might say, of 6th century B. C. No wonder that the charge for a whole course of training in this University was no less than 1000 coins. || But the custom of sizarship also obtained and personal services to the

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\* See Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India* (in which his life, compiled from Pali sources, is given), p. 8.

† In the *Maha-Suvasana Jataka* (Vol. V, p. 247), hundred and one princes are said to have been receiving instruction at T. at the time of the story.

‡ *Tila-Mutthi-Jataka* (Vol II, p. 193)

§ One of the many stories in the *Kunala Jataka* (Vol. V, p. 227)

|| See *Puncavudha* (Vol. I, p. 137), *Asatamanta Jataka* (Vol. I, p. 148), *Tila-Mutthi Jataka* (Vol. II, p. 193) etc., etc.

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teacher were often accepted in lieu of monetary payment. \* Thus poor students, who were desirous of learning, were enabled to prosecute their studies here. A student might specialise in any department of learning, and princes of blood royal generally excelled in archery. The period of residence can not exactly be determined, how, but was probably regulated by the difficulty of the special branch of study undertaken. Jivaka spent seven years in this University in order to master the science of medicine. We have also indications of the very salutary custom, of which there is a close parallel in the English universities of to-day, of students completing their education, after the expiry of their term at Takkasila, by a continental (*i. e.*, Indian) tour. † We are also told that science students took this opportunity of learning the practical uses of science as well as gaining experience by observing the customs and manners of different countries. ‡ This is a wonderful proof of the genius of Indian civilisation.

The following extract from the *Tila-Mutthi-Jataka* would prove intensely interesting as setting forth not only some of the customs that prevailed in the University of Takkasila, but also some interesting features of the social life of that age:—"Brahmadatta, the king of Benares, calling his boy to him,—now the lad was sixteen years old—gave him one-soled sandals, a sun-shade of leaves, and a thousand pieces of money with these words: 'My son, get you to Takkasila, and study there'. The boy obeyed. He bade his parents farewell and in due course arrived at Takkasila. There he enquired for the teacher's dwelling, and reached at the time when the teacher had finished his lecture and was walking up and down at the door of the house. When the lad set eyes upon the teacher, he put off his shoes, closed his sun-shade, and with respectful greeting stood still where he was. The teacher saw that he was weary, and welcomed the new-comer. The lad ate and rested a little. Then he returned to the teacher and stood respectfully by him.

'Where have you come from?'

'From Benares.'

'Whose son are you?'

'I am the son of the king of Benares.'

'What brings you here?'

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\* See the story of Jivaka and *Tila-Mutthi Jataka*.

† See *Brahmachatta Jataka* (Vol. III, p. 76) *Nigrodha Jataka* (Vol. IV, p. 24), *Amba-Jataka* (Vol. IV, p. 124), *Sonaka Jataka* (Vol. V, p. 127 etc., etc.

‡ *Brahmachatta Jataka*, *Sonaka Jataka* etc, and also the story of Jivaka.

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'I come to learn,' replied the lad.

'Well, have you brought a teacher's fee? Or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you?'

'I have brought a fee with me,' and with this he laid at the teacher's feet his purse of a thousand pieces. The resident pupils attend on their teacher by day and at night they learn of him: but they who bring a fee are treated like the eldest sons in this house, and thus they learn. And this teacher like the rest, gave schooling to the prince on every light (?) and lucky day. \* Thus the young prince was taught."

As we have already said, it is nearly impossible to determine exactly when the University of Taxila began or when it ended. But we may reasonably conjecture the limits to be circa. 600 B. C. to 100 B. C.

Sukumar Dutt

## THE ANNEXATION OF JHANSI

On the 13th of March 1854 it was proclaimed to the people in general by Major Malcolm that—"Whereas the Maharaja Gangadhar Rao of Jhansi, having departed this life on the 21st of November 1853, and having previously to his death adopted Damodar Gangadhar Rao as his heir, and whereas a letter has been received by me this day from the Secretary to the Government of India, dated the 7th instant, informing me that the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council had for several reasons, declined to confirm and sanction the said adoption and had directed that the Principality of Jhansi should be taken under the Charge of the British Government, the present proclamation is issued to all, to notify that the said Principality has been assumed by the British Government, and that I have for the present placed Major Ellis, the Political Agent in Bundelkhand, in charge of the same. It is therefore incumbent on all the subjects of the said Principality to consider themselves under the authority of the said government and paying the revenue due by them to Major Ellis."

Major Malcolm also proposed to provide the dethroned Ranee with a suitable pension. He wrote on the 16th of March, 1855, on this subject to the Secretary of the Government of India,

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\* The meaning here is admittedly the translator to be rather obscure. But it is well-known that auspices were frequently consulted in fixing work-days in colleges in Ancient India. The story of the origin of the *Vartikavya* by Vartihari whose grammar class was rudely defiled by the entrance of an elephant is well-known.

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Foreign Department—"I therefore beg to submit for the consideration and sanction of Government, the following proposition in regard to this lady, who bears a very high character and is much respected by every one at Jhansi: 1st. that a pension of 5,000 Company's rupees should during her life-time be paid to her monthly from the treasury at Jhansi, or at any place at which she may choose to reside; 2nd. that the palace at Jhansi should be made over to her for her residence and to be considered as her private property; 3rd. that during the life-time she and her personal female attendants should be exempted from arrests and from the processes of our courts; 4th. that in compliance with her husband's last request, all the state jewels and private funds, and any balance remaining in the public treasury after closing the accounts of the state, should also be considered as her private property; and finally that a list of the old adherents of the family should be prepared and submitted to the Government of India, with the view to their obtaining during their life-time some stipends for their support."\*

In reply to this J. P. Grants, Esqr., Secretary to the Government of India wrote to Major Malcolm—"In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor-General in Council approves of the proposals that all the property of the late Rajah should be given to the Ranee. His Lordship in Council apprehends that it is beyond the powers of the Government so to dispose of the property of the Rajah which by law will belong to the son whom he adopted. The adoption if regularly made was good for the conveyance of private rights, though not for the transfer of the principality".†

The latter part of the letter caused grave doubts to be entertained as to the legality of the Ranee's obtaining the property of her late husband, who, besides jewels and ornaments, had left in the treasury 2,45,738 rupees in gold and silver in different currencies.‡ "Thus the Ranee was not only deprived of the regency, but was held to be cut off from other claims by the very means her dying husband had taken to insure her future position." §

The Ranee, formerly the ruler of her land, was now offered only a pension of Rs. 5,000 a month. "Bitter as was her remonstrance against the course which she considered not less as an insult than as

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\* P. 28, *Jhansi Papers*.

† *Jhansi Papers*, p. 31.

‡ *Jhansi Papers*, 1858, p. 10-11.

§ Martin's *Indian Empire*, Vol. II, p. 58.

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a fraud, it was unavailing."\* Refusing to accept her pension from Government that had taken her Kingdom she grieved unforgivingly and relegated to futurity the luxury of being amply avenged on the authors of her ruin. J. C. Martin who had been at Jhansi at that time and survived the massacre says, "she refused to the day of her death to receive the five thousand monthly granted to her as a pension by the Government." † But this fact clashes with Sir J. Kayes' account of the case, according to whom the Ranee at first declining to accept the proffered sum at last reluctantly accepted it.‡

"Upon the extermination of a native state", remarks Mr. John Sullivan, a member of the Madras Council, "an Englishman takes the place of the sovereign under the name of commissioner; three or four of his associates displace as many dozen of the native official aristocracy, while some hundreds of our troops take the place of the many thousands that every native chief supports. The little court disappears, trade languishes, the capital decays, the people are impoverished, the Englishman flourishes, and acts like a sponge, drawing up riches from the banks of the Ganges, and squeezing them down upon the banks of the Thames."§

These natural evils of annexation fell with irresistible force in Jhanshi, after the native rule ceased to exist there. "The native institutions were demolished at a blow, all the establishments of the Raja's government were superseded and the regular troops in the service of the State were immediately paid up and discharged."||

The Ranee was allowed to live in the palace shorn of all privileges and powers. The private property intended for her use by her late husband was denied to her, but the said property amounting to 7,00,000 of rupees were deposited with the English Government on Damodur Rao's account as, according to the Governor-General, the adoption was good for the conveyance of private rights." A lakh of rupees out of this fund was given to the Ranee to perform the *upanayana* ceremony of her adopted son.

This was not all. "Evil things were said of her, for it is a custom among us *odisse quern cæseris*—to take a Native ruler's kingdom and then to revile the deposed ruler or his would be successor. It was alleged that the Ranee was a mere child under

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\* Mallason's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I, p. 182.

† *Ms. notes from the adopted son of the Ranea.*

‡ *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. III, p. 360.

§ *A Plea for the Princes of India*, p. 67.

|| Martin's *Indian Empire*, Vol. II, p. 57.

## BENGALEE PROPER NAMES

the influence of others, and that she was much given to intemperance. That she was not a mere child was demonstrated by her conversation ; and her intemperance seems to be a myth."\* This version of Sir John Kaye has already been corroborated by the high opinion entertained of her by Sir J. Malcolm. She was happily endowed with that keen intelligence, fine strength of mind, and brilliant wit which made her a politician and diplomat of no mean merit. With ease she could discuss political matters with a Commissioner or Governor. All these various qualifications were rendered more conspicuous by her lofty moral purity, which gained for her an enduring love and profound admiration of her people. She was deposed under humiliating and aggravating circumstances.

From that time the Ranee's whole attention became so engrossed with her country's wrongs, that all her waking hours were one continuing and prolonged prayer for its deliverance. "Surely," remarks Mr. Ludlow, "the natives of India must be less than men if their feelings could not be moved under such circumstances in favour of the victims of annexation, and against the annexer. Surely there was not a woman whom such annexations did not tend to make our enemy, not a child whom they did not tend to train up in hatred to the Firinghee rule. Surely Lukshmi Bai of Jhansi vainly urging in 1854 on her husband's fidelity to England, dying in the field before Gwalior is but a type of feelings that must have been shared, more or less acutely, by thousands of Hindu wives and widows."†

Infuriated at the extinction of native rule so loved and cherished by them, exasperated more at the sight of the miserable plight in which the noble Ranee, the mother of her people, was reduced, they cried aloud for vengeance, and anxiously waited for an opportunity. In 1857 that opportunity presented itself to them, in all its horrible aspects. They rose to a man to defend the cause of their country and their queen.

G. L. D.

## A NOTE ON BENGALEE PROPER NAMES

The process of transliteration has recently been applied to Oriental proper names, and this, as taking the place of the old practice of writing such names according to the very faulty English graphic

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\* See *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. III, pp. 361-62.

† Ludlow's *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown*, pp. 35-36.

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system, has been a decided improvement. An evil has resulted, however, from want of recognition in all cases of the differences between the powers of certain Indian characters as used in writing Hindi or Bengali on the one hand, and the powers of the same or corresponding letters as used in writing Sanskrit on the other. This want of recognition has given rise, in fact, to conflicting methods of transliteration. In this connection, some of the instructions issued by the Bengal Central Examination Committee in their circular order No. 254, dated 3rd November 1902, and the mode of transliteration adopted by the Calcutta University, deserve examination.

(1) “**र** final is to be omitted after single consonants, where not sounded ; **राम** is *Rām*, not *Rama*.”—This very necessary rule is not strictly adhered to even in certain Government publications. In the Quarterly Civil List, corrected up to the 1st April 1911, there occurs on p. 238 the name of a well-known Pandit spelt as *Mahamahopadhyaya Kamakhya Nath Tarkabagisha*. The Bengali paper, **सुलभ समाचार**, which is subsidised by the Bengal Government, romanises its title as *Sulabha Samachara*.

(2) “The initial **य** is to be represented by *j* or by *y*, according to its pronunciation in the word in which it occurs.”—The Calcutta University observes this rule and never represents a non-initial **य** by *j*, even where it bears the English sound of the letter ‘*j*’. The Bengal Government, however, very properly goes beyond the rule and represents a non-initial **य** by *j*, where it bears the *j* sound. In the Quarterly Civil List above referred to there is on p. 38 the name *Surjyakumar Agasti* instead of *Suryyakumar Agasti*, as the University has the name in the list of graduates. The rule needs, therefore, a little expansion. The non-initial **य** has sometimes the ‘*e*’ sound as in the words **कीयता** and **राय**. Why should not the **य** in such cases be represented by *e*, just as the Arabic character is represented by *y*, *i* or *e* according to sound ?

(3) “**य** is to be represented by *gy* and not by *jn*.”—This is a very good rule, for the *j* sound of **य** has in Hindi given place to the *g* sound, and the Bengali **য** too has always the *g* sound, and never the *j* sound. The Calcutta University goes against this rule, however.

(4) “**य** is to have for its equivalent *kh* in the case of Bangala, and *chh* in the case of Hindustani.”—This rule is a bit defective. **य**, when initial, is equivalent to *kh* ; when non-initial it is equivalent to *chh*. Similarly **य** is equivalent to *chh* and also to *chchh*. **कीय** is pronounced as *mokkha*, and **कीय** as *mochchh* in

## BENGALÉE PROPER NAMES

Hindi. The Calcutta University goes against this rule, and gives व its Sanskrit *śś* sound. In the Quarterly Civil List too there is an instance of *śś* for *śś* in the name Kshitish Chandra Sarkar on p. 89.

(5) व in Bangala is always to be represented by *b* and not by *v*. In Hindi it should be represented by *ś* or *v*, according to its pronunciation in the word in which it occurs.—The व sound does not exist indeed in Bengali. But where व forms a conjunct character with another consonant preceding, as in क्वर, the व has not the sound of *ś*, but it duplicates the sound of the consonant to which it is conjoined. Here *ś* would not answer well for व; *v* or *w* seems to be needed. In the case of such titles, again, as विद्यादायर, it seems desirable to represent व by *v* in conformity to existing practice, for such Sanskrit titles, if written with *v* instead of *ś*, would be readily intelligible outside the limits of the Bengali-speaking area.

The optional use of *s*, instead of *ś* for व, and the use at the same time of *s* for क्व has caused a good deal of confusion, for व and क्व differ in sound as widely as *śś* and *s* do in English, while व and क्व differ in sound only as much as does *śś* in shawl differ from *śś* in fish. The innovation recently adopted by the Bengal Government of representing both व and क्व by *sh* and क्व by *s* has been a decided improvement. The Quarterly Civil List has on p. 84. Ashutosh Banarji instead of Asutosh Banarji. The Calcutta University has not yet adopted this very desirable improvement.

The application by the Governments of the two Bengals of the authorised system of transliteration to the historical anglicised patronymics,—Mookerjee, Banerjea or Banerjee, Chatterjee, Gangooly, Bhattacharjee, Chuckerbutty, Mitter, Bose, Ghose, Dutt, &c.,—has been more on the line of a natural process of evolution as they continue to be written in Bengali character, although the written forms have dropped out of the language as spoken. In place of the rather classical spelling of Mookerjee, Banerjea or Banerjee, Chatterjee, Gangooly, Bhattacharjee, Chuckerbutty, Mitter, Bose, Ghose, Dutt, &c., the University of Calcutta has now Mukhopadhyay, Bandyopadhyay, Chattopadhyay, Gangopadhyay, Bhattacharyya, Chakrabarti, Basu, Ghosh, Datta, &c. The corresponding names in common use in the mouths of the people are Mukujje, Banrujje (বানুজ), Charujje, or Chatujje, Ganuli, Bhatchajji, Chakkobatti, Mittir, Bosu, Ghosh, Datto, &c. The historical anglicised forms of the names are, in fact, the Hindustani forms of the names written in English character, just as are Bhawanipore (now written

Bhowanipur) and Burdwan the Hindustani forms of the corresponding Bengali names. Chuckerbutty, Ghose, and Dutt are obviously the Hindustani Chakarbatti, Ghos and Datt, written in the English way. The Rev. K. M. Banerjea and Dr. Doorgacharn Banerjea used to spell their names as given here, the final syllable of the patronymic being *jea* instead of *jee*. This points to the name having been the anglicised form of the Hindustani Banarjia. The two final letters in Banerjea appear to have come to be pronounced like *ea* in *sea*, and hence the change from Banerjea to Banerjee. It seems that originally Mookerjee was written as Mookerjea, and Chatterjee as Chatterjea, and that, like Banerjea, they came afterwards to be transmuted to Mookerjee and Chatterjee.

The University innovation of transliterating the all but obsolete forms মুখোপাধ্যায়, বন্দোপাধ্যায়, &c., has proved a failure, as indeed it was bound to prove, for it aimed at making the dead past override the living present. It has been so long before the world of Bengal, and has not won its way yet to anything like universal adoption. It has given rise to a great practical inconvenience too. In the University Calendars, the Hon. Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee appears in this spelling in his capacity of Vice-Chancellor of the University, but as the holder of University degrees he figures as Asutosh Mukhopadhyay. Similarly Sir Gooroodass Banerjee is spelt like this in his capacity of a Fellow, but as the holder of degrees he appears as Gurudas Bandyopadhyay. In the very first year in which the University adopted its system of transliterated patronymics, the names of candidates at its several examinations must have come up as Mookerjee, Banerjee, Chatterjee, &c. The University, by changing the names as written by the candidates themselves assumed the *role*, it seems, of instructors. But the instruction imparted has clearly failed.

In one respect the University has made a real reform which the new Government system has not adopted. The Government system sticks yet to the old faulty method of dividing a name compounded of two words into their components, while the University keeps such a name undivided, as it is, when written in any Indian character. The Bengal Quarterly Civil List corrected up to 1st April, 1911 has such names as Bhupendra Nath Basu (p. 3), Chandi Das Ghose (p. 77) and Bansī Dhar Banarji (p. 79); but has also Shashibhushan Basu (p. 87) and Ashutosh Banarji (p. 84). The separation of Nath from Bhupendra, of Das from Chandi and of Dhar from Bansī is in no way justifiable. Bhupendra and Nath, Chandi and Das, Bansī and Dhar, are not each a pair of

## BENGALIEE PROPER NAMES

two independent names, as are John and Stuart in the name John Stuart Mill. The University system does, however, in a few instances, fuse together words where there should be no fusion. Dasgupta instead of Das Gupta or, better, Das-Gupta, and Raichaudhuri instead of Ray Chaudhuri or, better, Ray-Chaudhuri, are instances of such fusion. In Bengali we have দাস গুপ্ত and not দাসগুপ্ত, রায় চৌধুরী and not রায়চৌধুরী. As the University Calendars and Minutes show, Professor J. N. Das Gupta does not write his name as J. N. Dasgupta.

An extraordinary mode of transliteration adopted by certain Bengali gentlemen demands criticism. Instead of the old Mookerjee and Banerjea or Banerjee, they write their names as Mukerjee, Mukerji or Mukherji, and Banerji, making the letter *e* represents the sound which in every current system of transliteration is represented by the letter *a*. In English the letter *e* bears an anomalous sound akin to this *a*-sound, and this is the origin of मनु (Manu), being at one time written Menu, and of the Persian words پاری (pari) and (majlis) مجلس being even now written as peri and mejlis (as the Persian Parliament is now called). Written in Bengali character, Mukerji would be মুকৈরজী and Banerji বানৈরজী. The gentlemen who write their names as Mukerji or Banerji do not certainly want their names to be pronounced as মুকৈরজী or বানৈরজী.

A few remarks on some prominent Bengali patronymics, as now spelt by Government, are here offered for consideration :—

1. Mukharji—This is an innovation on Mookerjee by turning the *k* into *kh*. The innovation is not justifiable. The origin of the name is indeed Mukhoti, which has the aspirated *kh* sound. The name in speech is, however, Mukujje which has, the unaspirated *k* sound. Mookerjee can yield only Mukarji, and not Mukharji.

2. Banarji, Chatarji and Bhattacharji are quite unexceptionable.

3. Gāngali, as standing for the old Gangooly, is open to objection. The current name in Calcutta and Western Bengal generally is Ganuli. Vidyasagar has গাঙ্গুলী in his বহুবিবাহ. In a very limited area in the Dacca District, the current word is indeed গাঙ্গালী. But this would not justify the turning of the historical Gangooly into Gangali, instead of Ganguli.

4. Chakrabatti is a close approximation to the historical Chackerbutty. Chakarabatti would however be an exact representation of it.

5. Mitra is the transliteration of the written name মিত্র. The historical Mitter (Hindustani Mittar) was a closer approximation to the current spoken name Mittir (মিতির). Mittar would be a good

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representative of the historical Mitter. Mitra has, however, occupied the field since the days of the late eminent scholar, Raja Rajendralal Mitra, and it would be hard now to drive this spelling out of the field. The Raja's transliteration of the Bengali word মিত্র as *lala* is certainly most objectionable, for মিত্র is never pronounced as *lala*, but is always pronounced as *lal*. His Mitra, though a correct representation of the Sanskrit word मित्र is not a correct representation of the Bengali word মিত্র, which, though written exactly like the Sanskrit word, is pronounced differently—Mittra and not Mitra.

6. For the historical Bose and Ghose the current names are Bosh and Ghosh. Ghosh has now largely ousted Ghose. Why should not Bos oust both Bose and Basu? Basu is a correct transliterated form of the written word বসু, as Ghosh is of ঘোষ, but the final u sound of বসু has disappeared in current speech.

7. Datta has a good claim to take the place of the historical Hindustani form Dutt (Datt), for the Bengali দত্ত is sounded Datto, if not Datta. Datt would, however, be the proper representation of Dutt.

The authorised system of transliteration is not a thoroughly scientific one, but it is good enough for practical purposes. *Ch* for च and *sh* for श are arbitrary English conventions. *J* with its English sound, which is different from its continental sounds, has been made in India to represent ज; and *c* with its Italian sound has been made by the Asiatic Society of Bengal to represent च. It seems desirable that the employment of *c* and *j*, for representing च and ज respectively, should be internationalised. In favour of the English sound of *j*, it may be urged that the English-speaking population of the world, spread over Europe, North America, Australasia and South Africa outnumbers now the German-speaking and French-speaking populations of the world taken together. The German sound of *j*, it may be added here, is not the same as the French. The use of *a* where the *a* sound has changed to *o* in Bengali, and of *s* for শ in all cases, though শ has the *s* sound only where শ occurs in combination with ত or ঞ following, as in the words শত or শ্রী, but has the *sh* sound in all other cases, is open to objection as being transliteration but not phonetic transcription.

The authorised system has one notable defect. It has no symbol for the *Anunasika*. The symbol for the *Anusvara* cannot properly serve for the *Anunasika* as well.

Byama Charan Ganguli .

## EDITOR'S NOTE

The Provincial Notes for the month are held over to our next issue, as the reading matter of this number has already exceeded the usual number of pages. Ed.—*L.W.*

## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

### *The Indian Review*

In the August number of the *Indian Review* the place of honour is given to a short article of Dr. Sir-S. Subramania Ayer, entitled *A Note About Shankara* in which he says that Shankara, the Commentator, lived long after the great Teacher of the same name. Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra then urges the necessity of the fusion of the sub-sections of the subcastes in India. In *Muslim Education*, Mr. Ahmad Shafi Minhas supports the Mahomedan University scheme and says that the establishment of the university will introduce Musalmans to self-government in education at least, which may eventually create a craving for self-government in politics also. Then follows Mr. Wacha's paper on *Indian Military Expenditure*, the leading points of which are noticed elsewhere. Next comes a review of *Dr. Deussen's Indian Reminiscences*, a book published by Messrs. Natesan & Co. Dr. Deussen is a Vedantist and visited India in 1892-93. He wants that India should go back to the simple life of the Rig Veda. He wants its people, especially the Brahmins, to conform to the teachings of the Upanishads. He thinks that Sankara is the only true expounder of the Upanishads. *John Bright and India* is an interesting article by Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai in which the writer recounts the services done by Bright to India. In *Letters to an Indian Friend*, 'An Anglo-Indian' describes some of the English social conventions which an Indian will do well to remember when calling an Englishman. *India and the Universal Races Congress* is a very scrappy article by Miss Annie A. Smith. She says:—"Of speakers on India, Mrs. Annie Besant was undoubtedly the most impressive; she was determined and courageous whether enforcing home-truths on Indians or Anglo-Indians. She would have all schools and colleges refuse to take married boys in order to overcome the evils of child-marriage; and, when speaking of the points on which India asked for equality with the dominant race, she spoke without flinching of the justice suffered by want of freedom

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in moving about the Empire, want of freedom in arranging economic affairs, and unjust differences of individual treatment. There must be a bitter feeling between Indian and Briton, she maintained, until there is respect of the rights of everyone, whether white or coloured."

### *The Modern Review*

The number opens with a translation by Mr. Jadunath Sarkar of a Bengali paper, *Beauty and Self-Control* written sometime ago by Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore. Mr. Maud Ralston gives an account of the *Indian Society* which has been formed at Detroit, Michigan. Mr. Mahesh Chandra Ghoshe's *William James, the Pragmatist*, Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose's unfinished article on *Ethical Tendencies of Western Civilisation*, Mr. Sarat Chandra Ray's *Ethnography of the Mundas*, and Prof Satish Chandra Basu's (commercial) *Crisis of 1882 in France* are interesting in their way. Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar contributes a further instalment of the *History of Aurangzeb*. Mr. S. C. Sarkar's *A Peep into the Earliest History of Aryan India* and Mr. Narendra Nath Law's *Department of Livestock in the Administration of Chandra Gupta* are continued from the last number. Prof. Satish Chandra Basu gives a short account of some industrial strikes in the United States and incidentally remarks :—" Even from the stand point of wider economic considerations, we are now called upon not so much to help the increase of the remuneration of labour as to organize our system of production on an advanced and efficient basis with a view to increasing the national wealth. Efficient production will of course require efficient labour. But the industrial development of Japan is tending to show that efficiency of labor is not necessarily connected with high wages. Now, emphasis should be laid on the means and methods of production rather than on the distribution of products. Concentration of wealth need cause no apprehension in this country for a long time to come. The growth of a class of capitalists and captains of industry is the crying demand of India."

### *Modern Behar*

The most notable article in the number is the *Call of the Moment* by Mr. Syed. Hasan Imam in which the writer puts forward a vigorous plea for the emancipation of our women. In

## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

*Orthodoxy : Old and New*, Mahamahopadaya Prof. Ganga Nath Jha says :—"The most 'orthodox' of our contemporaries do not fight shy of rejecting the authority of the Smritis, if these are not in keeping with the view held by the particular 'digest' that he favours, but I wonder what answer he can give if asked on what grounds he objects to one's rejecting the authority of any particular 'digest.'...When you can reject the authority of an older text, you cannot escape from the logical conclusion that one will be similarly justified in rejecting the authority of the much later digests." He goes on :—"Say what they will, they (the orthodox people) have all along, in practice and precept, been preaching the advisability of adopting old text to modern conditions. The only step that is necessary for them to take is to realize that what was 'modern' two hundred years ago (when the great digests were written) is not 'modern' now ; and that if they really wish well to their religion and country, they should adapt their religious thought to the conditions obtaining at the present time." In an appreciative notice of Mr. Syed Hasan Imam's life, the writer truly says that "if there is anybody in Behar to-day who enjoys in an extraordinary degree the confidence alike of the Hindus and the Mussalmans, who is acclaimed as the accredited leader of the present and the future generations of public men in our province and whom the social reformer, the publicist and the student of politics equally regard as the greatest champion of all their movements, it is surely Mr. Syed Hasan Imam." A part of the address delivered at a meeting by Mr. Kamakhya Nath Mitra on *Sreekrishna : His Life and Teachings* is reproduced in the number. He says that the moral of the life of Sreekrishna is :—"Live for God and Humanity, reach the universal through the national, love and forgive all personal wrongs, have *Shudha Jnan*, *Shudha Bhakti*, and do *Shudha Karma*."

### *The Dawn*

The 'Indiana' Section of the current number of the above magazine opens with an account of the commercial expeditions to China sent out by the Chola kingdoms in the 11th Century by Mr. Haran Chandra Chakladar, M. A. The article on the *Present Depression in the Cotton Mill Industry* is interesting. The writer sums up the causes thus :—(1) an abnormal increase of the productive capacity of the world's mills, (2) the resulting over-production of cloth and yarn, and (3) the inadequacy of world's pro-

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duction of raw cotton. The writer of *India's Industrial Revolution : what it means and involves* discusses Sir Theodore Morison's opinion as expressed in his newly published book, *The Economic Transition in India*, and Mr. Montagu's opinion as expressed in his recent Budget Speech and then remarks:—"The ultimate hope of the vast populations of India through the working of the industrial methods and forces imported into India from the West must lie in their own hands, namely, through the rise of a Labour Party in India determined to hold their own in a competitive bitter war with organised Capital,—with Capital organised not only in Industry, not only in Society, but organised also as a political party in the State. And the growth of a Labour Party would also and inevitably lead to the rise of a Socialist Party whose spectre is now looming so large on the mental horizon of all Western-civilised nations." *Ideals behind the Moslem University Movement* is not finished in this number but promises to be interesting.

# REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

**LORD HARDINGE AND THE KING'S VISIT TO INDIA** It is nearly a year that Lord Hardinge has assumed the Vice-royalty of India, and yet no body knows the main principles or the policy he is pursuing or will pursue at the helm of affairs in this country. It is true, we have not seen his mailed fist yet, though the Seditious Meetings Bill, which was left to him as a legacy by the indiscretion of Lord Minto, has been transferred by him to the permanent Statute Book of India. On the other hand, it is no secret that the abandonment of many recent state prosecutions we owe to the personal interference of the present Viceroy. It is also well known by this time that Lord Hardinge is not an alarmist Viceroy and is not prepared to complicate the Indian situation by sensational pronouncements or extraordinary legislations. That is a good deal in favour of an Indian Viceroy of the present day. For, if Lord Hardinge is unable to do much positive good to the country, he is at least preventing a panic policy being pursued and carried on in India.

We owe, however, to Lord Hardinge two distinct political blessings, the first of which is the opportunity given to the leaders of Bengali political opinion to organise a conference in such a backward province as Eastern Bengal. For a long time past Eastern Bengal has remained a proclaimed area under the Seditious Meetings Act, and for nearly half a dozen years it has not been possible to lead through the streets of an Eastern Bengal town a political procession shouting freely the cry of *Bande Mataram* and singing national anthems. Lord Hardinge's permission to allow the Conference to be held at Faridpore is a downright departure of policy and clearly indicates the confidence into which the Viceroy is anxious to take the leaders of public opinion in this country. If the holding of a Provincial Conference in Eastern Bengal would have been left at the hands of the local Government, there might be no Conference this year also. But the over-lord at Simla has become a watchful deity anxious to do good to the people of this country. The second matter in which Lord Hardinge has departed from the traditional policy of the Government of India is that he has the courage of acknowledging evident mistakes and throwing up prestige to the winds,

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When, last year, it was decided that some subsidies should be granted to a few provincial newspapers, no one could think that so soon as within the course of a year the Government should find the error of its ways and throw the sponge over a mistaken and a misdirected policy. At the last meeting of the Simla Council it was definitely announced that subsidies to newspapers would no longer be continued after the periods of the present contracts have expired. By itself the decision is nothing, but considered as a departure from established traditions it is a momentous change. Nothing could be a fuller confession of an error than the change of policy announced in this connection, and it is a matter of public congratulation that the hugbear of prestige should have at last been given up for the first time in the history of our generation by the Government of India.

But these are mere straws which indicate which way the wind is blowing. The public mind of India is anxiously waiting for a definite policy of conciliation from Lord Hardinge. Unrest has had its days and its full share of repressive legislation. But unfortunately repression has failed either to remove unrest or to pacify the people. It is now, therefore, recognised everywhere that a new policy should be pursued with a view to let old sores die and to placate the people of India without prejudicing the best interests of the empire. On the passive and negative side, we have felt the hand of Lord Hardinge in the shaping of this new policy. Only, to our regret, the active side of this policy has not yet come before the front. We quite feel that it is difficult for the Viceroy to inaugurate an active scheme of conciliation till the Delhi Durbar is over. For, it is expected that up to that time the proposed visit of the King will dominate the entire political atmosphere of India, and that the King himself may inaugurate a policy which the Viceroy at the present moment is precluded for reasons of State from announcing. In another three months' time, we shall be able to know whether the King is coming out to India to preside over a ceremonial demonstration or to inaugurate a new policy of conciliation. Considering the disappointment caused by the Durbar of Lord Curzon, we hope Lord Hardinge will not allow another repetition of that disappointment. The people of India expect some boon or, at any rate, the inauguration of a new policy from the sovereign head of the Government. If these expectations are going to be disappointed, the result will be ten times more disastrous than what followed the disappointment of 1903, and along with this disappointment there will be, we are afraid, a

## EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

revulsion of feeling against Lord Hardinge himself. Somehow or other, the impression has got abroad that Lord Hardinge is very much unlike Lord Curzon, and that if the great Imperial consul organised the Durbar of 1903 as a mere scenic demonstration, Lord Hardinge has quite a different object in organising the next Durbar. People are, therefore, expecting that the next Durbar will not be as infructuous as its predecessor. That is a great hope which is being cherished everywhere in the country, and it would be a great shock if the next Durbar, instead of fulfilling this hope, should also end in mere ceremonials and pageantry.

What indeed the King can do for India has been asked and answered again and again from various standpoints. The fact of the King being the head of a constitutional monarchy has been advanced in some quarter as a strong argument against the idea of the King interfering with any principles or policy pursued in the governance of this country. There is another school which is of opinion that, there being always a Hindu and a Mahomedan side of a question in India, the King cannot take any part in a policy which, in the long run, must be found to be in favour of either of these two great communities. The absurdity of this position is too obvious to be pointed out. There is yet another body of publicists which makes no secret of its feeling that if the King were to depart from the established policy and inaugurate a new one, it would only be encouraging unrest and putting a premium on the forces that have arraigned themselves against law and order. This is a sort of silly fear which has done duty for statecraft in many previous periods of the world's history. Brushing aside all these arguments, the outstanding fact remains that the people of India are not difficult to please, and if nothing is done to placate them, whether in the Durbar or after, it would be a fatal omission.

The Press of England and India have recently been busy in discussing what possible boons may the King confer upon India during his ensuing visit. So many suggestions have been made in this connection that it is impossible to discuss them at length. The King of England, by virtue of his position, is naturally precluded from interfering with our domestic and social life and cannot, therefore, confer any blessings upon us which may accelerate social and domestic progress in India. It has been suggested in some quarter that the King can safely recommend the introduction of free primary education in the country. But this is so intimately connected with

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financial questions that we have no hesitation in rejecting this idea as wholly absurd. The only sphere, therefore, in which the King may possibly do us some permanent good is either to inaugurate a new policy of government or administration or to relieve some of the pressing financial burdens of the people of India. To us it does not appear quite feasible to reduce Indian taxation in any appreciable way with the total disappearance of the Indian opium revenue in view. It would not be a wise policy to reduce taxation during the visit of the King and to impose fresh burdens when he is away. Eliminating, therefore, from our consideration any boons in connection with our domestic, social and educational life, or even the reduction of our financial burdens, we come to the only alternative which is unthinkable to the Anglo-Indian Press and the Indian Civil Service. The King can only confer political boons upon us, and what boons would be acceptable to the people would be gall and wormwood to its rulers. Whether Lord Hardinge will take courage by two hands and advise the King to inaugurate a new policy in India by conferring a political boon upon the people will be the greatest test of the sincerity of the new policy of which we have been speaking.

And what indeed would be the nature of the political boons that one might expect the King to confer upon India? It will be not only difficult but ungraceful to propose any cut and dry scheme for His Majesty's acceptance. But without any disrespect to the King and his advisers, it may be legitimately pointed out that the various Councils of the empire may still be greatly reformed and a partial control of the national purse be granted to them, that some repressive laws may be removed from the Statute Book, that the judiciary may be made independent of executive control and that, above all, something may be done to modify the Partition of Bengal without impairing the efficiency of administration in these provinces and prejudicing the interests of the Mahomedan Community.

## DIARY FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST, 1911

### Date

15. The Government of Bengal issues today a notification cancelling its previous orders confirming Mr. D. Weston to the Second Grade of Magistrates and Collectors, posting Maulvi Mazhural Haq as Deputy Superintendent of Police at Alipore and Inspector Lalmohan Guha, as officiating Deputy Superintendent of Police at Howrah.

16. Rao Bahadur V. J. Kirtiker, who was Government Pleader for twelve years in Bombay and acted as Judge in the High Court of Bombay for a short period died last night at the age of seventy-two years.

17. The House of Lords passed the second reading of the Bill to amend the Indian High Courts Act of 1858.

At a public meeting held at Bankipore in which delegates attended from every district in Behar, a resolution establishing the Behar Hindu Sabha with the Hon'ble Kumar Krityanand Sinha of Banailay as President, the Maharaja of Darbhanga as patron and Mr. Parmeshwar Lal as General Secretary was adopted.

19. At a meeting of the Burma Legislative Council held today the Burma Towns and Villages Amendment Bill, 1911, and the Burma Forests Amendment Bill, 1911, were introduced and referred to Select Committees to report by the 31st instant and the Council was adjourned *sine die*.

21. For the first time in the history of Dacca an official Durbar is attended by the representatives of all classes of the people of the province.

22. The Hon'ble Sir Charles Bayley, K.C.S.I., receives the charge of the office of the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam from the Hon'ble Sir Lancelot Hare.

23. The Calcutta Improvement Bill is passed in the Bengal Council this day.

24. A meeting of the rate-payers of Bombay was held this evening to present a petition to the Governor protesting against the Eastern Avenue Scheme submitted by the Improvement Trust to the Government for sanction.

25. The Backergunj District Board adopted a resolution supporting the general principles of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill.

28. His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad dies this day.

Mr. Gokhale visits Faridpur and addresses a public meeting there on his Education Bill.

29. Mr. Gokhale visits Mymensingh and addresses a meeting there.

The preliminary magisterial enquiry into the Ashe murder and Tinnevely conspiracy cases concluded this day, and Mr. A. Tampoe, I.C.S., Headquarter Divisional Magistrate, commits all the accused, [fourteen in number, to the Special Tribunal of the High Court.

30. The Bombay High Court dismissed the appeals preferred by the accused of the Pandharpur Bomb Conspiracy case.

31. Mr. Gokhale visits Dacca.

## SEPTEMBER—1911

1. The Government of India issues the following communique :—  
It is understood that statements are being made to the effect that the

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Government of India are in sympathy with one or other of the proposals for a Hindu University which have been put forward. There is no foundation whatever for any such statements.

A public meeting of the Bengal Depressed Classes Mission is held at the Overtoun Hall, Calcutta, Pandit Siva Nath Sastri presiding.

2. A public meeting was held in the Calcutta Town Hall to support Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. Dr. Rashbehari Ghose presided.

5. The 87th Birthday of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is celebrated in several parts of India.

6. A meeting is held in the Calcutta Town Hall in connection with Pandit Malavya's Hindu University Scheme.

9. The Bengal Provincial Conference commences its annual session at Faridpur under the presidency of Rai Yatindra Nath Chaudhury.

10. The Faridpur Conference closes its sittings today.

A Social Conference is held at Faridpur under the presidency of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee

11. The Imperial Council commences its autumn session at Simla today.

12. The Punjab Government issues the following press communique :—It is notified for general information that all applications from persons desiring tickets of admission to any of the functions which are to be held at Delhi in connection with the forthcoming Coronation Durbar should be addressed by the earliest possible date to the Deputy Commissioner of the district where the applicant resides or in the case of a Government servant to the head of his department.

13. A meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council is held this morning at Barnes Court, Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant-Governor, presiding.

15. The Indian Cricket Team returns this morning from England to Bombay.

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REGISTERED UNDER THE COMPANIES' ACT, MAY 1907

Head office :—CALCUTTA  
FIRST 3 YEARS' BUSINESS

### TOTAL AMOUNTS

Year	Paid-up Share value	Insurance Fund	Rate of Dividends declared
	Rs.	Rs.	
1907-8 ...	24,265	21,451	7%
1908-9 ...	82,230	84,560	9%
1909-10 ...	2,90,342	3,12,184	10%

### FIGURES FOR THE YEAR

Year	Value of proposals received	Value of Policies issued	Amount of Claims paid
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1907-8 ...	12,24,650	4,66,350	Nil
1908-9 ...	42,15,135	23,50,275	2,000
1909-10 ...	118,71,375	72,25,350	14,000

1. The quantity of business beats the record of office over 13 years old.

2. The very moderate number of claims testifies to the soundness of the quality of its business.

3. The unexceptional character of the security it offers is indicated by the large share capital and automatically increasing insurance fund.

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On Preference Shares, 6 per cent.

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is defective that is, if it is falling off or turning grey before time, use this marvellous oil KESH-RANJAN. It will perfectly cure all such defects and grow thick black hair. It is exceedingly sweet-scented and clears and cheers the brain.

*Rs. 1-5 per Philal (post paid)*

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# THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. XIV ]

NOVEMBER—1911

[ No. 80

## NOTES & NEWS

### GENERAL

#### Hindus in Canada

The present Hindu population of Canada numbers about 6,000 souls, all men, no women being allowed to accompany them to Canada. They have acquired property there and become permanent residents. They own in Victoria \$300,000 worth of property, and in Vancouver they possess holdings well worth \$2,000,000.

#### Cost of Political Trials

The Bombay Government spent Rs. 7,294-5-0 on political trials in 1908-09, Rs. 94-9-0 in 1909-10, and Rs. 82,840-0 in 1910-11. For the same period Bengal incurred Rs. 1,28,052-0-0, Rs. 3,96,443-3-0, and Rs. 3,72,052-10-0. The Government of Eastern Bengal had to incur Rs. 7,114-0-0, Rs. 11,301-0-0, and Rs. 2,77,675-14-3. The Punjab Government had no expenses on political trials in 1908-9, and figures for the two subsequent years were Rs. 10,306-0-0, and Rs. 5,761-0-0. The total cost for these provinces for the entire period of three years was Rs. 11,98,835-9-3.

#### Increase of Christian Population

The statistics furnished by the last census show a remarkable increase in the number of Christians in India. In the Bombay Presidency Hindus have increased 5·3 ; Mahomedans 6·4 ; Parsis 5·6 ; Christians 11·6. In the Central Provinces Hindus show an increase of 16 ; Mohamedan 13 ; Animists 30 ; Christians 169 per cent ; in the Madras Presidency the rate of increase is :—Hindus 8, Mahomedan 11 and Christians 16 per cent ; in the United Provinces the Christians have increased by 75 and the Aryas by 100 per cent. So there is a marked general increase of Christians all over the country.

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

### **Drink and Crime in the Punjab**

In the resolution on police work in the Punjab published in the *Punjab Gazette*, we read :—His Honour considers that the connection of drink with serious crime in the Punjab is one of the greatest dangers that threatens Punjab social life. There are no doubt numerous offences committed against the person which would not be committed save in a condition of frenzy brought on by drink. For these, drink is clearly responsible. But there are also the more cold-blooded crimes, in which the intention to murder is formed with full deliberation, and strong drink is resorted to as a means of at once exciting the passions and blunting the senses to possible results of the action taken.

### **The Indian Post Office**

The work of the Indian Post Office is increasing rapidly and with it, its prosperity. The latest report for 1910-11 shows that there were in all 18,183 post offices employing in all over 93,000 men. During the year 945 millions of articles were carried and delivered. Over 25 million money-orders for the total value of £39 million were issued. The value-payable system, which has been so very useful among the tradesmen, was responsible for doing business to the extent of £5,750,000. The receipts amounted to Rs. 2 crores and 99 lakhs and the expenditure to 2 crores and 84 lakhs. This shows that on an average a sum of Rs. 300 was paid to each employee in the post office and considering the cost of life this amount is still very small.

### **Drink and Drug Revenue in Bengal**

The Board of Revenue has published its review of the report on the administration of the excise department in 1910-11. It shows that the total receipts of the year amounted to Rs. 180 lakhs against 168 lakhs in the preceding years. The actuals of the year under review exceed the revised estimate by more than two lakhs of rupees. The percentage of increase as compared with the last year is only 7. It is certainly not as startling as an increase of 32 per cent. in the Punjab. Nevertheless comparing the year's revenue with the revenue of 1900-01 there is real cause for anxiety. In the last-named year the revenue was only 146 lakhs of rupees. An increase of Rs. 34 lakhs in ten years represents an increase of nearly 23 per cent. Since the budget for 1911-12 provides for a further increase, the probabilities are that this year's revenue will represent an increase of fully 25 per cent. as compared with 1900-01.

### The C. I. D.

In 1907 the personnel and cost of the Criminal Intelligence Department in Madras were 12 officers, 17 men, and total cost Rs. 27,061. In 1910 the strength of the Department was 20 officers and 35 men, cost Rs. 71,292. In 1905 the Bombay Presidency had 5 officers and 8 men, cost Rs. 22,461. In 1910, 57 officers and 100 men, cost Rs. 1,88,954. In 1905, Bengal had 17 officers and 27 men, cost Rs. 37,020. In 1910, 76 officers and 92 men, cost Rs. 2,55,657. In 1907, the United Provinces had 38 officers and 38 men, cost Rs. 84,233, and in 1910, 36 officers and 65 men, cost Rs. 1,14,522. In 1905, the Punjab had 4 officers and 5 men, cost Rs. 3,797, and in 1910, 20 officers and 27 men, cost Rs. 72,870. In 1906 Eastern Bengal and Assam had 14 officers and 15 men, cost Rs. 26,571, and in 1910, 56 officers and 93 men, cost Rs. 1,56,427. In 1907, the Central Provinces had 16 officers and 25 men, cost Rs. 48,684 and in 1910, 34 officers and 40 men, cost Rs. 38,652. In 1907, Burma had 17 officers and 21 men, cost Rs. 55,210, and in 1910, also 17 officers and 21 men, cost Rs. 54,400.

### Indian Police Scandals

The *Morning Leader* of London writes :—In a long letter to a correspondent the Under-Secretary for India outlines the statement he would have made if the expected debate on the Indian police had not yielded place before the adjournment to the labor unrest at home. Mr. Montagu details the precautions which the Government of India is setting up against the possible recurrence of such scandals as have been made public, especially in regard to the employment of torture by the police to extract confession. The reforms indicated by Mr. Montagu constitute a distinct advance upon the existing system, but his handling of the question still leaves a decidedly unpleasant impression of gratuitous anxiety to indulge in special pleading for police misconduct on the ground that the offenders "have erred, if erred they have," in the service of the Government. There can, we think, be no doubt about the error. Whatever the result of the appeal against the damages awarded against the magistrate in the civil suit (in the Midnapore Damage Case), the judgment of the High Court of Calcutta, acquitting the prisoners on the ground that the evidence was worthless, can no longer be challenged. But the Under-Secretary actually congratulates the force on having an "annual average number of convictions for torture during the last six years" of nine—"a record of which many European forces

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

might be proud." There is need here for further and better particulars. The standards of Russia, or, shall we say, of the late King Bomba, are not applicable to a force controlled by the British Government and responsible to British public opinion. It is difficult to understand what Mr. Montagu has in mind, but in the whole of this reference he seems to be needlessly indifferent to his own reputation.

### **Geographical Problems in the Abor-Region**

The preparations which are being made for a military expedition against the Abor tribes on the Assam frontier have directed public attention to the geographical problems awaiting solution in that region, and in particular to the existence of an unexplored stretch of the Brahmaputra River, above the point where it debouches from the Assam hills into the plains. It has long been an ambition of explorers in Central Asia to trace and map this section of the river. How the Sampo of Tibet is continued to the sea is a question which, within the memory of many still living, has given rise to much controversy and has been answered in various ways. Where the Brahmaputra issues from the hill country on the borders of Assam and Tibet it is known as the Dihong, and is many thousands of feet below the level of the Sampo. At one time it was thought by some that the Sampo was continued in the Irawadi and though this has long since been disproved, the exploring party which first follows and maps the course of the river through the border country will achieve a very interesting bit of geographical work. It is necessary, however, to guard against a tendency to exaggerate the mystery attaching to this section of the river. There is not the least doubt that the Sampo is continued in the Brahmaputra, nor is the course it follows so absolutely unknown as many people assume it to be. More than a quarter of a century ago the native explorer known as K. P. (these being the first and last letters of his name, Kinthup) followed the valley of the Sampo for a considerable distance among the mountains, reaching a point which he believed to be only about thirty five miles from the British frontier. The Indian Survey Department, on whose behalf K. P. was acting, afterwards published an account of his travels, and this has lately been reissued as a reminder that geographical ignorance on the subject of the connection between the Sampo and the Brahmaputra is not so great as is commonly supposed. On the other hand, K. P., though displaying the most praiseworthy zeal was not one of the trained surveyors of the department, and his narrative is

based on what he could remember two years after his return. It is still very desirable, therefore, that a well-equipped party should trace the course of the river from the plains of Assam up through the hill country to the Tibetan highland, and among the results of such a journey of exploration, if and when it is performed, particular interest will attach to the evidence collected with regard to the character of the river during its descent through the hills. The great drop in elevation has suggested that these hills may be found to shelter the most stupendous waterfalls in the world, but there is nothing in the information about the river which can be gleaned from K.P.'s narrative and other Indian sources to support this proposition. There are some big falls on the Tibetan side of the frontier, but K.P. puts their height at only 150 ft., and other estimates are less than half that height, so that it would seem that the river accomplishes its big drop mainly by a long succession of rapids.

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### COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

#### Bombay Cotton Mills

The Report on the operation of the Factories Act in the Bombay Presidency furnishes some information on the state of the cotton mills. Nominally the factories under the control of the Act increased from 555 in 1909 to 577 in 1910. The number of the so-called working factories also increased from 520 to 545. Of these 269 were perennial and 276 seasonal; and 158 of the former and 273 of the latter were connected with cotton. We are told that the total number of operatives increased from 227,359 to 230,957. The number of persons employed in the cotton industry were 184,051 as against 181,822 in the preceding year. As many as 134,819 in 1910 and 132,339 in 1909 were employed in the town and island of Bombay alone.

#### Opium Exports

During the month of July last 2,890 chests of opium were shipped from Calcutta to the futher East, and of these only thirty were consigned to China direct, though Hongkong took 1,250. The Straits Settlements took 825 chests and Indo-China 400, while the balance went to Java and Siam. Taking the first four months of the Indian financial year, the shipments were 8,134 chests, as against 12,318 in the corresponding period of 1910, the diminution in value being £900,000. The effect of the new arrangement with China is thus made very clear, and, if it were not that the price of opium continues abnormally high, the losses from a business point of view would be enormous. It has yet to be seen (the

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

*Pioneer* observes) whether smuggling on a larger scale will follow upon the restrictions imposed by the Peking Government. Singapore, Bangkok, and Hongkong may become centres whence the drug will be surreptitiously conveyed into China; and the profit on illicit trading will more than compensate for the risks incurred. Chinese officials are notoriously corrupt, and they may not be averse from sharing in profitable transactions in opium smuggling.

### **A Prehistoric Industry**

India produced the first manganese steel ages before the Western world was acquainted with the use of iron. The Indian iron industry began 1370 B.C. As to the progress before and ever since that date they were in darkness, and could only conjecture that the first ore that man became acquainted with was, apart from meteoric iron, a charcoal iron produced first by accident and afterwards by intent. Indian iron, possessing as it nearly always did, from .4 to .6 per cent. of carbon, was different to other irons or steels produced by any other process. With regard to the establishment on a permanent basis of the iron industry in India from native resources worked by Indians according to their own methods many objections at once presented themselves. The record up to the present had been that of failure, and where to-day the iron industry obtained it was nowhere on a large scale. Much money had been spent and health sacrificed in the many and varied attempts to work the splendid deposits of Indian iron ore, but the only word that seemed to describe these endeavours was "failure." It might be said, in all truth, that as far as the resources of iron ores and minerals, including refractory materials were concerned, that the surface had as yet been barely but slightly scratched. There were great possibilities for the future under right conditions. There was plenty of fuel, and many large collieries existed in Bengal and other parts of India, where thousands of employees were raising coal suitable for railway and shipping works and factories.

### **Drought in India**

A special correspondent of the "Times of India" gives a pen picture of the effects of the present drought in Gujrat. He writes: "Gujrat, at this time of the year, when the rains have pursued their normal course, fully deserves the epithet of 'The Garden of India.' It is green with all the lush verdure of the sub-tropics, and as far as the eye can reach stretch the vivid rice fields, the acres of tall bajri, the sturdy cotton plants, all set in a landscape which is singularly reminiscent of the English countryside. But now, north of Broach, Gujrat is well nigh as brown as it is at Christmas

time in ordinary years. Here and there a patch of bajri may be seen in ear, but that is where well-irrigation has been brought to ripen grain that was wilting in the sun. The unirrigated bajri is mean and stunted, the cotton plants are poor, although living, the rice fields are absolutely bare. And everywhere the land has been denuded of grass just as if it had been shaved. The fields and the waste lands are dotted with men and women, struggling to wring from the parched soil a few blades of grass or a green root or two to save the cattle, which are dying of hunger. It is quite evident that these resources, where they have not been exhausted, must soon give out, and the lean beasts which are seeking to pick a few mouthfuls from the bare land must find food elsewhere or perish. In these three features the course of the monsoon of 1911 is writ broad on the land."

### Oil in Burma

At the annual general meeting of the Rangoon Oil Company, (Limited), Mr. G. S. Clifford, the chairman, reviewed the industry generally. Dealing first with the Yenang young field, he said that so far as the exploited lands are concerned gas pressure has been practically exhausted. Consequently the companies operating within the area are face to face with the necessity of drilling a large number of wells to secure or keep up their production, and have to face the additional cost of pumping their production wells. On the other hand, it may now be expected that all those companies, having remunerative markets for their production, may look to being able to drill all their sites, and to a consequent prolongation of the life of the field. Speaking of the oil fields of Burma as a whole, he stated that the Government had demarcated the oil territory covering 250 square miles, extending from a point 19 miles north of Yenangyat to about 9 miles South of Minbu. Of that area at least 20 square miles had been tested and proved as oil-bearing. Near and about Yenangyat itself were several blocks which had during the past twenty years produced an enormous quantity of oil, and though now classed as exhausted were still producing. The chairman referred to further areas of oil-fields, such as Minbu and Singu, and said the work of prospecting and probing other areas had been proceeded with. Negotiations were also proceeding which, it was trusted, would result in the speedy and fullest development of the company's territory. Far from the oil industry in Burma being on its last legs, he would say only a fraction of the probed oil-bearing territory of Burma had up to date been exploited. The future was not only assured, but likely to exceed the past.

# SELECTIONS

## SOME FEATURES OF THE LAST CENSUS

Put succinctly, the population of India in 1911, preliminary figures for which have been published in the Government *Gazette*, is 315,001,099, representing a nominal increase of 7 per cent over that of 1901. British India has 244,172,371; the Native States 70,828,728. This gives a numerical increase since last census of 20,640,043, to which British territory contributes 12,547,564, or an increase of 5·4 per cent., and the Native States 8,092,479, or an increase of 12·9 per cent.

Until the full statistics have been tabulated and analysed, it is impossible to say how far geography, climate, and other natural causes have affected or produced the variations, or how far they are due to migration; nor would it be wise finally to appraise the importance of the nominal increase of 7 per cent. But in any view of it there are several circumstances to be borne in mind. If war has ceased to stream through the passes of the North-West over the plains of Hindoostan, plague, pestilence, and famine still continue to ravage the land, and it may be that the railways, which the British *rāj* has provided, have, by increasing facilities for communication, helped to spread the first two, though they are invaluable in fighting the last. It should, therefore, be put on record that just before the 1901-11 decade, there occurred two widespread and disastrous famines. Hence a heavy fall in the birth-rate, and hence also, as the sequel of privation, the outbreak of cholera, fever, and other epidemics, which accounted for a morality, chiefly in the Native States, of about 5,000,000 in excess of the normal. Of these deaths a very large proportion were, we are officially informed, "bad lives," which would otherwise have survived into the censal period of 1901-11 and swollen its mortality roll accordingly. It follows then that for the decennium 1901-11 there was every expectation of a comparatively heavy increase in population. Conditions on the one hand favoured a high birth-rate after some years of enforced sterility, while on the other the factors which would have tended to run up the death-rate were removed. Agriculture was on the whole prosperous; there were, of course, some local famines, as there always are in India, but nothing of the wholesale character

## ***FEATURE OF THE LAST CENSUS***

such as the disasters of 1897 and 1900. Industrial development has steadily progressed, notably in Bombay Presidency, up to 1908-9 when the high price of cotton gave it a temporary set-back ; and in the Central Provinces and Berar, where the people, not content with adding largely to their cotton-producing area, have started the industry of cotton-ginning. In almost all the British Provinces railway construction, which entails a constant demand for labour, has been continuous, and irrigation works, which produce a steady seven per cent. to the Government, and are a source of permanent prosperity to the ryot, have been largely added to, especially in the Punjab, where the total length of canals and distributaries has been increased by 618 miles, or something like three times the length of the river Thames. The fates and all the circumstances promised fair for the census of 1911.

But a new and a terrible foe was at hand. The plague had broken out in Bombay city as early as the year 1896, and by the month of March 1901, the first year of the censal decennium, about half a million deaths had been laid to its door. Since then its ravages have been continuous, especially in Bombay and Upper India, and plague mortality began in 1901 with a figure of 284,000, to rise to 1,316,000 in 1907. A drop to under 200,000 then ensued in 1908 and 1909, but 1910 saw the death-rate mount again to 509,006. In all, the plague mortality during the censal period touched the appalling figure of nearly six millions and a half, of which one-fifth occurred in Bombay, one-fifth in the United Provinces, and more than one-third in the Punjab alone. In these two last Provinces other disease scourges have been terribly active. Heavy as has been the plague mortality in the Punjab, it has been scarcely half that from malarial fever, which has been particularly rampant in the irrigated parts of the Eastern and Central districts, while leaving the drier West alone, so that the incidence of disease has lowered the population of the Province by nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the Punjab now contains 44,856 fewer men and (a significant figure this) 537,678 fewer women than it did in 1901. In the United Provinces conditions were favourable for a strong rise in population, at all events since the year 1906,\* when a good kharif was harvested. Wages have been high, industrialism has progressed with the rapid development of the cotton industry, which contrasts with the equally rapid decay of indigo. But, in the words of the Census Commissioner, "the state of public health has gone from bad to worse." There were, in the United Provinces, about a million and a half deaths from plague, and in the single year of

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1908 nearly two million deaths from malarial fever. It is small wonder, therefore, that the population has decreased by 1 per cent.

The following is a tabular view of the figures relating to the most important British Provinces and Native States :

			Variation	
			1911.	1901 Per Cent.
Bengal	...	...	57,192,118	54,597,242 + 4.8
Bombay	...	...	27,074,570	25,478,209 + 6.4
Burma	...	...	12,057,905	10,490,624 + 14.9
Central Provinces and Berar	...	...	16,035,943	13,598,272 + 17.9
Eastern Bengal and Assam	...	...	34,554,929	30,968,134 + 11.6
Madras	...	...	46,215,670	42,417,740 + 9.0
Punjab	...	...	24,172,201	24,754,735 - 2.4
United Provinces	...	...	48,025,143	48,493,335 - 1.0
Central India Agency	...	...	9,365,165	8,514,114 + 10.0
Hyderabad	...	...	13,375,469	11,141,142 + 20.0
Kashmir	...	...	3,157,352	2,905,578 + 8.7
Mysore	...	...	5,806,796	5,539,399 + 4.8
Rajputana	...	...	10,514,111	9,842,416 + 6.8

Fuller details are necessary in order to interpret properly all of the above figures, but it is perhaps possible to explain some of them. The continually increasing industrialism of Calcutta, for instance, is one factor in the movement of population in Bengal. Calcutta, the second city in the British Empire, has grown from 1,106,738 inhabitants in 1901 to 1,216,514, and is drawing in strong currents of migration to operate its jute mills, but at the expense of the surrounding districts and the expense, perhaps, of a normal birth-rate. These mills in their turn demand more and more raw material, and to supply this, jute cultivation has, in Eastern Bengal and Assam, in part superseded that of rice, with the effect of raising the price of all food grains throughout that province. But Eastern Bengal and Assam can pay the price, for its tea industry is higher than ever before, increasing from an output of 167,000,000 lbs. in 1901 to 230,000,000 in 1909. Moreover, the province escaped the ravages of the plague, while Bengal on the other hand paid heavy toll to the disease, and twice saw the monsoon cease prematurely. Bombay's increase is little higher than that of Bengal, but Bombay had to count 1,313,000 plague deaths during the ten years, 1901-10. Madras does better than either, but the tea and the great rubber plantations of the Malay States annually draw off a large quota of its inhabitants.

The case of Burma, the youngest of the great British provinces,

is an interesting one. Its population to-day is 12,057,905, as against 10,490,624 in 1901 which is an increase of 14.9 per cent. Now Burma is even yet very thinly populated ; in lower Burma there are some 75 people to the square mile, in upper Burma 50, and in the Shan States perhaps 18. The reason for this sparsity is partly geographical, for a great deal of the country is too mountainous for habitation and partly political, since till comparatively recently there was no settled government, and the country was depopulated by wars. But to the test of settled government Burma has made an immediate response, and every census now discloses a large increase. The fertile deltaic lands are now nearly all taken up ; completed irrigation schemes in Upper Burma, which is dry because protected from the south-west monsoon by the Arakan Yoma, have attracted and are attracting steady immigration, and the oil industry is acquiring international importance. Rangoon is a measure of the advance of Burma. In 1853, after the second Burmese War, when it fell into British hands, it was little better than a group of hovels cowering under the shelter of the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda. Since then, under British administration, its advance has been great and rapid, and a population of 134,176 in 1881 has risen to 289,432 in 1911, or more than double. In a little more than half a century Rangoon has grown from a resort of a few coasting junks to be the second seaport of the Bay of Bengal, and the third in the Indian Empire. It is the sea outlet for the great Irawadi basin ; up its river come the ocean-going steamers to take away the teak, rice, and oil of Burma, and bring back the manufactures of Europe, and its wharves handle 90 per cent. of Burma's foreign trade. There is an even greater future in store for the town, for the Irawadi basin is as yet only beginning to be opened up ; and should the railway which now runs from Mandalay into the Salwin basin be extended across the Mekong into Tunnan, Rangoon may be a trade outlet for one of the wealthiest districts of Southern China. (*The Scotsman*, Edinburgh.)

## **INDIAN LAW AND ENGLISH LEGISLATION**

In my last article I showed that the Hindus, as a body, are still sunk in degrading and cruel superstition ; that no reform can be expected from the people themselves or their representatives, under the existing conditions of election and nomination to the

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Legislative Councils ; and that no foreign government can be expected to interfere with their law, even though such interference may be required in the interests of progress. At the same time it is clear that there is an increasing class of men, who have outgrown the religious beliefs of their ancestors and follow different ideals ; in their case, conformity to Hindu Law means an outward conformity to what is called Hindu religion as well. The British Government should not stand in their way. The principle of neutrality requires that not only should the adherents of the old law be left undisturbed, but that those who do not wish to be governed by that law, which requires compliance with the ancient faith and ceremonial, should not be compelled to adhere to that law. If the Hindu Law, therefore, on account of the opposition of the so-called orthodox party, cannot be altered to suit the changing needs of the times, the only course open to the Indian Government appears to be *not to coerce* unwilling people to follow it. If the existing law itself does not command the approval of the rulers, and is not presumably required in the public interest, it certainly seems unreasonable that those who do not wish to be under it should nevertheless be bound to follow it.

The justice of this contention was easily allowed in the case of those members of the community who are willing to renounce their class as well as their law. For the benefit of those who feel that the Hindu Law is a mill-stone round their necks, and are willing to declare themselves non-Hindus, the Legislature has enacted the Indian Succession Act and the Marriage Act.

A different case is that of others who for various reasons object to calling themselves non-Hindus, but at the same time feel that they ought not to be tied down by the British Government to a law framed for a society which disappeared centuries ago from living history. It is the British Government that compels them through the agency of its courts to follow the law. But when the administrators of the law themselves acknowledge that it is not consonant with their highest ethical views, or even with their ideas of ordinary justice, it is certainly unreasonable to impose the law upon people who are not willing to be bound by it.

This is the real question at issue:—

Are the Hindus to be told that so long as they remain Hindus by religion they must follow the Hindu Law ? There is no Hindu Church authorised to declare what Hinduism is. The difference in doctrine and ritual between some of the sects are wider than those which separate them from Christianity or Mohamedanism. Among

the sects are some, not small in number, who deny the authority of the Vedas, do not recognise the caste system, and accord to women a position very different from that allowed by Hindu Law as interpreted by the Courts. Yet all these are Hindus governed by Hindu Law. Is the British Government justified in coercing the modern Hindu into the profession of a phase of Hindu religion which he believes he has outgrown? Is he to be manacled to the ceremonies of his ancestors after he has lost faith in them? He has to comply with them if his civil rights are to be determined according to the Hindu Law. It is the worst form of tyranny to deny a Hindu the right of choosing his own mode of worship. This is what the British Government is accused of doing by imposing the Hindu Law on those who do not wish to be governed by it.

For the Government, the simplest course is to say to the reformer : "If you are not willing to follow your Hindu Law, give it up. You are at liberty to follow the Indian Succession Act, or a Marriage Act like III of 1872. In our opinion that is a law fit to be adopted by any modern society, but we do not wish to force it on you. You are at liberty to follow it if you choose." There are, of course, certain conditions which may have to be imposed in introducing optional legislation of this kind, one of them being that the renunciation and acceptance should be irrevocable, and should not interfere with vested rights; but these are questions of detail. The Legislative Council may pass an Act enabling any Hindu to renounce irrevocably his own law, and adopt the above laws framed by the Legislature. It is hoped that the Indian Government will enable all classes of people to do so. In that case the Government may disregard all objections, as the law will only be permissive. It will have the great merit of avoiding interference with any system of law; and in my opinion it will be of great political value, since it ought to be the aim of every administrator to bring the various communities, so far as it is possible, under the same system of law. Such a policy was advocated by Sir Henry Maine, Mr. J. D. Mayne, and Sir Whitley Stokes, whose opinion is thus recorded :—

"The wisest, and, I believe, the most welcome, measure that could possibly be passed affecting the Hindus would be an Act enabling them to discard their own law of property; in other words, to adopt (without prejudice to vested rights) the legal status of Europeans domiciled in India, the change of status being formally registered, publicly announced, and, when once made, absolute and irrevocable. This suggestion is immediately due to

Mr. J. D. Mayne's paper on administration of native law in the courts of the Madras Presidency—the ablest essay that I have ever read on the subject of the law—which should be applied to a conquered nation. The ultimate source of the suggestion is, of course, the well known decision of the Privy Council in *Abraham v. Abraham*, 9, M. I. A., page 195."

Another course is to leave the Hindus to be governed generally by the Hindu law and to remove by legislation any proved injustice ; the demand for legislation in such cases must be based on principles which the British Government must feel bound to act upon, and which an ordinary educated Indian, who may be supposed to feel some interest in the progress of the country, dare not oppose. To illustrate and explain those principles of legislation which the Indian Reformers think ought to be followed by the British Government in such cases, I proceed to refer to some of the questions now in dispute between them and the so-called orthodox Hindus. For obvious reasons I shall first take up the question raised in the Viceroy's Legislative Council by

### THE CIVIL MARRIAGE BILL

The Hindu law is believed to permit marriage only within the caste, and any marriage between members of the innumerable castes scattered throughout the country is null and void. Similarly, a marriage which does not comply with the ceremonial required by the Shastras runs the risk of being set aside. The reformers want a civil marriage law which will enable any two persons to contract a marriage not liable to be set aside on account of their faith, caste prohibition, or non-compliance with any ceremonial. This is what the Bill now before the Viceroy's Council aims at. They believe this is indispensable in the interests of morality and progress. A law which prohibits a union not opposed to conscience of a large body of men undoubtedly tends to the spread of immorality. As to the caste system itself, there has been a unanimity of opinion among those who have spoken or written on the subject that the caste system stands in the way of progress according to Western ideas. That loyalty can only be lip-deep which treats contact with the Sovereign as physical contamination requiring purification, and considers him a Mlecha. It is idle to prate about sympathy and associations with Christians and Mahomedans, so long as they are considered the abomination of the Lord. Caste division is also responsible for the wretched condition of the low classes. They are not only denied education, but they are considered the abominations of the Lord. Caste division is also responsible for the wretched condi-

tion of the low classes. They are not only denied education, but it is considered a sin to impart education to them. They suffer not only from every form of hardship that a selfish priestly tyranny can impose, but from all the hardships of feudal slavery imposed by the warrior classes, and the hardships of industrial serfdom imposed by all the caste Hindus. Nor are the equal castes respected by one another. Many of the innumerable sects and classes in the country regard one another with loathing and contempt. Almost all the castes carry their mutual dislike to such an extent that in Government service, failing their own castemen, they would more willingly serve a European than a member of another caste. In commercial enterprises they would more willingly associate with Europeans than with other castes. Naturally, therefore, no class is willing to trust its fortunes to another. Every one generally tries to insinuate himself in a subordinate capacity into a position of vantage occupied by another casteman, and once he has secured a foothold there, he gently shoves out all the other castemen, and shoulders in his own. So long as this state of things continues, progress is impossible. A closer association among the castes is imperatively called for, if national union is not to be a dream and a chimera. Nor is there any caste which is so circumstanced that it cannot improve by association with others. The class which is generally believed to be the foremost in intellectual capacity and adaptability to environment is believed by the rest to be sadly wanting in character and in courage to act upon a conviction when it may not be safe to do so. The classes which are supposed to be physically strenuous, and to possess high moral stamina, are generally reputed by the others to be wanting in intellectual capacity. Every restriction barring the way to closer association must be removed if the country is to make any progress. Since the mutual dislike of the castes is bottomed upon the fancied superiority of some and the fancied inferiority of others, all restrictions recognised by law as tokens of precedence among the castes must be done away with. The restrictions, therefore, upon marriages between various castes where such restrictions are due to the supposed religious inferiority of some of them, must be removed. A comparatively easier task than this is that of removing those restrictions between castes which have sprung from usage, as distinguished from religion. Besides these restrictions, we have also to consider others imposed by society, disregard of which at present entails religious excommunication, and consequently affects civil rights.

From the religious point of view, it was no doubt the belief for

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a long time that these caste divisions were originally the creation of the Almighty. That belief is now held only by those whose reasons are occult, and not understandable by ordinary intelligences, and who are therefore beyond the reach of argument. The social reformers on this question also have a complete armoury of religious citations. The sacred books no doubt discourage intermarriages, but there is scarcely any Hindu lawgiver who does not recognise such intermarriages, or has not classified their issue, and thus recognised their validity for certain purposes. Great men, leaders of religious thought, of whom India is justly proud, have condemned and deplored these divisions, and an appeal from the moderately sacred to the undoubtedly sacred books of the past, such as the Upanishads and the Vedas, completely disarms the objection that the caste system, as now understood in courts of law, is an essential part of the Hindu religion. It has also been placed beyond doubt that not only throughout the times of the Vedas, Upanishads and Puranas, but for most of the historical period, and even in our own day, intermarriages have frequently taken place. This is borne out by ethnological investigations, which have shown that the features of some of the so-called lower classes have more of the distinctive physical characteristics of the Aryan race than even the higher castes can show, and that there is a good deal of aboriginal and foreign blood among the Brahmins and Kshatriyas.

The social reformers have also studied the historical origin of castes. The inquiries of revenue officials have shown how different castes are springing up under our very eyes. The Sudra of yesterday, becoming a Kshatriya to-day, may be a Brahmin in the next few years, and possibly relapse to his own original caste in after years. The caste is seldom racial, but is more often occupational. There is very little doubt but that the majority of the Brahmins, at least in Southern India, represent the priestly classes among races long ago assimilated by Hinduism. The social reformers believe, therefore, that religion does not stand in the way of abolishing caste, which is nowadays defended only on grounds similar to those employed in the West by the upholders of every noxious privilege. Although the reformers have been at pains to show that all these reforms which they advocate are not only not opposed to, but in strict conformity with, Hindu religion, they are conscious that on any question even remotely connected with religion, it is not possible to expect general agreement among conflicting parties. It may, however, be useful to draw the attention of the considerable

body of men who are open to conviction to the considerations above set forth, and it is possible that, after weighing them, they may come to modify their views. It will also be effective in the case of the rising generation, whom we are trying to educate on this as well as other subjects. If nothing else has been achieved, it is something that the orthodox party are being met on their own ground, and that their position is at least rendered doubtful.

So far as the Government are concerned, we cannot expect them to form an opinion one way or the other, or rather we cannot expect them to act on the view that one view is right any more than the other.

If, therefore, they are to press for legislation, it must be on grounds independent of the religious aspect—on grounds which must compel every government anxious to do its duty by its subjects to legislate even if such legislation should appear to be against the dictates of the Hindu religion.

The relief that the reformers ask for is a civil marriage law permitting any two persons to marry without regard to religious considerations, and, should they elect to do so, without religious ceremonies. They think it is right for the Government to assist people of different sects or castes to intermarry, and also to afford such facilities for widow-marriage as the contracting parties are entitled to. In making this claim, the ground on which they take their stand is that there must be complete liberty of conscience, or, as put by Sir Barnes Peacock, "so long as the interests of society are not injuriously affected, no political government ought to throw in the way of its subjects any impediment whatever against their following the dictates of their own consciences, either directly by subjecting them to penalties or indirectly by subjecting them to disabilities or refusing to allow them to participate in the benefits enjoyed by other citizens, or favouring those who entertained a particular belief." Now, if a man and a woman wish to enter into a contract of marriage, it is not for the Government to step in between and say that they shall not be allowed to enter into that contract because of a prevailing notion that the religion which they follow does not allow them to enter into such a contract. Their religion is their business, and if, according to their conscience, they ought to enter into a contract of marriage, there is no reason why the State should interfere. If a caste Hindu wishes to marry a Pariah, the prohibition of such marriage by the State is undoubtedly an interference with liberty of conscience and freedom of

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action. . It cannot amount to an interference with the religious beliefs of the caste Hindus, because the law which allows these two persons to marry does not say that a person need marry anybody whom he thinks he ought not to marry. There would be nothing in such a law which could compel any man to marry outside his caste. If persons who propose to get married under the civil marriage law did not wish to avail themselves of it, they would be at-liberty to do so. To prevent a man from marriage by recognising a prohibition interposed by third parties is an injury to society, inasmuch as the prohibition favours those who entertain the particular view which prohibits marriage. It refuses to these two persons participation in the benefits enjoyed by other citizens, and it subjects them to undeserved disabilities. If Government upheld certain religious views as to marriage, there is no reason why they should not uphold the religion itself ; no reason, for instance, why they should not insist upon everybody acting according to the beliefs of Christianity or of any other religion. Denial of the right to marry is, in the circumstances, against the express Proclamation of her Late Majesty, that the Government should abstain from all interference with the religious beliefs of her subjects. It is undoubtedly an interference with the religious beliefs of a person to say that he shall not be allowed to marry because the religion of the Hindus—even though he belongs to it—does not allow him to marry, when he himself thinks otherwise.

A civil marriage law is not only necessary for the unification of the Indian races, but is required to prevent their demoralisation, as its absence encourages hypocrisy. Many of the marriage rites, which it is necessary for a Hindu to perform in order to effect a valid marriage, have lost all meaning in the eyes of most Hindus. Some of them are positively repugnant to them, and yet if they do not conform to them, the Civil Courts, which are required to administer the Hindu Law, will declare the marriage invalid. Many, therefore, go through the ceremony without attaching any faith to it. The same reasons which induced the British Parliament to pass a civil marriage law for England apply here with greater force. In India the Crown has distinctly proclaimed neutrality in matters of religion. Yet we can conceive of no greater infringement of that Proclamation than to compel a man to conform to a ritual in which he has no belief. The claim for a civil marriage law to enable those who have lost faith in the efficacy of the ceremonies of religious marriage, which the Civil Courts deem indispensable, ought not to be resisted.

Such a law is also necessary in the interests of widow re-marriage. It is no doubt true that widows are permitted by law to re-marry, and that such marriages may be performed under the present law with such qualifications in the ritual as may be required in their case. But it is a fact that the priests who officiate at Hindu marriages will not solemnise the marriage of a widow. Great difficulties are often experienced in procuring a Brahmin priest for the purpose. One has often to be procured from a great distance. The delay gives room to strong external pressure which is put upon the parties to abandon the marriage ; and really there is no reason why the parties to such a marriage should not have the same facilities that any ordinary citizen has. A civil marriage law will serve this purpose. For those who are willing to avail themselves of it, and in the case of others, too, who may think that without a religious ceremony the marriage law will not be complete, the fact that the civil law can make them husband and wife, and had made them such, will mitigate opposition and produce a more conciliatory attitude on the part of the priests, who will very promptly be brought to their senses.

If a civil marriage law is passed, it is bound to have far-reaching, beneficial results in another direction. The conditions of the marriage market are such that a girl is considered a great burden, and families are often ruined by the expenses attendant upon a marriage. The spirit that prompted infanticide in times not so long gone by still occasionally comes here and there to the surface of Indian society. The civil marriage law will provoke a far larger number of suitors to compete for a girl's hand. By widening the market, it will increase her importance in the eyes of the young men of her own class. Instead of being hawked about, as at present, in the market as an article to be handed over on conditions that may be imposed by the bridegroom, she is likely to be sought after, and her future prospects to be more carefully attended to in her disposal.

If political exigencies requires that the married couple should be deprived of their rights of inheritance, under the Hindu Law, to the property of their orthodox relatives, on the ground that such marriage is opposed to that law, this may be done, though it is difficult to see why this marriage should have that effect, while apostasy does not work any forfeiture and the deceased had the right of disherison.

A question quite as important has reference to the hardships inflicted upon Indian women by

### CHILD MARRIAGE

Towards such legislation the social reformers take the first step by showing that humanitarian reasons imperatively demand it. There is no minimum limit for marriage at present. In fact, there are baby-widows. The Hindu Law insists upon marriage before puberty, though according to Anglo-Indian law consummation can take place only after the girl has attained her twelfth year. The results, in the opinion of the reformers, are disastrous, and they want a law which will validate marriages after the age of puberty—a law which will prescribe a minimum limit for marriage, to prevent physical injury to the girl and to lessen the chances of infant-widowhood; a law to raise the age of consummation, if not of marriage, to the sixteenth, or at least the fourteenth, year. The volume of literature that has gathered round the Age of Consent Act has established beyond all doubt the truth of the weighty utterances of Dr. Chevers, in his standard work on *Indian Medical Jurisprudence*. He says: "If safe child-bearing and healthy offspring are to be regarded as being among the first objects of marriage, this rite ought seldom to be allowed till the eighteenth year, the sixteenth year being the minimum limit in exceptional cases." Indian chiefs like Jeypore and others have resolved that fourteen should be the minimum age for marriage in the territories subject to their influence. Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, who represented Bengal opposition, where it was the fiercest, admitted that marriage should be deferred till fifteen or sixteen. Dhanvantari, called the father of Hindu Medicine, is quoted as saying that a girl is not fit to conceive before she is sixteen, and this view is said to have been adopted by later Hindu physicians. According to them, "children born of parents who are respectively less than twenty-five and sixteen years old are either still-born, or, if born alive, are weaklings."

Infant-marriage is attended with danger to the health of the child-wife. Medical testimony is unanimous that a host of complaints from which our women suffer all their lives, or to which they fall early victims, arise from the evils of early marriage. It has been also established that infant marriage conduces to the physical degeneracy of the classes among whom it prevails. The extraordinary number of still-born children, the heavy infant mortality, the increasing number of puny and sickly persons, the decline in the physical stamina of young and middle-aged persons, the comparative paucity of men after sixty retaining their mental or bodily vigour, the excessive death-rate, the short duration of average life,

are some of the results of child-marriage. Without the willing co-operation of women a healthy home is impossible, and these evils are bound to increase. For their co-operation education is indispensable. Education for women is impossible under a system where infant-marriage prevails. In fact, it has to cease just at the time when real education should begin. A girl has to be taken away from school, however promising she may be, and translated from her parents' home, where she is surrounded by love and affection, to what is practically a strange dwelling to her, of which her husband, ordinarily a boy, is not the head and herself not the mistress ; and where they form two of the numerous members of a corporation, *i.e.*, the joint Hindu family. A life in that family is incompatible with a continuance of systematic study. Strangers rule over the girl. Her life in a joint family is very often not happy, and she may be only one of several wives of her husband. On her husband's death she has to live a severely ascetic life. Her isolation very often leads to moral depravity, and moral depravity leads to crime. It is responsible for a great number of infanticides, and a great number of abortions. Rendered vicious herself, the Hindu widow is often a fruitful source of corruption to others, and conspires to undermine the honour and virtue of those with whom she associates.

Such are the facts ascertained by observation and investigation, and in the opinion of the social reformers they have been established to an extent which justifies legislative interference so far as such interference is possible, and is necessary to diminish sensibly the evils proved to exist when once it is admitted that the education of women is indispensable for national progress, and that the infant-marriage system which, for the reasons above pointed out, is incompatible with female education, stands self-condemned.

On the religious side, also, the social reformers are pressing home the attack. They admit the general practice of infant-marriage. They also admit that this usage is supported by many writers whose utterances are regarded as sacred and authoritative. But they say, first of all, that the sacred texts are themselves conflicting. For instance, there is an injunction of *Manu* to the effect that a woman need not be married, even though she may have long attained puberty, if her parents cannot procure a proper husband for her. Under cover of this text, the Brahmins of the West Coast of India even now put off the marriages of their girls for many years after they have attained puberty ; and as to the other sacred books which support the modern usage, the reformers;

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while reminding their opponents that Oriental scholarship has denounced the passages in question as late tamperings with, or interpolations in, older texts, rely upon the universally admitted fact that all these writings are said to draw their inspiration mainly from the *Vedas*, which are of paramount authority, and which do not support infant-marriage. On the other hand, it is clear from the Vedic formulæ, surviving in the (post-Vedic) modern marriage ritual, that the Vedic ideal of marriage is the union of a mature youth with a mature maiden who understands the obligations which she takes upon herself, and deliberately imposes duties corresponding to those which she undertakes.

Their next argument, to get over the religious objection, is that these so-called sacred texts which enjoin infant-marriage are shown to have had their origin in comparatively recent times to meet certain special dangers to the safety of Indian women. The present system of the Hindus was evolved during the centuries of foreign invasion and internecine war. What Hindu women of the day stood most in need of was not independence to safety. It compelled the father to find a husband for his daughter, even while she was an infant, so that she might find a protector even at an early age. Religious sanction was given to a dictate of social exigency by treating marriage as a religious ceremony indispensable to her for her salvation, and a father who neglected to marry his daughter early was supposed to incur sin. The happiness of married life was not treated, as Mr. Justice Muthuswami Aiyar long ago pointed out, "as a primary or secondary object of marriage." For the very same reason it became necessary that the wife from the moment of marriage should become a member of her husband's family, and should pass under his or its control.

In order that every girl might have a chance of marriage, and that the husband's family might secure adequate protection to her, re-marriage was not permitted, and widows were condemned to an austere and ascetic life, or burned. If re-marriage had been allowed, there is little doubt that the husband's family would not have treated her as one of themselves, for whose protection they were responsible, and if disfigurement and austerity of life were not enforced, the temptations she might be exposed to might prove too strong for her.

It is clear that in the present state of the country and of society the necessity for securing protection for a woman ought not to prevail to the extent of depriving her of her entire freedom. It was useful and necessary before ; it is not necessary now, and it is

opposed to the spirit of the times. Under the British Government the Courts have improved her position in some respects, and rendered it worse in others. The joint family system ensures her maintenance in the joint family, and there is very little doubt that the joint family property was always subject to the imperative obligation of maintaining all the women in the joint family. In their laudable anxiety to encourage free dealing with property, however, our civil tribunals have subordinated the claims of women to those of the creditors of the family, and many widows are in consequence reduced to destitution. On the other hand, the breaking-up of the joint family system under the influence of Hindu Law, as administered by our Courts, results very often in the wife becoming the mistress of her own home, and she thereby necessarily secures greater freedom. While such has been the action of the Courts, the Legislature has interfered to protect her by enacting that no marriage shall be consummated before the wife completes her twelfth year. The age of twelve was fixed as the standard age of puberty. But medical testimony is overwhelming that a prematurely excited imagination, an unnatural forcing of the animal instincts and unnatural stimulation of the passions on account of the parties being brought together after marriage, has a good deal to do with this early puberty. The social reformers are therefore anxious that further restrictions should be introduced by law ; that is, that the minimum age of girls for marriage should be raised to sixteen, if possible, or at least fourteen. If, on humanitarian grounds, it is necessary to enact that there shall be no marriage at any rate before a girl completes her fourteenth year of age, we believe not only that there is nothing in the declared policy of neutrality of the British Government to prevent them from passing such a measure, but that they are bound to do so according to principles of administration which they cannot forsake. No precept of Hindu religion can prevail to enforce what the law of the country considers a crime, or ought to consider as a crime. It is the supreme duty of every Government to protect the lives of its subjects. That rule extends to protecting their persons not only from danger to life or limb, but also from usages which endanger the health of one-half of its subjects and are forced on them against their will and consent. It is a fixed principle, not only of British Justice, but also of Hindu Law, that minors are peculiarly under the protection of the Crown. The Crown entrusts the custody of a minor to the father, or some other guardian, under the Hindu Law on the ground that it is for the

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interest of the child that the right of guardianship should be exercised by the person most interested in his or her welfare. The theory of the Hindu Law that minor girl is the property of her father—a theory which is really the basis of many of the rules which are so fruitful of mischief—is not only repugnant to British justice, but has been expressly repudiated by Anglo-Indian legislation. It is another great principle of British justice that marriage, whatever else it may be, is in the first place a contract, that neither the minor nor her father can enter into a contract which is against her interests and, as in the case under consideration, results in physical injury to her. Any one of these principles will justify the social reformer's demand for legislation to raise the age of marriage or its consummation. The first step is to declare that no penal consequences will attach to marriage after puberty, or at any later period. It is not clear now that a father or guardian may keep a caste Hindu girl unmarried after a certain age. If he does so, he runs the risk of the validity of the marriage being challenged on religious grounds. This is an intolerable evil. But the demand of the social reformers goes further: they say that a parent or guardian should not have the power of dealing with the person of a minor girl to her obvious injury. Dedication of girls to temple prostitution indicates the extent of the abuse of parental authority under priestly influence. The reformers think it scandalous that this practice should be tolerated under a Government which calls itself civilised. But the social reformers go further, and demand that the marriage age should be raised, and no father should be allowed to marry his daughter to any person before that age.

Where it is shown that the happiness or the welfare of the child requires that the father should be deprived of its custody, the Civil Courts have not hesitated to deprive the father even of that right. Where the reason of the law fails, the law itself must be altered. If early marriage is shown to be detrimental to the health of the child, then it is the duty of the Legislature to deprive a father, who would insist upon subjecting his minor daughter to such a danger, of his right of guardianship, and direct the responsible officers to appoint a proper guardian, or carry out the same subject by directing him to marry the minor after a certain age. It is perhaps necessary to inquire who, under the Hindu religion, incurs the sin by not marrying a minor? If it is said that a male member of a family commits a sin by not marrying a girl under age, and that therefore the Government ought not to place obstacles in his way, the answer is clear that he may do anything he likes which his religion directs

him to do, but he cannot be allowed to interfere with the health or comfort or liberty of action of another person, even if his religion requires him so to interfere. If it is the father who complains that his religion directs him to marry his daughter at an early age, the answer is that the English law allows him the guardianship of his daughter for the benefit of the daughter herself, and not in his own interests, and that therefore he cannot be allowed to do anything which will not be for her good. If the objection is that the minor herself considers it a sin, then the reply is that she is too young in age for a matter like this to be left to her uncontrolled discretion, and that her sentiments are probably the result of unhealthy surroundings, so that no attention need be paid to them. The argument, moreover, that the Legislature cannot interfere to protect minors was already advanced and authoritatively discarded in 1891 by the Government of India when they raised the age of consent to twelve.

We now come to the more difficult question of

#### **EXCOMMUNICATION**

It is a fact that though the law might allow a thing to be done, though it might allow a widow to be re-married, or enjoin a minor to be married after a certain age not before, or legalise marriages between different classes, yet by denial of access to temples and excommunication the parties may be subjected to intolerable hardships, and the beneficial provisions of the law may to a great extent be nullified. In 1891, when the Age of Consent Act was under discussion before the Legislative Council, it was suggested that to bar the passage of a Hindu woman, married under the Act of 1856, into a temple might be declared to be wrongful restraint under the Penal Code. To excommunicate persons married duly under the law might also be treated as an offence. Lord Lansdowne's Government rejected this suggestion on the ground partly that it would be a far-reaching innovation to compel the admission of any person to a place of worship in opposition to the religious scruples of the rest of the community, partly also for the reason that social excommunication, with which no law can interfere, will render any step useless and illusory. It may be admitted that to the answer made to the demand so formulated, no exception can be taken. It is no doubt inadvisable, as Lord Lansdowne stated, to compel the admission of a man to a temple against the wishes of the majority, since the result would be the desertion of the temple by the majority of the worshippers. But it seems to have been forgotten that if the majority of the

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worshippers are inclined to allow such admission, the law still prohibits them from allowing the admission, if there is only a small minority prepared to protest. The principle of neutrality to be observed by the Government requires not only that they should not thrust a person upon a hostile majority, but also that a willing majority should not be prevented by a dissenting minority from receiving anybody they may wish to admit. It would no doubt practically be difficult to determine, till we have an elected Legislature, whether a majority is for or against a person's admission into a temple, or for or against a person's excommunication. But that is no reason why Government should deliberately assist the minority. The Government do not fulfil their duty by abstaining from enforcing the right of re-married persons alleged to be interfered with by excommunication, when the effect of such abstinence is to coerce the parties to obey the writ of excommunication. Though the Civil Courts are not supposed to decide questions of ritual or of religion, yet they directly enforce an order of excommunication by refusing to recognise the rights of the excommunicated person to continue as a member of his caste. Consistency and neutrality seem to require either that the Courts should consider the question of the validity of the order complained of—*i.e.*, whether it is consistent with the Hindu religion—or that they should refuse to recognise the validity of the order. The present practice seems to be to presume the validity of any order, provided certain forms are satisfied. A law enacting that a religious question such as the right of entry into a temple or the question of the validity of an order of excommunication, shall not be decided by a Court for any reason whatever, whether incidentally arising or not, and that no Courts shall make the validity or invalidity of such an order a ground for action, will place those who are denied admission into temples, or who are excommunicated for having exercised the rights given to them by law, on an equal footing with their opponents.

Another question is whether legislative interference should be invoked against

### **POLYGAMY**

Marriage is undoubtedly a contract to which the parties themselves or their guardians or their behalf are parties. When two adult persons, each knowing the evil effects of polygamy, enter into a contract of marriage according to a law which allows polygamy, there may be no reason for relieving either of them from the consequences. But in the case of a minor the question assumes a different com-

plexion. *Prima facie*, when two persons marry, each is entitled to the society of the other. If a man marries more than one wife, it is impossible for him to fulfil the terms of his contract with each, whatever may have been the old idea of Hindu marriage ; and as a minor should not have been presumed to have given her consent to a polygamous marriage which is so detrimental to her interests, it appears to be right and proper that the husband should be restrained from marrying a second wife, or at any rate that restrictions recognised by Hindu Law should be placed upon his doing so. The Hindu Law justifies such an advance in civilisation, and if a law is passed declaring that second marriage shall not take place, if it takes place at all, without the first wife's consent previously obtained, which consent can be given only for special reasons, it will effect a great and beneficial change, and, I have no doubt, will be welcomed by the great majority of the people. I am aware that a petition presented to the Government of India in 1856 by the then Maharajah of Bardwan and other nobles in Bengal, against polygamy was rejected, but it was not put forward in this restricted form, and the reasons for its rejection do not apply to the present modest proposal.

If, for any reason the Government feel precluded from carrying out the above suggestions, there is another direction in which legislation might proceed. The theory that the existing laws, framed for a state of society which ceased to exist centuries ago, must be imposed on a reluctant people, and cannot be altered by them, is not one to be supported for a moment ; and if they cannot be allowed to escape from it openly in some of the ways above suggested, the course which was adopted at my instance by the Madras Legislature may be given effect to. The Legislature may provide that when any step is proposed to be taken by certain persons, while there is room to apprehend the Courts, may afterwards declare to be against Hindu Law, then any objection on the ground of its invalidity must be taken before such step is taken. Thus, for instance, if a marriage is proposed to be celebrated under condition which would invalidate it in a Court of Law, then it may be provided that objection to it must be raised before the celebration of the marriage ; otherwise it ought not to prevail. The principle has been already accepted in Anglo-Indian Law. Parties are often prevented by laws of limitation and of estoppel from challenging the validity of a marriage or an adoption. For all practical purposes, the status of husband and wife or of an adopted son is created quite against the principles of Hindu Law.

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Such a law would facilitate the gradual modification, and help the final disappearance, of usages which stands in the way of progress.

These instances illustrate the necessity of legislation to carry out the wise principle of neutrality to which the British Government is pledged, but which in the opinion of the Indian Social Reformers is now violated in practice. (Mr. Justice C. Sankaran Nair in the *Contemporary Review*).

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

### WHO ARE THE HINDUS?

Under the above heading Mr. J. B. Keith contributes a rather interesting article to the current number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*. The point of view with which the question is argued is a little bit archaic and completely ignores the witness that the literature and philosophy of the Hindus bears to the other side, but, at any rate, Mr. Keith's presentation of facts is forcible and is worth a perusal. He says :—

Attempts to unravel the tangled web of Indian races have not been facilitated by the Hindu constitution and caste system ; for, however much we admire it as a masterpiece of political wisdom, it does not help us to determine the Aryan controversy or say who are Aryans and who are not Aryans. Virtually it represents what is known as Hinduism, and this has been described as a geographical expression, a race and a religion. From time to time, as the various tribes entered India, they were admitted into this system, and through process of conversion became Hindus—at all events, in faith—and had had to submit to the rules imposed by the system. This took place with the Rajputs, who boast of great antiquity, and carry with them such high-sounding titles as the Solar and Lunar Races. From their features, as well as from some of their customs, we have long doubted their right to be called Aryans, but into these we will not go for the moment. At this very day the Brahmans are absorbing into the Hindu religion many of the lower representatives of the non-Aryan race, and to the confusion of Christian missionaries. By the means of proselytism many of the workmen of India—and here we are on ground on which we can speak with some knowledge, for we inquired into their ethnic origin and found them nearly all non-Aryans. We need not particularize them, but will content ourselves with observing that the workers in textiles, in timber and stone, as well as the miners, were all members of the older or Turanian race.

With the aid of language the names of non-Aryan cities were changed, and the Mahomedans, following the same practice, have transformed the nomenclature in many parts of India, and have also made use of religion in giving new names to their proselytes.

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Inconvenience attaches to this meddling, for not only are patronymics changed, but works of art often meet the same fate. A Mahomedan friend was once quite angry with us when we assured him that a Mahomedan mosque was a converted Hindu temple. And at the time we write, hundreds of Englishmen, in claiming the friendship of the followers of Islam, are forgetting that Mahomedan is the name of a religion, not the name of a race. The greater part of the Mahomedan population are the descendants of Hindu converts of Islam. The regrettable practice to which we revert assumes its worst form when some ardent Republican tears down an old royal name from the streets of Paris to make way for one of his favourites, and so perverts history. To revert, however, to caste : it opened the door for all sorts of liberties, seeing that a man as black as one's hat became a high-class Brahman, or "a twice-born," or, in the course of caste promotion, became a Thakur or Rajput. But this was not all : the glamour of Vedic story has left the impression on many minds that the whole of Indian literature, as well as the arts and sciences, was the work of the Aryan Brahmins, who were in many cases no more than superior middlemen. It is by no means proved that the Hindu epics are the work of the Aryan races, for non-Aryan countries claim a heroic period, and have men, who, through ballads and other vehicles, sing of the great age. Indian history is enormously indebted to the Brahmins for preserving a record of its arts and transmitting them to posterity ; but when you consider what power the Brahmins exercised, with what superstition these pontiffs were regarded by the reverent Indian populace, as associated with Divinity, as the interpreters of the sacred oracles and revelations, while holding chief places in the State, we can see at once how history may be misrepresented.

Over the evolution and the original home of the Aryans we are not much concerned, and leave our readers to consult Dr. L. Taylor's and Von Shering's interesting volumes, taking different sides in the controversy, and also Professor Sergi, the Italian anthropologist's volume, wherein he believes Northern Africa to have been the Roman cradle. On the other hand, writing of Western civilization in India, we are at liberty to bear in mind that India and Europe have been the home of practically different races, with different activities chiefly caused by the *milieu ambiant*.

It is as notorious that European races do not acclimatize in India, as the experience recorded under the data of environment, that the foreign wheat sown in an acreage with the indigenous

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variety becomes absorbed by the latter because adapted to its environment. All Asiatic races, lower and higher, from whatever direction of the Eastern hemisphere they may come, freely acclimatize on Indian soil ; but this is not the case with Western birds, dogs, or cattle, nor, as we have stated, with the higher races. Tartars, Mongolians, Arabs, Scythians, have all entered the Indian continent and become easily acclimatized. Europe gives a somewhat opposite experience, for within historic times the Hungarians, assumed to have been Scythians, have become settled in Europe, and have transmitted their progeny. Climate is a great factor, and in this case the climate of Scythia could not have been so different from each other.

Races half Asiatic and half European are said to get on fairly well in England, and are fertile everywhere ; but in the case, say, of a Mahomedan doctor settled in England and married to a native wife, it is a question whether he would be able to transmit his progeny to posterity. Both habitat and heredity are great factors, and so play into each other that it is difficult to differentiate them. And having traversed the continent of India from north to south, and from east to west, we have been impressed, like Mr. Nesfield, with the similarity of features in all the Hindu races. They may be a puzzle at times, and it is hard to say where the Tartar, Mongolian, or Dravidian element prevails most ; but a close observer cannot fail to recognize a certain homogeneity of race throughout India and re-echo the aphorism of Dr. Von Shering, "The soil is the nation." The climate of India may vary in different parts, and yet it is uniform in the distribution of sun-heat throughout the entire continent.

Now we recur, in looking at ethnic origins in India, to a phase that has long impressed us, but which does not appear to have invited the attention of the many erudite scribes who have devoted so much labour on the ethnology of India—*vis.*, the existence of a strong Tartar and Mongolian element in Northern India. The Tartars and Mongolians we esteem as proceeding from the same stem ; they have given their names to various provinces in Northern Asia, such as Eastern and Western Tartary, Eastern and Western Mongolia, but are chiefly known as occupying the whole region of the North, including Scythia. Historians have referred to their numerous conquests, such as that when Chenghis Khan swept over the whole of Asia, destroying thirty nationalities to the conquest of China (a people whose origin seems doubtful, when we find Terrien la Confenes calling them Caucasians !). As Mongols,

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we are all acquainted with the setting up of the house of Tamerlane in Delhi. These summaries, by the way, do not seem to us to support the idea of a large Aryan population in India, and it is noteworthy that there is scarcely a tribe or family whom they analyze that has not an ingredient of what, if we cannot call it aboriginal blood, is the blood of races many of whom were in India long prior to the Aryans.

We should not have looked for many Aryans in the Punjaub, because that province, up to the time of Darius, was Turanian, and so was Cashmere; but we should have expected more in the North-West Provinces, generally believed to have been the Aryan home, and to which a portion of India owes the name of Hindustan. What are now the Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay, have always been allowed to have been non-Aryan; but we think the Buddhist monuments, to which very few have had access, and which occupy the country supposed to be the chief resort of Aryan settlers in old days, throw a still stronger doubt on the reputed Aryan population. The chief Buddhist remains in what was known as Central India of former days embrace those of Mathura, Sanchi in Bhopal, Bharhut, and Buddha Gya, near Gya. There is also Amaravati, in Lower India, but we have no personal acquaintance with it. As might be anticipated, there is a heterogeneous collection of people, including men from a trans-Himalayan country, Highlanders, Tibetans, Burmans, and men whose good-humoured and laughter-rejoicing faces might pass them off as Japanese, if we did not know that they were Hindus. For the most part, they are small in stature, like the Burmese, with broad faces, and rarely any beard or hair on their faces. That they are chiefly of non-Aryan origin may be noted from two items, which we owe to the practised eye and knowledge of Sir Alexander Cunningham. One is that of tattooing the body, common to the non-Aryan races, and much indulged in by the Burmese, as we have seen when quartered in Burmah. The Hindu of these monuments bears a strong likeness to the Burmese, although, for that matter, he does not differ from the small, wiry figure that you meet with in the Mahratta of the Deccan. By some both stature and dress are appealed to as indications of race, and a pair of boots, shoes, or sandals have a high ethnic importance; whereas we know that climate and food are determining elements in the case of both. A Punjaabee or Sikh is ordinarily a taller man than an inhabitant of the Deccan, and so, too, a native of Upper China. Again, while it is true that in many cases dress divides itself into the

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"trousered" for the North and "untrousered" for the South, as Planche indicates, no arbitrary rule can be laid where habit and custom exercise so much sway. We know that the influence of climate and of food has been denied, but we think Topinard unfortunate in drawing attention to the Todhas and Kurrumbas, an adjacent tribe, and both on the Neilgherries—the one a tall, handsome race, living on milk and lentils, and the other diminutive, living on butcher's meat : for both milk and lentils are nourishing. Two-thirds of the Scottish nation used to be reared on porridge. The population of Central India, where the Buddhist monuments are situated, were chiefly Kols, Gonds, and Nagas during the time of Asoka and are so still. It was a very suggestive remark on the part of a member of the Czar's Staff on his visit to India as Czarevitch when, pointing to the Hindus, he observed, "These are our kinsmen," and recorded it in a very charming volume.

And this brings us to a query that has often been asked : Are the royal race of the Rajputs, of whom the bards sing, whose palatial citadels, such as Gwalior in the Middle Ages, and whose splendours Tod has so well described—are they Scythians ? It was the opinion of their classic historian, but this has been opposed by Elphinstone on grounds we think inadequate, and which do not bear examination. We think there is as much in favour of Colonel Tod's opinion as in the belief that the Hungarians are of the same race or Mongolian. It was once our good fortune, but many years ago, to hear the great Hungarian patriot lecture in Scotland on Liberty, and in after-years in India we have thought that we recalled his features among the Rajputs. Before us are two portraits of Rajput noblemen, for which we are indebted to Sir Swinton Jacob, many years in the service of the Rajput State of Jeypore. Individuals differ in every race, but one of these might pass for a Tartar Prince and the other for a Mongolian, the latter being, perhaps, more in harmony with the sculptures on the Sanchi monument. To many it seems rather incongruous to see in the persons of the high-bred Rajputs, who represent the chivalry of India, any likeness to the "barbarians" of Gibbon, who drank mare's milk, and who are looked upon at best as a sort of brutal warriors. But we question very much whether this description is true of the entire race of soldier-chieftains belonging to either the Scythian or Mongol hordes that issued from Northern Asia. The soldier's profession, so often associated with that of the hunter, breeds frequently rough qualities ; but it as often generates opposite virtues, and is a profession that has supplied not a few rulers to

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mankind. While it generates courage to a fault, it makes a man often resourceful, and habituates him to habits of self-control, self-sacrifice, and generosity. The rude, turbulent Scythians might be barbarous, and so were the Scottish Highlanders at the time of Caesar, being little more than cattle-lifters, and yet they afterwards turned out some of the finest regiments in Europe. Again, the Rajputs are not only like the Scythians in that they have been devoted to the chase, but they worshipped the horse and performed the horse sacrifice. On a disc of the small tope at Sanchi there is a representation of a horse led by a man who holds an umbrella over its head, and this probably has reference to the horse immolation. We learn from the Bible how the Scythians dealt largely in horses in the markets of Tyre, and it seems more than likely that the Rajputs introduced the historic horse into India, the prehistoric one having for ages been defunct. But these alone are not the only likenesses, for the Rajputs had the same elective assemblies as the Scythians. Elphinstone saw differences between the Scythians and Rajputs, not only in size and physique, but in dress and customs, and forgot what change of environment does for so many in all manner of life. In so doing he has also ignored the effect of climate and caste, the latter changing worship and the other details. We cannot look upon the Rajputs as Aryan by descent. Nevertheless, we repeat and own that it is a very complex subject to analyze the web that encircles the races of India, for admirable as the information is which we have received from scholars and ethnographers, more particularly those who dwell on etymologies and customs based on social and religious practices, they one and all admit that the races of India are extremely mixed—so mixed that we do not see the worth of cephalic indices, so much relied upon by Sir Herbert Risley. All we can do is to glean a few inferences by the wayside, and on this matter we think the Buddhist monuments and their arts offer us no little enlightenment. The characteristic racial type on those situated in Northern India, including those of Mathura, Sanchi, Bharhut, and Buddha Gya, is, in our opinion, either Tartar or Mongoloid, and we do not see where the Aryan steps in, or, rather, let us call them for the most part non-Aryan.

The engraved gems from Babylon known to lovers of glyptics contain one seal with a distinctly Mongolian figure, and this identical figure may be seen reproduced on a transom of the Sanchi tope. Then, the figures that bestride animals of all kinds, such as camels, lions—and they represent both men and women in a very marked

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attire, not at all like ordinary Hindu clothing—have very Mongoloid and trans-Himalayan look, and present a strong contrast to those of Bactrian Greeks on the small tope whose Aryan faces are unmistakable. As is well known, Indian civilization owes a great deal to Babylon, and the Assyrian or winged figures on the Sanchi gateways are very conspicuous. The Mongol Empire, that extended from Babylon to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, contained many Mongolian families, including Parthians, and emigrants from those families must have found their way to India, so that it is not at all curious that we should recognize the Mongolian type in Buddhist caves, such as Ellora and Ajunta ; nor ought we to forget that the typical representation of the great Buddhist sage, as already noted, whether in paintings, sculptures, or coins, gives him Mongolian features. Among a race so widely spread as the Mongolian—found in China, in Hungary, and in Finland—it would be strange if several contingents had not from the earliest times descended from the Northern Asian heights into India. We have long suspected that there has always been far more of this race in India than the Aryan, and that long before the intercourse of China in latter times with the Delhi Court, and before the days of the Chinese pilgrims, India was full of Mongolian blood, and this lends an additional interest to the Yellow Race at the present hour. Moreover, what is still more remarkable, we have thought to identify in the sociology of the non-Aryan communities ideas common to them and the primitive tribes of America recognized to be of Mongolian origin, and in several aspects a higher type of morality and greater respect for the rights of individuals.

Our opinions may be of no value, but it has always appeared to us that the glamour of the Aryan race in the West turning out the greatest minds—whether they be the outcome of Grecian or Roman genius, or belong to the race of modern soldiers and statesmen and scientists that adorn history—have taken a wrong view of Indian history, and so, magnifying the part that the so-called Indo-Aryans have taken on, Indian has failed to see that what is called Aryan civilization was the joint work of non-Aryan as well as Aryan. Brahmanical records have so perverted Indian history, making out the non-Aryans to have been such a contemptible people, that the true proportion of Indian history has been lost, if we are correct in looking on the non-Aryans as the people who first discovered the value of products while domesticating plants and animals. They were the people who first established the arts of agriculture and mining, and necessarily many subordinate arts, from

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whose loins most of the Turanian workmen issued, and the authors, we reiterate, of the oldest Indian cities. From their stock, too, has proceeded some of the greatest rulers that India has seen, inclusive of the Emperor Asoka and the Emperor Akbar. The Aryans, on arrival in India, were mere nomads, with no arts and a very restricted vocabulary, so that, whatever be their share of honour, it was on Indian soil that the race evolved all they acquired. Nor do we see how they could have acquired by themselves the knowledge with which they have been credited, unless in numbers they represented a considerable race. Bar the colonists, who arrived on the banks of the Indus in 4,000 B.C., we hear little of their migrations, and it is yet to be explained how a body numerically small, and with no military organization, ousted an older race, who are reported to have occupied the entire continent, and to have established, according to Professor Oppert, the Madras Sanskrit scholar, communities, arts, trades, and principalities. This statement may be somewhat exaggerated, but elsewhere we have contended for a high antiquity, and there is no doubt as to the establishment of non-Aryan village communities. That the older race, who were the original inhabitants of India, were conquered, and became the slaves of the conquered—of this there is little doubt, for in the customs of the Madras races one servile caste, the Parhiar, there are to be found the remains of former dignity and evidence of the fact that the position of governing and subject races has been reversed—but who the conquering race was does not exactly appear, and there have been many conquering races in India, some of whom have been military, like the Nairs of Malabar.

We have now reached the end of our investigation, and the answer we give to the question postulated "Who are the Hindus?" is that *they are a conglomerate, made up of many branches of the Asiatic race, who, if owning traits and qualities, mental as well as physical, common to the human species, have become through the lapse of ages, dating back to the Quaternary period of history and the Ice Age, a race differing in many ways from the European.* Formed of many branches, and coming from various quarters of the Eastern hemisphere, they have been fused into one Indian race, and this through the influence of the land, the climate, food, and mixture of dissimilar individuals—in other words, they are like a stream fed by many rivulets. *Our generalization is rather the opposite of the usual one, which describes India composed of many races and many nationalities ; but we cannot see any substantial difference between a Rajput, a Mahratta, or a Sikh ; and the difference between many*

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Mahomedans and Hindus is a difference, as we have insisted, more of religion than of race.

*Nor do we see any reason why in the more distant future they should not be fused into one nationality.* The days are gone by when rival deities smashed each other's heads, and religion, if all-potent in the past to separate people, may be unable to divide people united by a common patriotism and love of country. Ineffectual attempts were made in recent European wars to make it a war-cry, but these proved ineffectual. What has divided the Indian races more in the past than anything else, and prevented Indian patriotism, has been the caste system.

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Lord Amphill, whose sympathies for our suffering fellow-countrymen in South Africa are but too well known, has once more drawn public attention in England in a letter to the Press to the position of Indians in the Empire generally and the situation in South Africa in particular. He holds that moral pressure should hasten the solution of a problem which is generally recognised to be one of extreme gravity to the Empire as a whole. He says that the British public have been lulled into a false sense of tranquility by the smooth assurances of responsible authorities in South Africa, but actually the situation is as serious as it has been at any time. He does not forget that the problem exists elsewhere, and is becoming more difficult in other places, but in South Africa, however, the matter has reached an acute stage. In clear but concise terms, he then describes the South African situation and the following portion from his letter will show what the actual situation there is. His Lordship says :—

Now, in South Africa, fresh hardships are being persistently imposed on our fellow Indian subjects. The old question of registration and restricted immigration remains in suspense and may possibly be settled in a satisfactory manner by the Union Parliament next spring, but other forms of persecution have been more boldly pursued, and while, possibly because the British public knows nothing about them the Imperial Government has done nothing to check them. It is the old story of allowing under British Government and under the British flag that which we did not allow when the country was under Boer rule.

I trust that you will kindly grant me space to explain the matter as briefly as it is possible to explain a long story and complicated

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situation. Law 3 of 1885 in the Transvaal, which was passed by an alien Government with no Imperial obligations, was designed to segregate all British Indians in locations, for purposes of residence and trade alike, and it denied them the right to own fixed property. This harsh law, however, was not rigorously enforced as to segregation owing to constant British protests. After the War, the Transvaal Government attempted under British auspices to enforce the segregation provisions of the law and to make the prohibition as to the ownership of fixed property effective. The Indians carried the matter to the Supreme Court and succeeded in establishing their contention that they had a right to trade outside locations since compulsory residence in these locations was impossible. It is worth while to quote the following comments made by the Chief Justice on the occasion: "It does strike one as remarkable that, without fresh legislation, the officials of the Crown in the Transvaal should put forward a claim which the Government of the Crown in England has always contended was illegal under the Statute, and which in the part it has strenuously resisted."

Now, since it was found possible that a European should become the registered owner of fixed property on behalf of a British Indian, certain British Indian traders entered into arrangements with their European friends whereby the former retained the virtual ownership of the properties while the latter remained the nominal owners, and these agreements were held by the Transvaal supreme Court to be not illegal. The European traders, however, have persisted in their endeavours to compel British Indians to reside and trade in locations, and in these endeavours they have had the help of the local Government. The owners of private townships were permitted by the Government to issue regulations setting forth the conditions of lease or sale of their properties, including a condition prohibiting any coloured person from residing thereon except in the capacity of a servant, and British Indians were included in the term "coloured persons."

In 1906, the Vrededrop Stands Ordinance was passed in spite of Indian protests, dispossessing Indian standholders and containing a provision that no "coloured person" should reside thereon except as a domestic servant. In 1907 the Vrededrop Stands Act was passed, giving theoretical compensation to the evicted Indian residents but retaining disabling provisions as to residence.

The next step was the Gold Law of 1908, which made it unlawful for British Indians to reside outside of a location in

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proclaimed mining areas except as servants, and made it a criminal offence if they should do so or if any European should permit them to reside or trade on his property situated in such areas. The strong protest of the Indian community was ignored and his Majesty's Government submitted the Act for the Royal Assent.

In 1908 and 1909 this policy of making life in South Africa impossible for Indians, whose right to be there had been fully established and admitted, was still further continued under the Townships Amendment Acts. These Acts, read together with the Gold Law, provide in a subtle and indirect manner that the same prohibitions and penalties shall be enforced in regard to public townships. They provide further that leasehold rights may be exchanged for freehold rights, but that the latter are granted only on condition that no coloured person other than a domestic servant be allowed to reside on township properties on pain of confiscation to the State of such properties without compensation to the owner. Now, there are cases in which the real owner is an Indian, residing and trading on the property, and it is against such cases that the new law is directed. I say that there are "cases," but I believe the fact to be that practically the entire British Indian population is resident in the gold mining areas or townships either, in a few instances, as virtual owners, or, in most cases, as tenants. The effect of this legislation will be to drive this Indian population into "locations" for the purposes of trade and residence, a policy against which the British Government protested both before and after the war, but to which they have now assented since 1908. The only persons not immediately affected are a few Indian traders holding leases of property, but they will only be immune until the expiry of their leases. The enforcement of the law will thus result in driving away most Indians from their homes, in the confiscation of the property of others, and in the virtual ruin of the entire Indian population. The only possible alternative to compulsory residence in locations is the compulsory withdrawal, or shall we say banishment, from South Africa of the Transvaal Indian community without compensation.

It really does seem extraordinary and incomprehensible that the Government which affected to regard "compulsory residence in locations" as the test and proof of "slavery" in the case of the Chinese should assent to the subjection of his Majesty's Indian subjects to these very same servile conditions. We have heard again and again that the policy of the South African Government is only intended to prevent further Asiatic immigration and to

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safeguard the interests of lawfully resident Indians ; but it is difficult to see how the facts which I have briefly summarised can be reconciled with such intentions. It is also difficult to see how the Imperial Government can refute the charge that Indians in South Africa are worse off under British rule than they were under Boer rule.

### JAPAN'S MESSAGE TO INDIA

Under the above heading Mr. G. Sherwood Eddy contributes a very interesting article to the September number of the *Indian Review*. He says that several national characteristics may account for the success of Japan. These are as follow :—

*Open mindedness.*—This is, perhaps, their most striking characteristic and, more than anything else, has been the secret of their progress. They have imported an army of foreign teachers into Japan, and have sent their students throughout the West in search of knowledge. All new theories of science and knowledge have been eagerly received.

*Intelligence.*—The Japanese are remarkably precocious, quick in perception and strong in memory. It is true that heretofore they have been lacking in power of analysis and in philosophical ability, but these defects have been due, not to deficient mental faculties but largely to their environment and to their former mechanical system of education.

*Patriotism.*—Their love for their Emperor and their pride in their own land amounts almost to devotion, and in sometimes carried to excess. Perhaps no people in the world are so devoted to their country and so ready to act in unity for the welfare of their land.

*Imitation.*—In general the people are imitative rather than initiative or inventive. They do not however, blindly adopt, but skilfully adapt everything to their own needs. They seek the best throughout the world and appropriate it for themselves, but they seldom take anything without improving it.

Let us now gather up a few of the salient lessons which India may learn from Japan at this time :—

*Patriotism* is the first lesson which India needs to learn from Japan. This has been the cause of Japan's unity, the secret of her political advancement, and of her success, alike in war and peace. Patriotism in Japan means, not a blind praise of what is their own and a hatred of all that is foreign, but a submission of the individual to the welfare of his country. As a prominent Japanese

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speaking in India, said, "We do not say, 'Whatever is Japanese is good' but 'whatever is good shall be Japanese.' We recognize our faults that we may correct them." There are three elements in true patriotism; the spirit of love, loyalty to truth, and self-sacrifice. The word patriotism means "*love of country*." It spells love, not hate. It is born only as selfishness dies within us. And it can thrive only in the soil of liberty.

But love of country may be blind and misguided unless coupled with loyalty to *truth*.

The third element in true patriotism is *self-sacrifice*. And how sorely this is needed to-day. Reforms never come by waiting till things are easy and everybody moves at once. That time never comes. Some one must suffer first and lead the way.

*Reform.*—Patriotism must issue in action. There are things to be done, abuse to be set right, false customs to be removed. Here too India needs to learn from Japan the lesson of preparation and reformation. Her success was not won easily, nor in a moment. Many reforms were needed in Japan before she attained her sudden pre-eminence. There was the introduction of education; the elevation of womanhood; the breaking down of all social barriers, and the uplifting of the lowest outcastes to the full privilege of citizenship; and many other reforms. And this is the crying need of India to day.

*Emphasis upon the practical.*—India is far more eloquent, but Japan is far more active; India is theoretical, Japan practical; While we strive to introduce industrial reforms, let us not forget that the distinctive feature of India is her religious sense, and that her mission to the world is spiritual. But this should not stand in the way of India's industrial advance.

As in the case of Japan, more of India's students will have to be sent abroad for practical training. Technical and industrial and agricultural studies must receive a greater emphasis in India. Gymnastics and athletics should be further encouraged. New trades, new lines of manufacture, new ventures in commerce, must be undertaken. Public confidence must be increased; and public confidence can only rest upon public honesty, commercial, official and personal, for every untruth delays the emancipation of India. Capital also must be invested and money placed in circulation. Wealth hoarded or absorbed in jewels is one cause of India's poverty. It is a talent buried in the earth, unused for India's good. Debt again is not only a result but a cause of poverty. Habits of economy must be practised. Indians cannot be the slaves of every

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wasteful and expensive marriage custom or tradition, if they are to live within their incomes. In a word, they must develop the practical side of their natures, they must give earnest thought to industrial problems and *they must work*.

*Democracy and Social Equality.*—Japan to-day would never be in the forefront of civilized nations, could never have defeated Russia, nor have succeeded in peaceful competition with other nations if she had been a divided and caste-ridden nation. In unity lies the strength of all nations. There are social distinctions, of course, in every land, but in the most enlightened countries all men are given the rights of citizenship, equal opportunities of education and advancement, the privilege of choosing their vocation and of ascending in the social scale. Individual worth and personal liberty are recognized, and progress becomes possible. But in India individuality has been crushed by caste. So caste must go if India is to advance.

*The Position of Woman.*—With the modern spirit of Western civilization, woman has been educated in Japan and uplifted. According to the Japanese Year Book over 96 per cent. of the girls of school-going age are in primary schools, while in India only seven women out of every thousand can read and write. Infant marriages are not permitted in Japan. In Japan girls marry at about the age of sixteen, while among the Christians in that land the age is said to be from eighteen to twenty; the men marry from twenty to twenty-five. By law, the minimum age for marriage is fifteen for women and seventeen for men. How long in India shall infant marriages be condemned and yet practised? Again, in Japan widows are not doomed to a life of solitude and forbidden remarriage. Though divorce is too common, and the position of women is still far from ideal in Japan, widows are recognized as having rights as well as widowers.

*Religious Liberty.*—With an enlightened Sovereign and educated people, Japan has proclaimed liberty of conscience and religious toleration. Every man is permitted to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. It is not uncommon in Japan to see members of the same family belonging to different religions living in perfect harmony in the home. We cannot coerce the conscience without crushing the individual. Japan never advanced till she gave religious liberty. Even China to-day is turning from the worship of the past to the life of the future. India, like China, has long been chained to the past. India boasts of toleration but if a Brahman or Mahomedan wishes to change his faith and to

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become a Christian, or to adopt any other religion, what happens to him? Is this toleration? Is this in keeping with modern civilization? Let us have done with persecution and with blind prejudice, and leave every man free to choose his own religion and follow the highest that he knows.

### THE ANTIQUITY AND ORIGINALITY OF HINDU CIVILIZATION

Major J. B. Keith has contributed another article besides the one we have already noticed, to the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, under the above heading in which he refutes the opinion of those who hold that Indian civilisation is neither very old nor original, and that the Hindus borrowed all their art, science and architecture from others. He says :—

The story that India has nothing old, that she borrowed from all quarters, has been voiced by many authorities, and by none more so than by some who have been the pioneers in conserving her arts, and whose loss to India has been a great and irreparable one, notably Dr. James Fergusson, the historian of architecture. They are, we repeat, by no means singular, when we find an authority like Sir William Jones declaring that, in his opinion, Indian civilization was derived from Persia, and even connecting the name of the Indian law-giver Manu with Menes, the Egyptian. With the exception of a few, such prevalent ideas as to the origin of Indian architecture, we have no intention to combat a tithe of the fallacies that have sought to rob India of its title to a high antiquity, or to be regarded as a great and original civilization of the ancient world. An undertaking of this kind would involve an amount of detail and a survey of the rise and development of various arts and sciences that we are not prepared to give, to say nothing of morality, religion, and philosophy, all of which would require elaborate monographs in themselves. But when we hear the civilizations of Egypt and China dubbed "indigenous" by such a well-known ethnologist and anthropologist as the late Dr. Daniel Brinton, and India denied the right to such a title, we seem to detect a great misconception of history and of human origins. And, consequently, we think we may be doing a service to our readers in showing how some of the fallacies have arisen.

As you examine a Buddhist monument and observe the singular powers of observation that enabled a Hindu workman to note every insect and creeping thing, to depict plants in all stages of growth,

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from the chrysalis germ to the matured state, your natural remark is, "What students of nature, and how well qualified to be discoverers!" Nor does this conviction leave you when you become acquainted with Hindu art, whether in the plastic form or in Hindu literature, religion, or philosophy; for you are abreast of powers that display a singular mastery over analysis, reasoning, and reflection, with no mean logical aptitude. And not only is preparation for mental study elaborate in place, posture, and manner, down to breathing through the nostrils (not mouth), but you find yourself in presence of an amount of definition, classification, and refinement, that show the Hindus to have been not only close but subtle thinkers. We can picture a Rishi retiring to a forest or cave under the canopy of heaven, and searching for the "Atman" in an esoteric revelation—*i.e.*, him that is beyond all and above all. And whatever we think of their terminology and copious use of numbers and terms on every line, their repetition, manner of contrast, and even contradiction, when discussing the most profound and subtle questions regarding Creation or cosmology, we are bound to confess that the Hindus are a singularly original people, not merely capable of elevated thoughts, but who, to use our own words, do everything in a manner different from the European, and who look at everything from a different standpoint or aspect. So that when the European psychologist refers to the human mind, "the same under every age and clime," he is thinking of the "universal aspect," not of the "diversified" one, with which he has perhaps little acquaintance. Moreover, the law of universality itself entirely exonerates the Hindu from being a copyist.

The law of universality so lucidly expounded by Dr. Robert Flint in his "Philosophy of History," and which sees the human mind, when confronted with the same phenomenon, arriving at the same conclusions, as in the case of the Eleusinian mysteries found in both Greece and Mexico; in the equally strong analogies existing between the civilizations of Egypt, India, or Mexico; or the still more apposite examples which we find in the atom theory of the Hindu philosopher, Khanda and the Greek Democritus; in the Homeric and Grecian epics; or in the likeness, or rather traits of likeness, between the Vedanta philosophy of the Hindus and that of the philosophy of Plato. Nevertheless, we own it is a great puzzle to decide what is derived and what is not, seeing that everything is bound to have an antecedent, and, as we all know, Asiatic civilization of historic times preceded that of Europe.

Not only plants and animals—at least, the majority of them—

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went from the East to the West, but a large number of religious and philosophical ideas, as well as arts, followed in the same train. We are one with our friend Arthur Lillie in much that he says about "Saiva," or that India was the original habitat or the country which saw the genesis of many of our religious conceptions ; but one cannot agree with him when he tries to make out that Christianity was derived from Buddhism.

We have always felt that the Schoolmen of the European Middle Age owed something to Brahman theology ; nor would St. Thomas Aquinas, who owned Aristotle, the pagan philosopher, for his master, have denied the impeachment, perhaps, of owing something to the Brahmans.

We are actually asked to believe by some of the sceptics that India, a land which had been richly endowed in prehistoric times was a species of *terra incognita* when other Asiatic countries were far in the van of civilization. We can excuse two friends—the late Dr. Forbes Watson and Sir Purdon Clarke, the one a most reputable India House expert and the other an art director at South Kensington—for making statements about India, for they had no special knowledge, although it is almost incredible to think that Dr. Watson, even in a prosaic commercial monograph on the textiles, should have declared that the Moslems taught the Hindus the art of sewing. He could not have been aware that the Hindus were adepts in the use of every species of Neolithic needle—in iron, bone, and ivory—and that the eye of this needle—*i.e.*, its form—is retained in the interstices which connect the columns of the great Sanchi colonnade in Bhopal. Nor could he have seen the Sanchi sculptures, carrying us back to a remote period, in which you find sewn garments in every material—wool, cotton, brocade, and silk—or read of Sita's trousseaux in the great Hindu epic of the Ramayan. Even Sir Purdon Clarke can scarcely be excused for declaring that the wild Bedouin of the desert taught the long-civilized and highly polished Hindus !

We have reason to believe that the Mahomedans derived much of their medical knowledge from the Hindu, and it is well known that the Hindu quarry became a convenient quarry for them, in the same way as the Greek temple did to the Romans. The Moslem has his own virtues, but the majority of our countrymen, whose knowledge of India commences with the period of Mahomedan rule, are inclined to take a perverted view of Hindu art ; and for the reason that their sympathies lie with a ruling and conquering race, like themselves, celebrated for administrative talent. Not that

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either Mahomedan or Saxon administration, which multiplied individual rule, was superior in an economical point of view to Hindu rule under their community government. At the present day it is the rule to praise the Mahomedans at the expense of the Hindus, but it is fitting to remind our countrymen who rely so much on the Moslems, that "Mahomedan" is the name for a religion, not of a race, and that a large portion of the so-called Mahomedans are the descendants of Hindu converts to Islam, many of whom, as we can testify, preserve Hindu customs

Among those who deride Hindu antiquity we are sorry to include Dr. R. Von Shering, who, in his "History of the Aryans," laughs at it. Von Shering's sole authority for writing as he has done is the old stock one of men who write on second-hand testimony—viz., Herodotus, who, despite his voracity for information, could know little about India, and recorded no important fact outside the growth of cotton trees. Being lawyer, the Munich jurist was no doubt much impressed with the rise of international law which proceeded from Babylon, without doubt then the great emporium of commerce, and, as a consequence of it, law. We know that it is generally believed that the Babylonians were the first to build and propel ships, having watched the working of the fins of a fish; but what was there to prevent the same idea entering into the minds of other nations, when we remember that the ships were built on the principle of an enlarged river-boat found in both Egypt and India? Babylon was only the commercial "hub," of the universe, but judging from what the Bible says of it—*i.e.*, the prophets.

We may mention here that Bailly gives the date of Indian astronomy as far back as 3111 B. C. This may be an exaggeration, but there is no doubt the Hindus were early engaged in astronomical in observation.

Until Aryan pretensions were challenged, the belief was long circulated that these wandering nomads, who arrived in India about 4000 B. C., arrived in the country with a large assortment of well-developed arts. On examination this turned out to be a delusion as is well known, for the Aryan dictionary had no words for the sea or agriculture, and it is an undisputed fact that the first lessons the Aryans received in agriculture was from the non-Aryans.

Be this as it may, it is our conviction that the non-Aryans were the people who planted the seeds of Hindu civilization, one of the first and most useful of arts being agriculture and the subordinate arts dependent upon it. They were the people who first acclimatized,

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or rather first domesticated, plants and animals, and made them serviceable for the purposes of man. It was they who first irrigated the soil of India, and who first established the village community, which in our opinion took the form of Lacustrian dwellings similar to those on piers in Switzerland. Nothing is lost in India and the form of old houses on piers may be seen on the Sanchi Tope.

We may not go with Prof. Oppert so far as he went when he avers that the original inhabitants of India evoked kingdoms, governments, and states, as well as arts, including commerce, but assuredly we are not with those who believe that Indian history dates from the time of the Brahman Rig Veda, 1400 B.C., or with certain assumed authorities who aver, like the late Sir W. W. Hunter, that until the arrival of the Aryans the Indians—i. e., the non-Aryans—were a poor, despised people, who erected nothing beyond a few rude megalithic mounds. Agriculture gives birth to architecture, and if we cannot assign dates for the brick cities of the Punjab, some of which were in existence at the time of Darius, 500 B. C., there is no reason to conclude that some of those cities were not in existence about 2000 B.C.

As the non-Aryans were the authors of many Indian cities, the Aryans carefully changed their names, just as the Mahomedans, at a much later period, their own. They did something more, for they changed the names of workmen, who in by far the greatest number were non-Aryan, including miners, who discovered nearly all the mineral wealth of India

The Brahmins not only defamed the non-Aryan men, but the non-Aryan women and their status in ancient history. They were of a very bold and healthy type. We are not quite ready to traverse the historian of architecture's views on Indian architecture, which we will come to by-and-by, but will content ourselves by observing that the Asoka period (250 B. C.) is far too late for the beginning of Indian architecture.

In the case of Fortress Gwalior, a citadel with which we were very intimate, we think he greatly underestimated the age of the fortress in putting it down to A. D. 200. We were familiar with most of its stones, and the cyclopean masonry to be encountered on its western side indicated it to us as being a stronghold of great antiquity.

We think that the old town of Gwalior, is quite as old as the cities of the Punjab. On its walls we have detected some very old representations such, as Eve offering the forbidden fruit to

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Adam, and one representing a man coming out of the capital of a column formed of a crocodile. In asking our Brahman assistant for an explanation, he at once replied : "Ths same as your Jonah in the whale's belly."

If our memory does not fail us, Sir Alexander Cunningham came across buildings not unlike Egyptian enclosures in India, but we have not seen them, and are rather with the historian of architecture in being sceptical over their existence. At one time we thought the Jain statuary, some of which are covered with wigs "unknown in India," very Egyptian in appearance ; but however much we may feel that the origin of the Jains may never have been satisfactorily set forth, and, with 'Tod, see their worship in Arabia, and believe that they were among the oldest of commercial agents, we have not been able to identify them with Egypt. On the other hand, near Paroli, to the north of Gwalior, we meet enclosures with very primitive masonry, and with statues which rather refute Dr. Fergusson's opinion, which he communicated to ourselves, that an effigy of Maya Devi, well-known as Buddha, near Bhilsa, or Besnagar, was the oldest piece of sculpture in India. The Gwalior Rock had been quarried for countless ages, the quarrymen being, as we said before, of non-Aryan race and Gwalior unmistakably being a non-Aryan fortress in its origin.

As is well known, the Hindus knew something about agriculture, far more than the European Department seemed disposed to allow, as natural to a people who have lived on the land for untold centuries, whose ancestors discovered the value of plants and animals and were among the first to domesticate them. They seem to have been acquainted with both soil and climate, to have understood implements best adapted for the working of the soil, so rich in some parts that in Malwa they dispensed with the use of manure for 2,000 years. As is well known, they invented a very ingenious system of well irrigation, but what is not so generally known, in addition to tanks, had many canals, which cost the people practically nothing.

The local annalist of Gwalior, Kharj Rai, had referred to one of those canals, but many scouted its existence. It was the good fortune of the writer to confirm the truth of Kharj Rai's statement and to rediscover the canal. More singular still, he found it made with cylindrical conduits, like a number of accentuated ginger-beer bottles joined together, and the complete duplicate of a Roman canal the writer found in Algeria, near Cherchal (ancient "Julius Cæsarea") in 1884. This is another of the many instances con-

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tradictory of the derivative theory and illustrative of the human mind working on parallel lines and producing the same thing. It would be perfectly futile on our part if we endeavoured, in support of the high antiquity of Indian civilization to give a title of the arts and sciences which the Hindus evolved and which stamp them, or rather their civilization, as extremely ancient as well as original. If we relied on no other art than "dress," that alone would give them a unique title ; for we should have to go a long way back—ay, into the grey dawn of civilization—to point to a time when the Hindus were not well dressed, no matter whether they resorted to the bark of trees or to the skins of wild animals. Already we have refuted a fallacy on this subject and drawn attention to the use of not merely the iron, but the bone and ivory, needle. More than this, we have been acquainted in our time with the Indian "chamars," or cobblers—i. e., shoemakers—one of the few guilds of workmen in India who possess prehistoric traditions and from whom we learned something about leather tokens and a leather coinage. Attempts to deny Hindu antiquity in the matter of dress are about as laughable as the attempt to saddle them with impurity in their mode of dress because certain men were unable to appreciate the marvellous texture of their garments—webs of "woven wind"—or the dexterity and precision of the Hindu sculptor, that had eyes to depict such fine work ! As is well known, the Hindoos were not ignorant of geography, even if they wanted audacity or boldness, like the Chinese, who like Rob Roys may have crossed over to America, and who with the aid of "magnet" which they discovered, made voyages into Central Asia. In their land surveying they could not fail to know something of geography as well as geometry, just as their knowledge of numbers and hydraulics made them acquainted with building.

We should be extremely grieved to see Hindu art effaced, the primary reason being that it is unique of its kind, more particularly that of architecture—not like English, the copy of the Greek or some other style, but because it is purely indigenous, making allowance for universal salients in the distribution of parts and common to all architecture. All its ornamental forms is culled from external Nature, and its naturalism is the very opposite of the Greek, which reflects their idealism. And we have in Hindu architecture not alone distinctive racial traits or national character, but much that is distinctive in the history of Hindu civilization—the family spirit as distinct from Western individualism, and, above all, the religion of the people. It is a veritable history of Hindu civilization.

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When we look at an architectural column, we have to notice, not only the beauty of the ornament, so different from our own, but because it preserves the memory of the Hindu epic in its capital, or the war of the Pardu Brothers.

We have heard the lighting of a Hindu building found fault with, and yet we know that when the Emperor Baber visited the Gwalior Palace, he was not only impressed with the coolness of the subteranean chambers, constructed on the same principle as in Babylon, but he declared that, after he had got accustomed to these chambers—*i. e.*, after a few minutes—he saw clearly! It was the practice of the Hindus, full of the poetry of the East, to admit light into a palace or tomb through double corridors of beautiful perforated screen-work, and its effect at the mystic hour of sunset, with the light thrown in diminished quantities into a tomb, is one that no one of appreciation can forget. And yet, strange to say, a Philistine of a subordinate in the "Public Works" thought he might improve Hindu acoustics by supplying the Gwalior Palace with English panes of glass for windows, forgetting that the object of an Indian architect in a warm country ought to be that of diminishing both the light and the heat. The great Karli, or Buddhist cave temple, on the Poonah Road has not only been described as a fine illustration of lighting from the ceiling, but the parent of "the dim religious light" subsequently introduced into the Byzantine church and the Gothic cathedral of Europe. And yet there are men who deny the Hindus originality in their ideas and thought! The effect of introducing light from the ceiling was that it fell upon and illuminated the sanctuary when the main body of the temple was left in gloom.

As this does not aspire in any way to be even an epitomized account of Indian arts, but a slight effort to defend both the antiquity and originality of Hindu civilization, we are compelled to pass over a multitude of subordinate arts that are the outcome of agriculture and architecture, and confine ourselves to a few special reflections on the last art, having particular reference to the opinions of the historian of Eastern architecture, Dr. James Fergusson. At the same time, before continuing our subject, we cannot forbear saying a few words about Indian commerce. Allowing barter to be one of the oldest instincts of mankind, its development, of course, is dependent upon the discovery of products and bringing the arts to maturity. We may take it as perfectly certain that a considerable internal trade was evolved in India during the time of the non-Aryans, and with the Babylonians not later than

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3000 B.C., for a simple people like the Indians could not have consumed a tithe of their production. Babylon was a great manufacturing centre, like Tyre or modern London of our own day, but it produced little, and we have ample evidence that raw material from India reached it in considerable quantity. It would not surprise us to know that it drew upon India for its shipbuilding material, seeing that it even imported walking-sticks from that country. As to commerce with Egypt, we must speak with more caution. The two countries were physically united by a coast-line in the Tertiary Age, and when we hear of a line from South-East Africa to Cairo and a perfected overland railway to Hindustan, the thought of history repeating itself immediately recurs to our mind. Already Indian emigrants are flocking to Natal, and the African continent, we are convinced, will in the future be the theatre for the solution of many questions, the primary one being India's congested population. There had been a very active intercourse between the Far East and Africa from prehistoric times, far more than people imagine, and the Indian land had been prolonged far down into the Southern Sea, so that intercourse between the two continents was rendered, comparatively speaking easy, and from an early historical period we know the intercourse continued. How the Negroids and Australoids, who were among the first Indian emigrants, reached India we hesitate to form an opinion. Then be it known—for we have it on the authority of Humboldt—that the Hindus understood the monsoons from the oldest period, and there is rather a turbulent tribe, called the Moplahs, in Malabar who carry on intercourse with Africa to this day. The Egyptian connection with India must have been very active, as the Thebes inscription bears out, regarding Indian imports. We cannot say, as one versatile writer has declared, that Egypt imported Indian tamarind wood for coffins; but it has now been demonstrated by Professor Keane that the gold of Ophir, over which at one time there was a fruitless controversy, did not come from India, as Eastwick and many writers imagined, but from South-East Africa—*i.e.*, Rhodesia. But Dr. Keane mentions it was transferred to a port in the Red Sea by "Indian ships."

Blessed with great rivers or estuaries for facilitating commerce, on which were situated great commercial towns, with ample building material and factories for the construction of anchors, we see no reason to assume that Indian commerce should not be quite as old as the Egyptian. And the commerce was fed by a chain of valuable local industries to which Egypt was stranger. The Indian colonists

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who carried the Buddhist religion to Java and erected the sculptures of Bodo Bodor must have been transported in ships. Indian harbours might have been better, but they could not have been so contemptible when, in Marco Polo's time, a fleet of ships was seen in Calicut.

And, speaking of originality, what can be more ingenious than the catamaran boats that mount the Madras surf, or the Burmese boats, which are equal to the "boar" on the Sittang River in Burmah? Indian commerce is a subject that would require a monograph in itself, so that we must reluctantly curtail our remarks. Architecture is quite sufficient for the argument we seek to advance. It has been objected that the Hindus were indifferent engineers; nor do we apologize for their scant knowledge in this respect. Unaccustomed to use the true arch (not that they did not know it, as alleged) their bridges were poor; and yet we pointed out that they know the cantilever principle many centuries before Sir John Fowler appropriated it.

The Jewish historian Graetz is distinctly wrong in saying that the Mosaic code was the first to proclaim the sanctity of life; for what about the Asoka Edicts, 240 B. C., those glorious beacons which contained a message of fraternity for all species? No morality rises higher than the Christian code, and yet it is a matter of wonder that our Sublime Teacher made no allusion to animals, when we think that the jains had hospitals for them long before Christianity. The Hebrews may not have been worse than other races, but it was not a commendable thing to tie foxes tails and then set fire to them!

General Cunningham, the reputed Pali Scholar had little sympathy with art. Hence we need not wonder that he should have agreed with Dr. Fergusson in the extraordinary opinion, for which there is not a vestige of foundation, "that the Greeks taught the Hindus sculpture." We should have thought that the whole history of idolatry in Asia (the Jews carried about with them household gods), together with the history of pantheism in Egypt and India, would have negatived such an opinion.

Many people charge the Hindu with copying the manystoried houses of the Babylonians, but why use the word "copy"? Both worshipped the mountain, on which the Unity of the Godhead was supposed to rest. And it was there that the predecessors of the Persians, the Hindus and Pelasgians, forerunners of the Hindus, resorted "to worship a God in a temple not made with hands." We cannot explain how what is called certain Assyrianisms and Per-

## HINDU CIVILIZATION

sianisms found their way on the Sanchi monument, and originated the calumny that it was the practice of the Hindus to borrow from all quarters. This was far more true of Assyria, and Persia is of the first who borrowed its civilization from Babylon and the latter from Assyria, but not of the Hindu. As part of Persian India, it is impossible to say what the officials of the Empire would do when we remember what a medley of soldiers of various nations, including Hindus, accompanied Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. Far more profitable and more to our purpose is it to note—and we speak from a long study of the arts of India and of foreign influence in that country—is that it resolves itself into three categories: nil, transient, and destructive. Outside a few applied science, what has the Hindu borrowed from Europe in past centuries? Moreover, it is in the experience of everyone who has studied the history of Egypt, India, or Greece, that the moment these countries came into contact with their surroundings they evolved an art purely Egyptian, Indian, and Grecian. Nor is it altogether correct on the part of Sir Henry Maine to have written that Greece is the only country where art was endemic. We must not judge India by our own Saxon civilization, which borrowed from all quarters, and has been doing so in modern times, as witness Archbishop Trench's "Slang Dictionary." We are the authors of a great and monumental work in India, but our fatal mistake has been to undervalue indigenous power. The Romans thought they had destroyed it in Algeria, ancient Mauritania, but look at the country now, where the indigenous arts thrive better than the imported ones. Our matured conviction is that India is the seat of very ancient civilization, and whether we look at its sociology, its psychology, its arts, its moral, religious, or philosophical ideas, we see traits of much originality.

# ARTICLES

## THE RELIGION AND CUSTOMS OF THE MUNDAS

### I. RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

In a previous article, we gave an account of the doctrinal side of the Religion of the Mundas. In the present article, we shall give an account of the ritualistic side of that religion. As the spirits of deceased ancestors—the presiding deities of the household (*ora-bongako*),—are worshipped by Munda house-holders, each in the sacred tabernacle or *ading* of his own house, so the presiding deities of each village (*hatu bongako*) are worshipped by the Pahan or village-priest in the sacred groves or Sarnas of the village.

Almost all the public religious festivals of the Mundas are celebrated with the object of securing the blessings of the gods on their agricultural operations, their hunting excursions, their cattle and their own health. Hardly a month of the year passes in which the Munda has not some religious festival or other to celebrate. We shall here give a brief account of the several religious festivals observed by the Mundas.

(1.) *The Mage Parab*.—This festival is celebrated on the day of the full-moon (Purnima) in the month of *Pous* (January). The Mundas call the month of *Pous* by the name of Mage, and the month of *Magh* by the name of *Gola Mage*. The spirits of deceased ancestors—the household Gods of the Mundas—are the main objects of worship at this festival. Now that the Munda householder has garnered his winter harvest and is happy in an abundance of grain and liquor, the head of every Munda family after having fasted the previous day and performed ablutions offers up prayers to his household deities (*ora bongako*) at the *ading* of his house as follows: “May we all, young and old, keep well in mind and in body. May our cattle thrive. May neither tigers attack us nor stubs and stumps of trees nor thorns hurt us when we enter the jungles to gather wood for fuel. May we not fall down into pits in the jungles. May we go about our work in health. May we have plenty to eat and drink. May we have enough to entertain our relatives and friends with and to pay our dues (rents and taxes) to landlords and to rulers.” After the worship at the *ading*, all the members of the family as well as the servants of the

house sit together and have a hearty meal of riceflour-bread, friep rice (*chiuru*) molasses (*gur*), and—in well-to-do families—curds (*dahi* or *odasi*) and even milk. Servants are released from their yearly engagement, and, for a few days after the festival, go about visiting their families and relatives who entertain them with more than ordinary warmth and liberality. About a fortnight after the *Mage* festival, servants are engaged afresh by the Mundas for the ensuing year. The contract of service and employment is made both in the case of old servants and new servants in the following manner: Either the master or the mistress of the house, will drop a little oil on the ground, and then pour a little oil on the head of the intending servant (*dhangar*), and finally put down the oil-cup with oil in it on the ground. The *dhangar* will now take up the oil-cup and anoint his own person with the oil. Along with the oil either one anna in cash, and in some villages, one *pailu* of rice, or, in other villages, two bamboo hair-combs, are given to the *dhangar*. And the contract is now complete. This ceremonial engagement of servants is observed even by non-Mundari masters in the Munda country.

(II.) *The Fugu Festival*.—This festival corresponds to the Holi festival of the Hindus. On the evening preceding the full moon in the month of Falgun (March-April) the young Mundas of the village plant a small *erendi* tree (*Palma Christi* or *Ricinus Communis*, the castor-oil plant) on the road leading to the village *dari* (spring). This castor-oil plant is covered over from top to bottom with straw, and finally set fire to. When it is all ablaze, a number of young Mundas run towards the castor-oil plant and with shouts of merriment, cut it down with their axes. The next day, most Munda young men of the village go out to the forest singing *japi* songs and playing on their drums and tom-toms. In the forest, they cut down a *semar* (*Bombax malabaricum*) tree, and and go back with it to the village, singing the well-known song beginning "Madkam Jaer do Senderai Senojana.\* When they approach the village, the remaining young men and maidens of the village go out to meet them. And then all return to the village singing and dancing the *japi* dance. They at once proceed to the spot where the castor-oil plant had been burnt and there plant a branch of the *semar* (M., edel) tree and cover it over with straw. Then the Pahan or village-priest is called to the place. A black hen is sacrificed. And to all the *Bongas* or deities presiding over the woods, the hills, the streams, the fields and the groves—to the

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\*This song was published in a previous issue of this Journal.

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"Madkam Jaer, the Papra Chandi, the Buru Bonga, the Ikir Bonga, the Mara (ng) Buru, the Desauli, Chandini, Chowrani, Naga Era, Bindi Era," &c., the Pahan makes joint offerings of three pieces of rice-flour-bread, one pot of rice-beer (*idi*), and the black hen, and prays for success in hunting. Then the *semar* tree is set fire to and cut down with an axe. Different pieces of the tree are thrown away in the four directions of the compass. Now the whole party go singing and dancing to the house of the village-Pahan and there they are treated to a pitcherful of rice-beer. On their return home, the head of each family worships the spirits of his departed ancestors with offerings of bread and rice-beer inside the *ading* of his house. Next day all the young men of the village go out into the jungles on an hunting excursion.

(III.) *The Ba-porob (flower-feast).*—This festival, also known as the *Sarkul*, is celebrated in the month of Chait, when the sal-trees are in flower. On the fifth day of the moon in Chait, a quantity of sal-flowers are gathered and taken to the Sarna or sacred grove, and laid at the foot of the Jaher Sarna tree. There the Pahan, who has been fasting since the previous day, worships all the gods of the Munda pantheon, and the Chandi Bonga in particular, and, in the presence of the assembled Mundas sacrifices a number of fowls. Food is cooked in new earthenpots at the Sarna. The worship at the Sarna over, the villagers return home singing, dancing, beating their drums and tom-toms, and carrying sal-blossoms in their hands. The head of each family also worships the household gods—the spirits of departed ancestors—in the *ading* of his own house. At their meals that day the Mundas use only sal-leaves as plates, as cups, and even as seats. Plenty of cooked *urid* pulse, rice and rice-beer is consumed in each Munda family that day. The following morning, the village-Pahan with a number of Sal-flowers used at the *Puja* or worship on the previous day, visits each house in the village, inserts a bunch of Sal-blossoms into the door or roof of each house and receives a small perquisite (from half an anna to two annas) from each family. In the afternoon one female member of each Munda family in the village will go to the Pahan's house with a jug of water and a little oil. Each woman will on arrival wash the Pahan's feet, anoint him with oil, and wash his feet again. The Pahan make a present of two jars of rice-beer to the Munda women of the village. On the day of the *Ba-porob* or the *Sarkul*, as well as on the day preceding it, no Munda will handle his plough or otherwise work in his fields.





The Kolom-Sing-Bonga ceremony at a village. Lohans thre-shing fl on

(IV). *The Hon-Ba Porob*.—This festival is celebrated in the month of Baisak or Jaith (April-May), on the day preceding that on which the villagers commence sowing paddy in their fields. There is no public worship on this occasion, but the head of each family worships the household gods—the spirits of deceased ancestors,—as well as other deities, at his own *ading*.

(V). *The Batauli or Kadleta*.—This sacrificial feast is celebrated in the beginning of Asarh (June) just before the transplantation (*ropa* or *roa*) of paddy seedlings commences in the village. The Pahan who has been fasting since the day preceding, sacrifices fowls at the Jaher Sarna of the village, and with offerings of rice-beer, the leaves of the *Marua* plant (*Marua-sag*), Gandhari-sag, and the sacrificed fowls, worships all the bongas or deities of the Mundas. The fowls are cooked, and other food (boiled rice, sag,) is prepared at the Sarna where all the Mundas of the village have a sumptuous feast. Finally the Pahan is taken home in state. Such of the villagers as go with the procession up to the Pahan's house are there given rice-beer to drink.

(VI). *The Karam*.—This festival is celebrated only in certain Munda families, and appear to have been borrowed by the Mundas originally from their Hindu neighbours. The Pahan or village-priest has nothing to do with it. On the eleventh day of the moon in the month of Bhado (August-September), the head of the family celebrating the festival, brings two branches of the *Karam* (*Nanlea parvi-folia*) tree and, in the evening, plants them side by side in the courtyard (*racha*) of his house. He then makes offerings of milk, *ghee* (clarified butter), and bread made of rice-flour, to the gods. Either on his courtyard or close by his house, singing, dancing and uproarious drumming go on all the night through. Next morning, the *Karam* branches are carried in procession by a number of young men with songs and music, and thrown into a tank or a stream.

(VII). *Dasai*.—This festival, like the *Karam*, has been borrowed from the Hindus. On the Dasahara (*Bijoya Dasami*) day (which comes on generally in the month of Aswin and some times in Kartik), the Mundas celebrate this festival not by any public worship, but by singing and dancing only. It is only in a few Munda families that goats are sacrificed and the *ora bongahq* (household gods) and other deities are worshipped by the head of the family on this occasion.

(VIII). *Kolom Sing Bonga*.—This is the Kharihan Puja festival celebrated in Agrhan, in the Pahan's threshing floor. No villager will thresh his paddy before this festival is celebrated.

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(IX). *Jom Nawa*.—This is, strictly speaking, not a religious festival, nor is it observed by the Mundas in general. It is only in some localities that the Mundas have adopted the Hindu custom of celebrating with certain ceremonies the "eating of the new rice" in the month of Bhado or Aswin (September-October) or, sometimes, even later. *Chiura* made of new rice is eaten with milk or curds and molasses. Rice-beer is, of course, freely drunk. The Pahan and some villagers each sacrifice a fowl in his own house.

(X). *The Ind Purob*.—The Ind festival is celebrated by the Mundas in a few villages only generally in villages of which the landlord is a Nag-bansi. Two poles of *sal* wood are posted on the ground, and a cross-pole, also of *sal* wood, passes horizontally through two holes in the two perpendicular poles. Through a hole in the middle of this cross-pole, again, the Ind-pole, which is a very long *sal*-post, is made to stand upright on the ground, parallel to the other two perpendicular poles. On the top of this central Ind-pole a huge cage-like thing like the *tajia* of the Maharrum, is put up. This is covered up with a white cloth, supplied by the landlord of the village. The Ind-pole is taken down on the seventh day after it is planted. On the first day, the Pahan sacrifices a goat and on the last day he offers up rice-beer to the gods. This festival is celebrated in memory of the first *Nagbansi* chief.

(XI). *The Sohorai*.—This festival is celebrated in the month of Kartick (October-November). On the day of the new moon in Kartik (Kartik-amawas), Munda owners of buffaloes remain fasting the whole day. In the evening the buffaloes and other cattle are brought home and lamps lighted near them. The mistress of the house takes up a handful of *arua* rice from a plate and throws the rice on the back of the buffaloes and other cattle by way of *chuman* (benedictory kissing). At the door of the buffalo-shed, a black fowl is sacrificed and the fowl and rice-beer are offered up to the *Gorea Bonga*, the deity presiding over cattle. A lamp is kept burning the whole night in the buffalo-shed. Next morning, the hoofs of the buffaloes, oxen, cows and calves are washed by the mistress of the house with water, and rice-beer is then sprinkled over their hoofs. Again the master of the house will sacrifice a fowl at the door of the buffalo-shed. This time it is a red cock that is offered up to the deity. The buffaloes are then anointed with *ghee* (clarified butter), and the oxen, the cows and the calves with oil. Plenty of rice and *urid* pulse boiled together, is now given to the buffaloes and other cattle to eat. Finally, the buffaloes, the oxen, the cows, and the calves are all bedecked with



The 'stomping dance' of the Mundas



yellow flowers of the marigold (*calendula*) species, and sent out to the pasturage.

(XII). *The Soso Bonga festival*.—Last of all, we come to the only festival in which the ghost-finder—the Mati or Deonra—officials as priest. This Deona or Mati may be, and often is, a non-Mundari by birth. The *Soso Bonga* festival is not a public one, but is celebrated in such Munda families only as choose to do so. On a certain day in the month of Bhado, the Mati or Deonra sits down on the courtyard of the house, and with coal-dust, red earth, and rice-flour draws a figure on the ground as in the annexed illustration. The egg of a fowl is placed in the centre of the figure and to this egg is attached a *Soso* or *Bhelwa* slip split at one end. The Deona then takes a winnowing-fan (*sup*) containing a quantity of *arua* rice, and chants a long-winded Mundari song in which the story of Sing Bonga and the twelve Asur brothers and thirteen Deota brothers \* is related. After offering up prayers to the *Soso Bonga*, the Deona (or Deonra) will salute (*johar*) everyone present. Then all present drink rice-beer, and the Deona eat up the yolk of the egg along with a cup of *ili* (rice-beer). On the following morning, the master of the house will plant the branch of the *Soso* or *bhelwa* tree (*semicarpus anacardium*) and a branch of the Keond tree, in the middle of each of his paddy fields.

### II. DANCES.

All the essentially Mundari religious festivals with the single exception of the *Kadleta* have each its appropriate dance and songs. And music invariably accompanies the dancing and singing. The principal classes of Mundari songs and dances are the Mage or Jarga, the Jadura, the Japi, and the Lahsua or Karam. The Mage dances and songs begin from after the Sohrai festival in Kartik (October-November) and continue right up to the Kolom Sing Bonga and the Mage festivals in Aghan or Paus (December). The songs and dances of the last fortnight or so, are especially known as the Jarga. From after this the Jadur and Gena songs and dances are taken up and continued up to the *Sarhui* or *Ba-parob* festival in Chait (March-April). One *Gena* is sung after every two *Jadura* songs. After the *Sarhui* festival, the *Japt* or hunting songs and dances are taken up and continued for two or three weeks, during which period the Munda youth have their principal hunting excursions. Then follow the Lahsua or Karam dances and songs which go on right up to the Sohrai

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\* Given in a previous issue of the *Indian World*.

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festival in Kartik (October-November). Thus, the Mundas have a regular 'round of still-returning' dances all the year through. These dances are classified by the Mundas, according to the different postures of the body in dancing, into two classes—namely the 'Tingu Susun-ko' or the standing-dances and the 'Ungud Susunko' or the stooping-dances. The 'Tingu Susun, again is subdivided into the 'Nir susun' or running-dance and the 'Tingu-susun' proper. Thus, the 'Jadur' dances in which the dancers stand upright and run in a circle from right to left, are 'Nir-Susunko' or 'running dances' whereas the Gena and the Japi dances in which the dancers move at a more moderate speed in a circle in the former, and in a straight line at the latter, are 'standing dances' (Tingu-Susunko) proper. The Lahsua or Karam songs are 'stooping dances' (Ungud-Susun-ko), in which the dancers join hands, stoop forward, and form themselves into an arc of a circle. Towards the centre of the circle they advance with graceful steps and then retire backwards in the same bending posture, all the time the dancers slightly moving toward the left so as to complete the circle in some time. Two sub-divisions of the *Karam* dance are the *Khemta* in which the movements are very slow and graceful, and the *Bin-sari* which is played from cock-crow to sunrise and in which the posture is more erect than in the other *Karam* dances. In some of the dances, we have pantomimic representations of agricultural operations such as reaping. It is not religious exultation or the pleasure of the performance alone that prompt these dances. Social joy and merriment also finds rhythmic expression in the steps of the dance. There are special dances for marriage-festivals. One of these marriage dances (*Arandi-Susunko*) is the Dam-kach.

### III. SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES.

*Banita Bongas*.—The religious festivals described above are connected with the worship of the beneficent deities, the Manita Bongas, of the Munda pantheon. There is a second class of spiritual beings who are sometimes roused to mischievous activity, and are therefore called the *Banita Bongas*, spirits who require to be appeased. The proper persons to appease these spirits are the Deonas, Najos and Matis to whom we referred in connection with the Soso Bonga festival. These ghost-finders employ many occult methods to ascertain which spirit has been offended in any particular case. One of the principal methods is the following:—When a person is the victim of the wrath of some such offended spirit, he goes with some *arna rice* and a small quantity of oil to

one of these ghost-finders. The latter takes the oil and the rice lights a small earthen-lamp with this oil, and places the rice on a winnower (sup). He now concentrates his gaze on the light of the lamp. After watching the flame intently for a few minutes, the ghost-finder chants his *mantras* or incantations in which all the spirits are named, and at each name a few grains of rice from the winnower are thrown into the flame. As soon as the flame flares up to more than its accustomed height at the name of a spirit, that particular spirit is believed to have caused the affliction. And the appropriate sacrifices for propitiating the offended spirit are named by the ghost finder.

*Witch-craft.*—The Mundas are great believers in the power of the evil eye. And in cases of repeated sickness in a family or among the cattle of a family, witch-craft is suspected, and the witch finder—the Sokha, Mati, or Bhagat—is appealed to for detecting the witch. The afflicted person with a few neighbours arrives at his house with some *arna rice* and a few pice. The Bhagat lights a fire, and when the smoke rolls up and curls around him, he begins by slowly chanting his *mantras* and quietly swaying his body till at length he works himself to a state of frenzy and declares he has seen the witch who has roused up a particular spirit to afflict his clients. The spirit, too, is named as also the sacrifices required to appease him. The party now return to their village, hold a *panchayat*, before whom the offender is summoned, and he is required to pay as a fine the cost, often estimated liberally, of the sacrifices necessary to appease the infuriated spirit. In case of denial of guilt and refusal to pay the fine demanded, the suspected witch is not unoften severely thrashed, dispossessed of his lands, and in some cases driven out of the village. In times within living memory, people accused of witch-craft, but denying the charge, were sometimes beaten to death. Since the establishment of the British Government, however, matters have improved immensely, and instances of such extreme violence have become rare.

*Superstitious beliefs about diseases.*—Generally Nasan Bongas and some other evil spirits are believed by the Mundas to bring on diseases. Diseases of the skin, particularly leprosy (which is of three kinds, namely, 'Berel-sud,' 'Ror sud,' and 'Pundi sud') are believed to be caused by the Nage-Eras. When a man bathes in, or uses the water, of a tank, stream or spring which is haunted by the Nage-Eras, he is sure to contract the disease. Madness or lunacy (M. Balu) is believed to be caused by one's own *shut* (Ayoga

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Bonga) when the latter has been somehow offended. Cholera and diarrhoea (lai-dul) are caused by the Rog-Bonga or Deb-Mai, who has to be propitiated with sacrifices and offerings made to her, outside the village-limits.

It is not however, evil spirits alone who bring on disease. Wicked men too can cause them by magic. Thus Rheumatism (tanarom) of the lower limbs, may be caused by an enemy getting hold of a little dust of one's feet (Janga-dura) and uttering some magical incantations over it and sacrificing a fowl or making offerings *arna* rice over the dust.

The origin of certain diseases however are ascribed to physical causes, occasionally quite fanciful. Thus epilepsy (hanab gonoi) is said to be caused by two insects (tijukin) inside the brain-matter. When the two insects fight each other, the man falls down in a swoon. Head-ache (bo-hasu) is attributed to a poison (bishi) from the liver or rather bile (*riri*) ascending to the head.

### IV. SOME OTHER BELIEFS AND PRACTICES.

(i) *Eclipse*.—An eclipse of the Sun or the Moon is attributed by the Mundas to the emissaries (peadas) of Sing Bonga (God) surrounding the Sun or the Moon for the debts of the Mundas.

During an eclipse, the Mundas bring out of their houses all implements or other things in which there is any metal. These implements (such as ploughshares, brass utensils, arrows with iron points) are exposed outside the houses so long as the eclipse lasts.

(ii) *Ondka*.—This most terrible practice of 'Ondka' or human-sacrifice has now almost died out. But it is said that in a few families the practice has not altogether been given up. The practice, if it still exists, is observed with the greatest possible secrecy. Human sacrifice is said to be offered to an offended deity when the ghost finder, the Mati or 'Deonra,' declares that such and such a *bhut* or evil spirit has brought on the disease. It is believed that the victim is decoyed at dead of night into the house of the sacrificer by the offended spirit himself. And in that unearthly hour the victim is conducted into a deep jungle or to the secluded bed of a hill-stream, or other secret place, by the man for whose benefit the sacrifice is intended, with three or four friends or relatives. The friends seize the victim by the hands and the legs, the man who offers the sacrifice invokes the blessings of the gods and especially of the offended spirit, sprinkles a little rice on the victim, and dashes his axe on the victim's neck. A little blood of the victim and a second finger of his hand are taken home, after the corpse is secreted either under the ground or in some pit or other secret





SOME MUNDU GAMES



## THE MUNDAS

place. The blood and the finger are taken into the *ading* of the sacrificer's house. After prayers are offered at the *ading*, the blood and the finger, it is said, are interred in the floor of the *ading*.

### V. GAMES

A large variety of games have been always popular with Munda boys and girls. Conversion to Christianity, now on the increase, does not impair the Munda's love of sport. On the other hand, under the excellent guidance of European Missionaries, Christian Munda boys have formed excellent hockey teams, and are further developing their other national games and sports. The Munda's games may be roughly divided into three classes, namely, (1) Athletic Sports, (2) Popular Juvenile Pastimes, and (3) Dramatic Games. We shall describe one or more instances of each class.

#### (a) ATHLETIC SPORTS

(i) *Phodi*.—A principal indigenous athletic game of the Mundas is the 'Phodi' which is a kind of Hockey. This is generally played in the day-time in winter. The ball is picked up by a player on one side. A player from the other side comes and confronts him. The first player throws the ball into the air, and both players simultaneously strike at it. Thus they go on till the ball is driven to one or other of two fixed boundaries (goals). 'Phodi' matches are now played between two villages.

(ii) *Khati*.—This game is also played in the day-time. Often on a summer noon you meet with a group of Munda boys playing this game in some shady spot. Against a peg fixed at some distance, the player propels a small flat piece of wood by holding a short stick upright behind it and striking this sharply with a third stick.

Among other indigenous athletic sports may be mentioned the 'gobar-hot-kok-hel,' the 'chengnal,' and the 'har-dang.'

#### (b) JUVENILE GAMES

Among the popular pastimes of Mundari cowherds and other lads are several games of touch, marbles, knuckle-bones, and backgammon. Some of these are described below:—

(i) *Chhur*.—The most popular game of touch is the 'chhur.' The players divide themselves into two parties of equal number. Parallel lines are scratched on the ground. One party guard the lines, and the other try to get inside the lines and enter the furthest portion within the lines which is designated the 'non-ghara' or the salt-house. When the latter party succeed in reaching

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the 'non-ghara' without being touched by any member of the opposite party guarding the lines, the parties change places.

(ii) *Til-guti*.—This is a sort of back-gammon. Seven holes are made in each of two parallel lines on the ground, and five small stones (*guti*) are shifted about in these holes by two opposing players.

(iii) *Kouri-inung*.—In this game, two boys stand face to face, joining hands and repeatedly clapping them. Two other boys, with their hands similarly joined, run underneath the joined hands of the former pair from one side to the other.

(iv) *Dundu-khel*.—This is a variety of the blind-man's-buff. A boy's eyes are blindfolded and his playmates slap him one after another. When he can recognise a boy slapping him, his eyes are uncovered, and the boy who has just slapped him and has been correctly named, takes his place and is blindfolded.

(v) *Bhoura-inung*.—This is played with the top which is made to spin on its point by drawing a string round its stem.

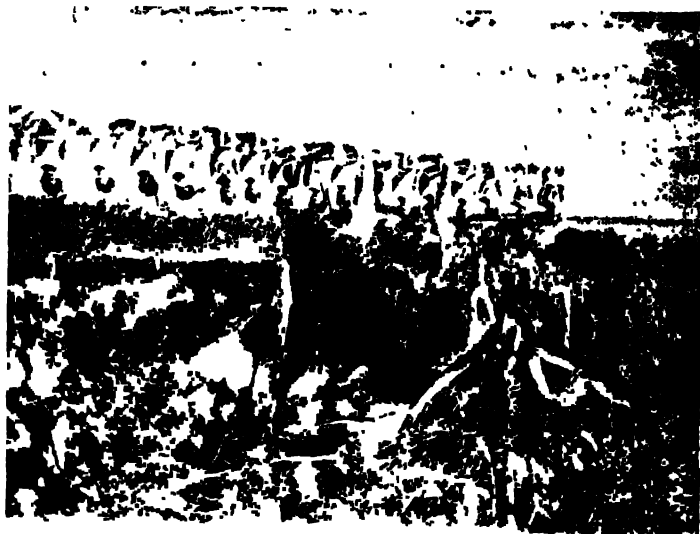
(vi) *Uku-inung*.—This is a game of hide-and-seek.

(vii) "*Hunt the Slipper*."—This is one of the European games introduced by Christian Missionaries amongst Munda and Uraon boys. In this game, a large number of boys sit down in a row with their legs extended in front, and a piece of rag is adroitly passed on under the legs of the boys, one passing it on to another unobserved by one or two boys who move about trying to find out the rag.

### (c) DRAMATIC GAMES

These form the most interesting class of Mundari games. They are meant to combine amusement with instruction, and are generally played in the evening. The Mundas have a large number of games of this class. We shall here describe one such game, which may be taken as typical of the rest.

(i) *The Kantara-inung*.—The following is a brief account of the 'Kantara-Kantara inung' or the jack-fruit game. In this game, one boy represents a jack-tree, a number of boys and girls represent its fruits, one boy represents the owner of the tree, one, and sometimes two-boys represent thieves, and another boy a dog. The boys and girls representing the jack-fruits hold on to the boy representing the tree, and shout "*Hete tera banda kuka ; Hete tera banda kuka*." The thief comes towards the tree when the owner is asleep. The dog gets scent and barks at him. The owner is awakened by the barking of the dog. On seeing the thief stealing the jack-fruits, the owner raises a hue and cry at



The *Sooty Bunting* (Hutchinson's)



which the thief takes to his heels carrying. In the morning, the thief comes to the owner of the requests the loan of a knife. The latter asks, "What will you do with a knife?" The thief replies, "I have killed a goat, and want to dress the slain animal with a knife." The owner unsuspectingly lends his knife.

The thief runs home with the knife, giggling with mirth, rips open the jack-fruit, and eats his fill. Then the thief takes back the knife to its owner, who takes it to his own nose and exclaims, "Why does it smell of jack-fruit, eh?" Before the words are spoken, the thief runs away. The theft of jack-fruits is repeated the following night. The dog barks again, the owner gets up, raises a hue and cry, and the thief makes good his escape with the stolen fruits, as before. Next morning, the owner of the tree exclaims, "Thieves are taking away all the jack-fruits ;—let me then pluck the fruits still left on the tree." When he is saying this, the thief again appears as an innocent neighbour, borrows the same knife again on the pretext of having a fowl to kill. That night, the thief cuts down the jack-tree with this same knife which is returned the next morning to its befooled owner. When in the morning the owner of the tree sees the fate of the tree he seeks out a *sokha* or ghost-finder to ascertain what evil spirit may have caused the tree to fall down. But who can his selected Sokha be but the very thief himself? And this pretended Sokha in a mock-solemn tone directs the owner of the tree to bring "one white hen, one black goat and one buffalo," besides rice and other necessary offerings to propitiate the offended *bhut* (evil spirit). These offerings are readily supplied and a mimicry of a puja ceremony is gone through. The sham puja over, one of the boys seizes hold of the two legs of the boy representing the fallen tree, and another seizes him by the two hands, all shouting "Sim darom jomachi?" [Will you eat fowl-sacrifice i.e., the sacrificed fowl?], "Merom darom jomachi?" [Will you eat goat-sacrifice?], "Kera darom jomachi?" [Will you eat buffalo-sacrifice?]. The tree will now stand erect again. And all the other players will join hands, and dance round the tree.

(ii) *Tuyu-oro-sim*.—Another common dramatic game is the 'Tuyu-oro-sim inu' or the game of the fox and the hen. One boy represents a fox, another a hen and a number of children represent so many chickens. The fox seeks to seize the chickens and get into the ring. The mother protects them.

Sarat Chandra Ray

## RUSSIAN REVOLUTION & INDIAN UNREST

It is the fashion of the day to compare Russia with India in things good and evil. To European minds the comparison seems natural enough. For there are certain points of similarity between these two countries which at once strike their imagination. During difficult times, when certain problems appear very hard, they are apt to go to Russia for example and inspiration. Thus, during the recent campaign of sedition and bomb-throwing, many Europeans thought that what had happened in Russia was going to happen in India also. They thought that in India there was the additional danger of the great disproportion in the numerical strength of the rulers and the ruled. Although, in certain broad details, there may be points of similarity between the social and political conditions of Russia and India, yet practically there are great many differences. The very basis of life in India is different from that in Russia. In thought and belief also, the peoples are quite dissimilar and, therefore, the revolutionary history of Russia stands very little chance of being repeated in this country.

All the evils that are complained of in India and said to have caused the unrest exist in a magnified form in Russia, whereas none of the beneficial features existing in this country are to be seen in the land of the Czar. In India the unrest is traced by Europeans to the introduction of a liberal English education. This is wrong. For education by itself is good, and no good by itself can produce any evil. Education in India has helped the people to perceive the wrongs existing in society—wrongs inflicted partly by custom and partly by authority. Against both of these, the educated people in India have rebelled, and this revolt may be more accurately described as an *awakening* of the nation and not unrest. This awakening has found an outlet in every field of life and thought. The political awakening, under the present condition of things, could find no expression, and this produced rancour and disappointment in some quarters. But, on the whole, the "unrest" has been exaggerated, because the political awakening is confined to a mere fraction of the educated people, and the masses as yet are unaffected by it. In Russia, there was an awakening of the people as a whole; the peasants, who were oppressed in a manner that was wholly unknown even in the darkest period of its history, the tradesmen and the professions, whose natural rights were taken away most unceremoniously—all felt that the governing autocracy was selfish, cruel, oppressive, and unreliable. They knew that reforms would never come from the officials, and the national conscience

## ***RUSSIA AND INDIAN UNREST***

was prepared to resist authority at all costs. The nobles and wealthy merchants supported the revolutionary movement and subscribed money for the purpose. The peasants, though as illiterate and apathetic to politics as the Indians, had many agrarian difficulties. The promise of free land and other concessions soon brought their ready co-operation. In India the policy of the administration, though often harsh and unsuitable to the people, is yet orderly, lawful and reasonable. Neither the agriculturists nor the middle classes are driven to despair, and the faith in the ultimate justice and good intentions of the ruling power is never lost. It is practically impossible either now or ever to induce the agricultural classes or the professional artisans or the nobilities in India to enlist themselves under the flag of revolution.

There was a notable circumstance in Russia which favoured the last revolution. The real ruling power was centered in the officials, who controlled the State and secured the authority of the Czar to their will and their initiative and their governing principles. It is believed that the Czar, left to himself, would prefer a constitutional monarchy in which the people would have the prevailing voice rather than a selfish and wicked band of officials, whose oligarchic sway had offended him more than his people. How powerful the Russian oligarchy had really become, forcing the hand of the Czar to its own initiative and often against his will in the name of prestige, precedent and expediency, is a subject which must be dealt with separately. But it is an unquestioned fact that, throughout the revolution, the Czar was practically on the side of the people and they knew of his support long before they planned the revolt.

It is a strange co-incidence that in India some hazy idea of British support to Indian aspirations is cherished in the bosom of every radical and his hatred, if any, is directed towards the autocratic officials locally and not to the British power itself. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858, breathing the spirit of freedom, justice and sympathy, is justly regarded as the Magna Charta of the Indian Nation. All constitutional reformers in India, who resent the high-handed, illiberal and mistaken attitude of the local officials, feel, as the people of Russia felt before and during the revolution, that they have the sympathy of the sovereign power on their side. But the analogy is incomplete and wrong. For, in Russia, the Czar is on the spot and his ministers are also on the spot. In India, the power corresponding to the Czar is not on the spot, but thousand of miles away. At any rate, it is often preached that the officials on the spot should be trusted to an extraordinary

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extent and complete discretion should be given them to deal with local matters. There is, therefore, no breach in the governing power in India ; on the other hand, there is complete harmony. No doubt, true British instinct is against the spirit of autocratic rule, and if all the British electors came to know of the real grievances of Indians, it might lead to great administrative changes. But they are not " on the spot " and have too many other concerns of their own to trouble themselves with.

In Russia we know that the extraordinary powers wielded by the bureaucracy prevented even the Czar from doing any thing without securing the consent of the real rulers. In spirit, in details and in kind, the quality of the government must proceed from the ruling authority. The Russian Government, as every one knows, is conducted not by the Czar but by the very small clique of designing people who by virtue of their own intellectual ability and dominant personality come have to practically usurp the authority of the Czar. But who are these omnipotent bureaucrats ? The Czars of all the Russias never claimed the divine right, but even if they did, there was some excuse. But the almighty ministry so exercise their power that no one is allowed to see the Czar himself. No petition or matter of any importance can be laid before the monarch without the knowledge and previous approval of the political high priests. The same omnipotence of bureaucracy to some extent prevails in India. But the absurd and provoking limits of Russia are never reached here. Indians have always a chance of appeal to the very highest authorities and every humble petitioner has his hearing—few though his chances of success be. So it is the divine right and omnipotence of the bureaucracy that after all engender a spirit of revolt.

But who are the bureaucrats of Russia ? Before the reforms of Alexander II, Russia was governed by the nobility under the direction of the Czar. The educated element only worked in subordinate capacities. But after the Crimean War the defects of the aristocratic regime were exposed and paved the way for large crowds of gifted young men who came from the ordinary ranks of humble workers. Count Witte himself was an ordinary railway clerk, and his predecessor was the son of a priest in low condition. The minister of education was the son of a non-commissioned officer. Zenger, his successor, was the son of an obscure official. Plehve was a self-made man, and all these having found great official positions for themselves, excluded others from them. And they tyrannised over their fellow-beings more than the aristocrats could have done, for they knew the weakness of the people better.

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Their general attitude is described as an *"awful mixture of egotism, ambition, cynicism, cupidity and insolence."* Instead of helping their fellow-creatures to get out of slavery, they betrayed them and enslaved them all the more. Such an attitude is naturally intolerable in any country and more so in monarchies, where the people, if they are found capable of bearing a blow or a kick, would rather wish it come from an aristocratic fist or feet than from a vulgar plebeian masquerading under a different name and guise.

The government by bureaucrats in Russia and their policy were such, till very recently, that the people could not endure them. In India there is religious neutrality, and every sect is free to observe its religious forms and worship. India does not encourage religious intolerance to the extent that European countries have suffered from. The condition of Poland under Russia is well-known. In the name of religion, the autonomy of Finland was destroyed; the persecution of the Armenian Church has been carried out. The Ruthenians, who number more than 25 millions, have been forbidden to speak or write their own language. A condition like this is happily unknown in India. And what about the arbitrary decisions of the Bureaucracy? The officials totally denied they were "arbitrary." The Russian Law—and, in fact, every autocracy—allows wholesale abuse of law. It is not necessary to give the people a legal treatment. That which come out of the mouth of the Autocrat, whether in executive capacity or from legislative enactments sanctioning various executive mandates, is the law of Russia. The people, therefore, have no protection against the perversion of justice and any appeal to the bureaucracy in this direction is useless. For, like the Indian law of deportation, the Russians have had their administration of justice reduced to a matter of mere formality and Justice was replaced by high-handed police orders. It was calculated that no less than 100 "laws" had been framed ousting all legal forms of enquiry and strengthening the hands of the executive. In one year and in one centre 11,000 cases, not one of which had been treated in court, had been terminated by police condemnation. Mr. Muravieff stated in the second clause of one of his schemes of Judicial "reform":—

"When for special reasons, the Minister of Justice thinks fit to withdraw a political affair from ordinary jurisdiction, he must, with the approval of the Minister of the Interior, ask from His Majesty an order to terminate the matter by administrative condemnation."

There were besides other checks against judicial processes, as Judges being forbidden to acquit political offenders. The utmost

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they could do was to "lower the degree of the crime" by three steps. Thank heaven, we are not half so bad in India, in spite of Regulation III and other repressive legislations. One of the highest Anglo-Indian legal authorities, Sir John Jardine, is said to have given his opinion that it was quite advisable to keep Regulation III of 1818 in force, though he added "it was quite difficult to defend it on constitutional grounds". The value of the Regulation in Sir John Jardine's opinion lay in its "providing for emergencies that might occur under the conditions that existed in many parts of the country". Perhaps it is one of the indispensable conditions of bureaucratic regime that the judicial administration should, in state matters, be subordinate to executive will. The Calcutta Police Bill, the Government resolutions in cases of miscarriage of justice through police perversions of fact, police oppression and wrong—all show that in India the attitude of the Government to strict legality is not over-friendly. But, on the whole, the people have faith in the justice of the Government—better justice than they had under Hindu and Muhamadan rule.

Other points of similarity between Russia and India are the illiteracy of the people, their dependance upon land, heavy taxes, enforced sale of produce at cheap rates, buying at increased rates—all of which prevail in India as well. Corruption prevails largely in Russia and it is said that even the ministers are not free from corruption. M. Muravieff himself was publicly convicted of having stolen £ 6,000 in the Barantseviet case by appropriating to himself the estate of a merchant. A story is told that an English Banker was once offered by Alexander III himself the post of the Director of the Russian Imperial Bank—a post in which the former Directors had secured for themselves large sums of public money. The English Banker refusing the offer was called a "dunce". It is calculated that a fifth of the State revenue is generally disposed of in this way. In India, corruption prevails in the district subordinate service, but not to such an extent as it prevailed once. In Russia nearly 76 per cent of the population live by agriculture; in India the tenant population varies from 48 to 72 per cent. One of the most oppressive features of Russian rule is the yoke of the *Mir*. This is a kind of land communism by which every village is responsible for the payment of taxes of all its inhabitants. People are not allowed to go and settle in places of their own choice—except with a special license. There is no incentive to cultivate the land—and people are considered fools if they work hard upon lands—because they would have

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to pay for the failure of the sluggards. Only one per cent of the population has received anything better than elementary instruction and 80 per cent of the people are unable to read or write. How such a people were induced to join the revolution and what hopes there should have been given by the organisers and what oppression they should have suffered under the rule of the officials can be understood in India if we remember the darkest periods of Moghul history.

But what opportunity have the people themselves to carry out their object amidst such difficulties? In India, this is again impossible and there is therefore no similarity of conditions. The very sense of distrust in the Bureaucracy and the extent to which all classes of people—the noblemen, the professors, the students, engineers, medical men, railwaymen, tradesmen, peasants and even the telephone-girls,—realised the hopelessness of mending it brought themselves together under the red flag. In the mediæval history of India, even under the pillage of Chengis Khan, the Indians could think of no such organised revolt. How can they, in a time of peace and comparative freedom and security, think of a revolutionary campaign? Co-operation was the weapon by which the Russians paralysed the public life of Russia. They formed professional leagues and ceased to work in a body. They held meetings everywhere and were prepared to suffer. "Let him fire," they said, when they were ordered not to hold meetings. Extreme calmness and determination were shown by all—women and girls as also men and boys. It is impossible that such unanimous attitude can ever be maintained in India—and there is nothing which calls for it either. So far as the temper and inclinations of the people are concerned, the conditions of Russia and India are quite different. We are a peaceful, docile, civilised and law-abiding nation—even under the worst rule; and British rule, notwithstanding some unfavourable features, is better than the best that the people have at any time before experienced. Where, then, is the justification for comparing India with Russia in the matter of unrest or revolution?

The attitude of kings and peasants has not changed much either in Russia or in India. The king loves his people and the people their king. The troubles are due to the action of the self-seeking intellectuals and their self-conscious victims. The bureaucracy, using the powers for the welfare of the people, sometimes treads upon them consciously or unconsciously. Those who feel any grievance rarely complain, but those who are least capable of enduring pain are affected by them and trouble arises. The Czar of all

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the Russias in using his first manifesto after the people's rising, declared :

" I shall sign the manifesto with pleasure because I now believe it will promote the welfare of my people, and solicitude for them has been the mainspring of all my actions. If hitherto I upheld the autocracy and its prerogative, it was because I was assured they were essential to the welfare of the nation."

Similarly Abdul Hamid believed that the atrocities he encouraged, by the advice of his corrupt and self-seeking ministers, were for the good of the people whom he loved. Just as every government, when confronted with a great revolution, blames the intellectual leaders of the people for organising and leading the country to danger. So the people, when driven to despair, blame the selfish officials as being the real authors of the atrocities they suffer from. The revolutionary people of Russia, the peasants, the cobblers, and the working men who had paid the terrible penalty of their wrong-doing said, after the trouble was over, that they had none but kindly feelings for their sovereign. So it is everywhere. The sovereign at the top and the labouring class at the bottom have good feelings for each other. So long as the one understands the other and there is no great barrier between the two, there will be no serious trouble. Governing large masses of ignorant people in semi-civilised conditions must be in itself a difficult matter. But with timely and suitable changes in the methods of rule so as to meet the wants and wishes of the people better—all troubles may be avoided.

**J. S. Rao**

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### **THE LEGEND OF CHERAMAN**

There was a time in the history of Malabar when that land was under the sway of a certain class of rulers called the ' Perumals.' They were foreign princes brought down from their countries by the Nambudiry oligarchs to act as their Deputies. Each Perumal was to rule, that is, to serve, for a period of twelve years. At the end of that period he was to submit all accounts and documents of state to a council of Nambudiries, and, after satisfying the scrutiny of this astute oligarchy, he was to vacate his post in favour of a successor. There were eighteen such Perumals, of whom the last and the most famous was Cheraman—a name still remembered in the land.

' Cheraman thought that he had the strength and capacity to be at his post for more than the average twelve years and did not

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evidently relish much the idea of a forced resignation. As soon as he became the Perumal, he began to pacify the Nayar Chieftains of the land who were then owing allegiance to the Nambudiry oligarchy. The Nayars were the military class, and their Chieftains the great military Commanders of the day. Thus the shrewd Cheraman, by pacifying the Nayar Chief, won over the whole fighting strength of the country. And when the time came for him to give up his Perumalship he gave it up readily enough, but only to become an absolute sovereign the next moment instead of a dependant Perumal. Without the military support of the Nayars the Nambudiries were powerless : and intelligent people that they were, they thought it best not to oppose the mighty Cheraman. Cheraman thus became the king over the whole of Kerale (ancient Malabar).

After some years of prosperous and successful rule, however, the King embraced the faith of Islam, and, dividing his kingdom, which then comprised of the whole of present Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, among his eighteen feudatories, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, never to return again.

History does not furnish any reasons for this strange abdication. But in this land of myths where facts are few, fables are profuse ; and the present instance is no exception to the rule ; for, the following interesting story undertakes to illumine this dark void in history.

Cheraman Perumal had a minister called Amir, who, as his name will undoubtedly suggest, was a Mahomedan. Cheraman had also a beautiful wife to whom he was devotedly attached. But, poor sou ! as it generally happens to doting husbands, his wife did not love him. She adored Amir, and often paid attentions to him. The faithful minister however did not consent to be a party to his master's shame. The " Kettilamma," as the Perumal's wife was called, when all her arts and tricks were tried and Amir remained still obdurate, smothered her love with hatred and desire for revenge. Reads like a novel ? Well, but that is what the legend says ; and it really needs a psychologist to explain the mental process—or, perhaps an Addison well skilled in the study of feminine hearts.

Any how, it is said that the Kettilamma betook herself to the Perumal one day and laid before him, amidst quite a flood of tears, of course, a frightful report of a queen's slighted dignity and a woman's injured chastity. She poured out even a more woeful story against Amir than Lucretia ever did against Tarquin. She did

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not, or perhaps could not, kill herself, like the Roman Matron. Perhaps she was too exhausted with the preliminaries to make the attempt. Nor did the Perumal wait to see the last and crowning act of the tragedy ; for, he had no need to see it, having believed his wife's story already. Amir was accordingly ordered to be arrested and impaled forthwith.

Rather than expose the Kettilamina's perjury and bring his master's shame and sorrow, the faithful minister preferred to ascend the stake to be impaled thereon. And as he was about to be impaled there came overhead, says the legend, a thick black cloud from the side of Mecca, and from inside the cloud sang sweet silvery voices of beautiful Houries welcoming Amir to Heaven. The Perumal was amazed at this phenomenon and appealed to Amir for explanation. The minister, then, told the whole truth ; and concluded his speech thus :

" And so thou woman-led king, thou hast today, at the mere word of thy faithless wife, sentenced to death an innocent minister of thine, and one who hast served thee faithfully all his life. Thou hast thereby offended God, the protector of the true and the faithful. Thou hast moreover proved thyself unworthy of thine exalted office. Resign the office, therefore, and go to Mecca, and there expiate thy sins by fast and prayer and penance. Thou canst thereby appease God, and prove thyself worthy of Heaven, even as I am now, by the grace of Allah, considered to be."

The Perumal, convinced of the truth of his minister's words, then spoke thus :

" Amir, my true minister and the beloved of God, here before thee I prostrate myself and ask thy pardon. God's pardon I will ask a thousand times every day of my life. Know that from this day forward I am a follower of thy God, whom I now believe to be the only God. But I must go to Mecca to expiate my sins. Stay, good Amir, therefore, and rule my kingdom for me in my absence."

But would Amir, the true Mussalman, stay when he was assured of a place in Heaven, and when such beautiful and celestial creatures as the Houries were even then beckoning him from above with open arms ? No : not he. He resolutely mounted the stake, none daring to stay him ; and from up the stake, it is believed, to Heaven. But I am sure, that on the way, he must have realised that the path to Heaven was really thorny.

Nor did our Perumal stay in the land any longer than was necessary. He divided his kingdom among the princes of the country charging them to rule it until his return, and then

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departed for Mecca. Whether he intended or not to return and reclaim his kingdom is not certain. But certain it is that he did not return. Hence the custom even now prevails in Cochin for the Raja to declare at his installation that he would rule the land in the name and until the return of his brother Cheraman.

Our legend stops here. But what became of the faithless Kettillamma?—You may ask. And so do I.

X. Y. Z.

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## THE ANNEXATION OF JHANSI

THE OUTBREAK 1857.

The month of June dawned in Jhansi with nothing particular about the situation of the troops stationed there, under the command of Captain Dunlop, which consisted of a portion of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry and the 14th Irregular Cavalry. Captain Alexander Skeene, the Commissioner of the station, was so confident of the fidelity of the Jhansi troops that on the 18th of May he wrote to the authorities: "I do not think that there is any cause for alarm about this neighbourhood. The troops here, I am glad to say, continue staunch and express unbounded abhorrence of the atrocities committed at Meerut and Delhi." On the 30th of May he wrote again on the subject: "All continues quiet here, and the troops staunch." Again on the 3rd of June: "We are all safe here as yet."<sup>\*</sup>

Captain Skeene unfortunately failed to comprehend sufficiently the nature of this state of apparent lull which portended the bursting out of a dangerous storm. And the unmistakeable signs of a coming outbreak soon manifested themselves in the shape of incendiary fires and stray plundering. On the 4th of June, some men of the 12th Regiment, headed by Gurbaksh Khan, one of their *havildars*, suddenly marched into the fort and took possession of it, with the magazine and treasury that were there. They would on no account surrender them in spite of their officers' efforts to remind them of all soldierly virtues and duties. Thus rudely awakened from his fond belief, Captain Dunlop proceeded to parade those troops who had not yet joined in the mutinous demonstration of their commanders "and called upon them to preserve the honor of their respective corps by their fidelity and obedience. The troops eagerly and loudly responded to this

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<sup>\*</sup>Sir J. Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. III., pp. 362-3.

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appeal, by declaring they would do so, and would stand by their colours and their officers to the last men. Reassured by these protestations of loyalty and attachment, Captain Dunlop remained in the lines during that and the following day, and nothing occurred to awaken his suspicions of impending mischief."<sup>\*</sup>

In the meantime Luchmee Bai obtained permission from the English officer there "to entertain a body of armed men for her own protection."<sup>†</sup>

It was plain that the mutiny had fairly commenced and the position of the European residents, whether combatants or not, grew very cheerless and alarming. Captain Gordon, the Deputy-Commissioner of Jhansi, repaired to the palace, requesting the Ranee to shelter their females and children within the precincts of the palace, to which she readily consented and stationed guards round the place where they had been concealed.<sup>‡</sup>

On the 6th of June the troops rose at once against their officers and nearly all were killed, except Lieutenant Taylor, who, though severely wounded, succeeded in reaching the town fort. To this place, the European residents had gone to shut themselves in, taking previous care of bringing in their ladies and the children whom the Ranee had given shelter in her palace. Anticipating a siege, they vigorously employed their time in getting in provisions, ammunition and fire-arms. They piled stones behind the gates to prevent them being opened.||

On the other hand, the mutineers, besmeared with dust and blood, went straight into the jail and released the prisoners and with them committed every kind of excess which their fantastic whims wildly dictated, burning and devastating public houses and plundering the inhabitants. The English were now most lamentably in the grip of the mutineers. "They had triumphed over the White Man, who now lay prostrate at their feet. Another day or two and all would be over. Jhansi would be purged of the presence of the usurpers."<sup>§</sup>

On the night of the 6th of June the rebels held a council, at which it was resolved at the instigation of Baksish Ali, Jail Daroga, "that the Europeans should be murdered and arrangements

<sup>\*</sup> Ball's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I., pp. 271.

<sup>†</sup> Sir John Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. III., pp. 364. cf. also B. Gillean's *The Ranee of the Legend of Brindlacand*, p. 180.

<sup>‡</sup> *Mem. notes relating to Jhansi*.

<sup>||</sup> Further Papers No. 4, relating to the Mutinies in the East Indies, 1897 p. 132.

<sup>§</sup> Sir John Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. III., p. 365.

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made with either the Ranee or Sadasheo Rao to take the government" of the country in their hand.\*

Though nothing would have been more welcome to the injured Ranee than the recovery of Jhansi, which she so dearly loved, still she abhorred and despised the method adopted by the brutal and unlicensed soldiery for getting up a revolution. It did not escape her vigilant notice that the continuance of this licentious power would not only jeopardize the welfare of the state, but her life and property would also be imperilled. These various causes led her at first to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the English, hoping thereby that they would restore Jhansi to her ultimately. This attitude of the Ranee so displeased the mutineers that they invited Sadasheo Rao, a former claimant of the Jhansi *guddi*, from Oonao, a village situated at a distance of about twelve miles from Jhansi. "Meanwhile a Proclamation went forth declaring that the people are the gods, the country is the Padsha; and the two Religions govern."†

The 7th of June was a day of sore agony to the ill-fated garrison of the town Fort, which was invested with all fury by the heterogenous mass of mutinous soldiery and prisoners. The last especially was most notorious for their ferocious and barbarous conduct. No chance of escape gleamed through the dark future to gladden the depressed and drooping spirits of the helpless besieged. They thought their only hope rested on the good wishes of Luchmee Bai. "The English were reduced to the humiliating necessity of imploring the help of the woman whom they had so grossly wronged"‡

Accordingly, Messrs. Scott and the two Percells were sent by Capt. Skeene to the Ranee to solicit safe conduct on arrival outside the Fort.§ Unfortunately, on the way, being discovered, they were mercilessly despatched by the rebel soldiery. Capt. Skeene and Capt. Gordon sent several other messages to the Ranee praying for assistance. The Ranee plainly told the English officers that, though she knew it perfectly well that she would be robbed and plundered of every thing she had if she dared openly assist them, still she would try her best to help them as best as she could. Accordingly bringing over 100 watchlockmen from Kurrara he despatched them to the besieged garrison, but they

\* *The Gazetteer*, N. W. P., Vol. I., p. 299.

† *Kaye's Sepoy War*, Vol III., p. 366.

‡ *Kaye's History of the Sepoy War*, III., p. 366.

§ *Ibid* p. 366.

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were sent back the next evening, the cause not being known to the Ranee. The darkness of the night enabled however the Ranee to continue sending to the English camp bread of about 3 maunds of wheat for two succeeding days. She also advised captain Skeene and Gordon to fly atonce to Datia if possible and place themselves under the Raja's protection. But this was evidently impracticable as the fort had been closely besieged.\*

What was in her power to do for the English she did; further and beyond that she could not do. Her movements were closely watched by the rebels. In those troublous days the Ranee never came out of her palace, says Chimna Bai, the step-mother, apprehending danger from the unbridled soldiery. This fact negatives the official version of Capt. Pinking to the effect that the Ranee, on the afternoon of the sixth, appeared in a procession of the rebel soldiery, with two banners borne aloft before her. "The mutineers at last having forced the Ranee to assist them with guns and elephants succeeded in effecting an entrance at two of the gates."†

Though the besieged had defended themselves with the heroism of despair, it soon became apparent that the dead-weight of the enemy's force was gradually prevailing over them. Finding it impossible to hold out any longer, Capt. Skeene capitulated on the 8th of June on condition that they would be allowed to depart in peace and safety. The leaders of the insurgents promised under the most solemn oath to fulfil the engagements of the capitulation. As soon as the doomed garrison, to the number of 67 individuals of whom about half were women and children, passed the threshold of the fort, the sepoy's most treachously made them captives and conducted them to their leader. A miscellaneous crowd of fanatical Mussalmans, disaffected Police, and the denizens of the Jail followed the helpless Europeans, gloating on their success over the whites and did not scruple to insult these helpless prisoners in their fiendish wrath. On the way they were met by Baksish Ali, the Jail Daroga, who called out—"It is the Rissaldar's order that all should be killed."‡

Thus shouting out the orders, Baksish Ali commenced the work of slaughter by cutting down Captain Skeene; it gave the signal for the rest and the entire body of white prisoners

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\* The Mss. letter of T. C. Martin, one of the surrenderers of the Jhansi Massacre, also Mr. Nak's papers relating to Jhansi.

† Ball's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. I., p. 274.

‡ *Vide* Letter to the Supreme Government by Sir Robert Hamilton, the Political Agent of Central India. c.f. also Sir John Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. III., p. 369.

## ***THE ANNEXATION OF JHANSI***

within a short time were consigned to eternity. As regards the report that the scoundrels, after having dishonored some women and blackened their faces, cast them adrift—Captain Pinkmey, the superintendent of the Jhansi district, from whose official report the above mentioned facts are taken, regarded it to be groundless.

Thus ended the dismal scene in the first chapter of the Jhansi mutiny.

**G. L. D.**

# **The Progress of the Indian Empire**

## **PROVINCE BY PROVINCE**

### **BOMBAY**

**Bombay** is already astir in preparing herself for the forthcoming visit of their Majesties. Arrangements on a vast scale are going forward to put the "gateway of India" in a position worthy of "the first city in the East" and of the wealth, the public spirit and the munificence of its citizens. The 'old Bombay' exhibition, which is going to be a fancy show and a kind of popular fair, is being fitted up; public and private buildings; are receiving the showman's attention and every detail of the grand procession, the illuminations, the fireworks, the feeding of the poor and other items of the programme is being carefully arranged. The first week of December is, therefore, going to be a memorable one in the already eventful history of the city of Bombay. Large numbers of people from the interior will pour into Bombay at that time, but the event of the Delhi Durbar will be celebrated in all places, small and large, in the mofussil. Committees have been already formed in the district towns to raise funds and to carry out the local celebrations in a suitable manner.

The shadow of famine unfortunately hangs ominously over parts of the Presidency. Except in a very few places, the later rains have entirely failed and the scarcity of grain, fodder and water will soon be seriously felt. Relief works will have to be opened and the time of distress somehow tided over. The plague is once more ripe in the Deccan, taking its toll of victims and people find themselves between the two enemies at once. Inoculation, which was long looked upon with suspicion and disfavour, is becoming more and more popular every day and is calculated to save a number of lives. The plague has been in our midst for fifteen years and has baffled all theories about its origin, spread, and extermination. Seven, ten and fifteen years were the periods which were confidently declared to be the life-time of the disease, but we have now witnessed the lapse of the longest space of life allowed to it and yet there are no prospects of its disappearance in the near future. This disconcerting outbreak of the plague upsets everything. Progress is at a standstill and it takes some time to repair its ravages. The periodical recurrence of the epidemic is a serious

## ***PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BOMBAY)***

obstacle to social and economic advance. It appears it is hopeless to get rid of this enemy of progress unless there is an improvement in the resisting power of the masses, in the sanitary conditions of our towns and villages, and in popular education. Remedies like evacuation and inoculation are, after all, of temporary efficacy. And unless radical means are employed, the plague is sure to defy all palliative measures. The evils of scarcity and famine stand in the same category. It is deplorable that the ryots should ever be at the mercy of the rains and a frown of the rain-god should mean life or death to the cultivator. Irrigation on an extensive scale, improved agriculture, and advance of industries giving a diversity of employment are directions in which safety has to be sought. The Agricultural College at Poona, the Deccan Agricultural Association and the Department of Agriculture are doing something. The scheme of a central bank, which will deal only with co-operative credit societies, and was elaborated by the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas and the Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, has now been sanctioned and will soon be an accomplished fact. We are thus slowly moving in the right direction. Only the pace needs acceleration.

Since the boom of 1905 and 1907 the premier Indian industry has been in a depressed condition. What with over-production, with lessened demand for its output in India and China, and with the high prices of raw cotton, Bombay mills have been passing through bad times. The prospects of a good crop in America this year have sent down the prices of Indian cotton and thus things have begun to look up for the mill-owner. Notwithstanding times of depression, the cotton mills are making satisfactory progress in as much as their outturn of cloth has recently considerably expanded. With cheaper cotton and a brisk demand, the spinning business which was not prosperous during the last two or three years is likely in the near future to revive. It is to be hoped better days for the mill industry have begun. The cotton crop of the Presidency, in spite of the failure of the rains, is not bad and this is a point not the least favourable to the fortunes of the industry. How the internationalization of the world's industries has become complete may be seen from the way in which outside economic conditions immediately affect the industries of India.

The glass factory at Talegaon on the G. I. P. Railway, only a few miles from Poona, has been turning out excellent articles. It was originally financed from the *Paisa* fund, and it is creditable to the

Talegaon Glass  
Factory

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organisers thereof that the factory has now been brought to its present condition of efficiency in spite of so many difficulties. The idea of the *Faisa* fund is a clever one. Every man is asked to pay each year the minimum of a pice, any one being at liberty to pay more if he pleases. The enthusiasm for Swadeshi was so great for some years in these parts that thousands of rupees were easily collected by volunteers on the Dasora day every year. But owing to the reaction that set in after political complications two or three years ago the enthusiasm was chilled. The Factory, however, has now been placed on a sound basis, has the necessary chemical laboratory attached to it, and provision has been made for the teaching of young men in the theory and art of glass-making. The clouds under which the Factory had to work for some time have been dissipated. Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, paid a visit to the Factory very recently and his Government has extended its patronage to the concern. This is a service rendered to the cause of Swadeshi for which people of this Province cannot be too grateful to His Excellency.

### **MADRAS**

In the death of H. H. Asaf Jah Nizam-ud-daula Mir Sir Mahdab Ali Khan, G. C. S. I., late Nizam of Hyderabad, India has lost an able ruler and statesman and the British Government a strong supporter and "faithful ally." His administration was characterised by sympathy, justice and impartiality in the treatment of his subjects. Both Hindus and Mahomedans were employed in the administration of His Highness's state, and Hindus have sometimes held very high and responsible offices. At the time of the Russian scare in 1885, the Nizam demonstrated his loyalty by offering 60 lakhs of Rupees to the British Government for the defence of the North-West Frontier. The letter in which he made this splendid offer to the viceroy concluded by saying: "This is my offer in a time of peace. At a later stage you can count upon my sword."

Perhaps the secret of the successful rule of the late Nizam could be best indicated in the words which His Highness himself had given utterance to on the occasion of the state banquet given to H. E. Lord Minto. He said: "If your Excellency will allow me to speak from my experience of 23 years as ruler of this state, I would say that the form of any government is fa

## **PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (MADRAS)**

less important than the spirit in which that Government is administered. The essential thing is sympathy, on which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with the truly royal instinct of his race, laid so much stress. It is not sufficient merely that the ruler should be actuated by sympathy for the subjects, but it is also necessary that the people should feel convinced of the sympathy of their rulers. "

It is indeed a matter for considerable surprise that the Mysore Government should have gone out of its senses to think of prohibiting the lectures of Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri of the *Servants of India Society* at Bangalore.

An extraordinary prohibition

The public meetings to have been held were convened under the auspices of the Marriage Reform League and the subjects proposed for discussion were the evils of early marriage and the Civil Marriage Bill. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, the retired Dewan of Mysore, was to be the Chairman. As the Hon. Mr. L. A. Govinda Raghava Aiyar said at a protest meeting recently held at the Mahajana Sabha premises, the action of the Mysore Government had the effect of trenching upon the right of public speaking given to every person ; therefore the Mysore government owe it to the public, to explain what necessitated them to take so extraordinary a step in connection with a subject which is only a matter of social importance. The President of the meeting, the Hon. Mr. T. U. Seshagiri Aiyar, truly said that if such a thing had happened in British India, there would have been a wild outburst of indignation. The fact that the blow came from a native state make the prospect even sadder. It seems incredible that the responsible authorities of an enlightened Indian principality should have treated a member of Mr. Gokhale's servants of India Society as a political suspect. We hope an ample apology for this maladroit procedure would soon be forthcoming.

It would appear that the Government of Madras are going to make the experiment of introducing the system of election in case of Chairmen of Union Panchyats. At a meeting of the Legislative Council, held on the 15th May, 1911, the Hon. Mr. P. Kesava Pillai suggested that effect should be given to clause 2 of section 121 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1884, by introducing elective system in village Panchayats and the Government after devoting consideration to the subject are of opinion that in the first instance it will suffice to extend the elective system to not more than one union in each district situated preferably at the head-quarters of a revenue division. It is now

Union Panchayats and the Elective System

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proposed to limit the proportion of elective seats on each Panchayat to one-fourth of its maximum strength, but the Government will be prepared to consider recommendations to reduce this proportion in special cases and to enhance it by not more than one seat in cases where the maximum strength is a multiple of four.

The Government of Madras have recently made some new rules in connection with the provision of supplies and transport to Government officers on circuit.

Under the existing rules the duty of providing supplies and transports rests with the village headman. While the Government do not consider it possible to relieve the headman of his duties in this respect, as to do so would seriously hinder the touring of Government officers, the rules are so framed as to render these duties as little irksome as possible and to ensure, as far as is practicable, that the money paid for supplies shall reach those hands for whom it is intended. As regards the supply of transports it is stated that while it is the duty of every village headman, when applied to, to render all reasonable assistance to Government officers in the matter of procuring carts and other means of conveyance, it is the duty of every officer, to whom carts or other means of conveyance are supplied, to see that the rates of hire and detention fee in accordance with the scale laid down by the Collector are paid promptly and in full. About the supply of provisions it is stated that every Government officer obtaining the assistance of the village headman is bound personally to see that the village headman's bill has been paid in full before he leaves the village. Any objection may be referred subsequently to the Collector of the Divisional officer for orders. The village headmen are not to provide supplies except on written requisition, which would be produced as vouchers in support of the bill. The rules also provide (1) that no Government officer, except for special reasons and in exceptional cases, should require the village headman to procure supplies for him at his headquarters; (2) that no supplies except of articles produced or sold locally should be procured by the headman; (3) that officers on tour are absolutely forbidden to receive and subordinate officers are absolutely forbidden to offer any supplies of any kind without payment; and (4) that police officers are to have nothing to do with the furnishing of supplies.

The final census figures for the Madras Presidency were published on the 4th September. They show 41,404,625 as the total population, which is 2,786 in excess of the provisional total published in

## **PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (MADRAS)**

March last. The percentage of increase is shown to be 7 per 100,000 this year as against 24 in 1901. There is a fall in the number of Todas during the decade from 805 to 676.

In the next few days Sir Arthur Lawley, the present Governor of Madras, will vacate his office, and the Hon. Sir Thomas David Gibson-Carmichael will succeed him. Sir Arthur's Government has been anything but successful, and we can, therefore, afford to be very little sorry at the time of his departure. Sir Arthur had been Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal before he came out to India, and, when there, he once said that it would be a greater crime for the British Government to respect the pledges of equal treatment to Indians in that colony than to break them. Soon after Sir Arthur came to Madras, he stood against the re-appointment of Mr. Sankaran Nair as a High Court Judge who had roused the wrath of the Madras Chamber of Commerce by a straightforward article in the *Contemporary Review* in which he made the bold statement that it was almost impossible to get a European jury to convict European offenders even when there was the strongest evidence against them. Repression was the one watch-word of Sir Arthur's reign and it is an open secret that his attitude towards the Reform proposals of Lord Morley and the swadeshi movement was not too much of a friendly character. When an Indian member was to be appointed in his Executive Council he could find no other man than the Maharaja of Bobbili for the purpose. But the experience of this appointment perhaps made him a bit wiser, and when the worthy Maharaja resigned his seat, he appointed Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, then a High Court Judge, as his successor. When Sir Arthur's Government had to fill up a temporary vacancy on the bench of the High Court some time ago, his choice fell upon Mr. Pinhey who, on one occasion, publicly expressed his disapproval of the well-known legal principle that a man should be deemed innocent till he was proved guilty, and on another occasion said that in India, the very fact of public meetings being held for the discussion of political subjects was an act of sedition. The high-handed action of Sir Arthur's Government in connection with the Palaghat Municipality is too recent to be forgotten by the public. We are glad that the *Hindu* of Madras has come forward with a frank indictment of Sir Arthur's rule and has clearly stated the effect it had on the public life of Southern India. How we wish he had vacated the office which he was so ill-equipped to fill with dignity and honour.

### BENGAL

With Miss Margaret Noble or Sister Nivedita, as she called herself, has passed away a remarkable personality and perhaps the most distinguished disciple of the late Swami Vivekananda. It is a pity—great pity indeed—that a woman with such rare parts should have devoted her life to a most mischievous and reactionary movement. Her impossible idealism of the East and poetic interpretation of everything connected with the Hindu name and Hindu religion has put back the hand of progress in India, particularly of a spirit of rationalism. Evidently on her womanly heart the simplicity of Hindu domestic life and the apparent religiousness of our people made a deep impression and this together with her unbounded love for Hindu philosophy led her to believe in every Hindu custom and dogma, however foolish or absurd. So much was her admiration for Hindu ways of living that in Calcutta she used to live like a Hindu in a Hindu section of the town. She was an unceasing worker in the cause of female education, and her educational and philanthropic services will ever be remembered by our people with grateful memory. She was a mellifluous speaker and an impressive writer; and in spite of some differences of opinion her book, *The Web of Indian Life*, will always be read with pleasure and profit by Hindus and non-Hindus alike. She was a very close friend of Dr. J. C. Bose, with whom she had gone to Europe in 1908 and to several Himalayan expeditions in 1909 and 1910.

As usual the Partition-day demonstrations were held all over United Bengal on the 30th of Aswin which fell on the 17th of October this year. The Calcutta meeting was presided over by an Eastern Bengal lawyer and was largely attended. The fact that even the *Statesman*, more or less a semi-official organ now-a-days, has not made any attempt to depreciate the number of attendance in the Calcutta meeting, proves conclusively that it was as largely attended as ever. We believe that the attitude of the better mind of Bengal towards the Partition has not much changed, and there must be very few educated men in these provinces who would not rejoice today if the measure were modified. The Partition is bound to go, today or tomorrow, in spite of all official attempts to keep it up; but it would be taken as an act of great grace if it were to be modified in connection with the king's visit to Bengal.

We cannot sufficiently condemn in this connection the rituals

## **PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL)**

that are observed on this day by a large body of men in these provinces. For the life of us we cannot understand why manifestoes should be issued on this occasion by any leaders requesting the public to observe ceremonies which are principally associated with orthodox Hindu institutions. What the Partition has got to do with Hinduism and the observance of some of its well known rituals passes our comprehension. If India is ever to be united and made strong, it must *not* be on the basis of this religion or that. The men who help in the perpetuation of the reign of superstition and ritual in a country like India and invoke the aid of religion in a public cause do more harm to the progress of our people than anything else that can be conceived of.

If our Anglo-Indian contemporary of the *Capital* is to be believed, the illness of Sir Edward Baker's son is by no means the only nor the chief reason of the late Lieutenant-Governor's untimely resignation. Sir Edward Baker's resignation. Indeed, Sir Edward Baker's resignation does not come as a surprise to the people of Bengal who, rightly or wrongly, believed when he was going on furlough that he was going for ever, and were, therefore, expecting some such development. Although the administration of Sir Edward Baker has not been as bad as that of his predecessor, it can by no means be said that he fulfilled even a fraction of those just hopes which his appointment as the Lieutenant-Governor of this province had roused in the hearts of a section of the Bengali public. As a Bengal Civilian, Sir Edward knew the people of Bengal very well, but he did not use his opportunities at Belvedere to do much good to them. As a man of liberal ideas and sympathetic spirit he won the general good-will of the people before he left the Bengal service for the Imperial. As a member of the Government of India he won his spurs as a good financier and statesman. To add to all this, some of the prominent leaders of Bengal public opinion were his personal friends. Under the circumstances, Bengal expected much from him and heaved a sigh of relief when the news of his appointment was first flashed through the wire. It was felt on all hands that, whatever other things he might or might not do, Sir Edward Baker of all men would not lend his support to the forging of fresh fetters for the people of this unhappy province. No sooner, however, had he taken the reins of his office at Belvedere than all on a sudden some of the respectable gentlemen of Calcutta were swooped upon by the Police under the provisions of a "lawless law" and were taken to no body knew

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where. The people in their confusion threw the blame, some on Sir Andrew Fraser and some on the Government of East Bengal. But wherever the initiative might have come from—and to do justice to Sir Edward, we must admit that it could not come from him—the final responsibility of Sir Edward Baker in this matter can not be denied; for, whoever might have asked for them, the Calcutta deportations could not certainly have taken place without the knowledge and consent of the man who was for the time being the ruler of the Province.

The Police Act of 1910, a distinctly reactionary measure, was Sir Edward's own handiwork. It was also Sir Edward who stopped the 7th of August celebration last year, and if he did not stop the Partition day demonstration he openly discountenanced it. In India open disapproval of anything by Government is tantamount to stopping it, and if the Partition agitation has survived Sir Edward's fling, it is because the grievance is rooted deep in the heart of the people.

The police were as much the masters of the situation in his reign as in that of Sir Andrew Fraser, and espionage and house search went on as merrily as before, though with what practical good it is difficult to say. The collapse of the Howrah and the Khulna political trials, the conferment by him of honours to some police officers who were waiting their trial in a very important case, and above all, his inability to stop the Bakrid riots last year landed him into quagmire and made him unpopular with the people as well as, it is believed, with the Government of India. Indeed, the miserable failure of these prosecutions lent colour to the impression however wrongly it might be, that he was actually carrying out the threat which he held out in a certain speech of his, that if the people did not co-operate with the Government, the Government on its part would also be able to observe "no nice discrimination between the guilty and the innocent."

To the credit of Sir Edward Baker it must, however, be said that of all the Lieutenant-Governors in India, it was he alone who tried to keep pace with Lord Morley's Reform Scheme, and Bengal is indebted to him for Council Government. If ever a day should come when the Partition would be modified, the system of Government for the reconstituted provinces would not then, thank to Sir Edward, be any difficulty in the way. In his later days, however, he was growing distinctly autocratic, and as the *Statesman* says, showed "a disposition to cut short even the most necessary debates" in the Bengal Council.

## **PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL)**

He must also be thanked for his firm attitude in connection with the Calcutta Fire Brigade scandal.

A soldier by instinct and a sportsman by training, Maharaja Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Behar had little attraction for the civil affairs of his kingdom. When a military expedition was to be sent out or a frontier tribe to be punished by the British Government, the late Maharaja was ready with his horse and sword, but in more peaceful vocations of public life he was unfortunately nowhere to be found. His sympathies for education, however, are too well known to be forgotten. He was a patron of the Bengal Technical Institute since its inception and the free College of Cooch Behar—now no longer so—was for many a year the poor students' last hope. His marriage with Suniti Devi, a daughter of the late Keshav Chandra Sen, roused a bitter controversy and was the immediate, though not the only cause, of the second split in the Brahmo Samaj.

Late Sir Herbert Risley. Sir Herbert Hope Risley was a man of encyclopaedic knowledge and an anthropologist of renown, though to the people of Bengal he was better known as the author of the famous note on the Partition of Bengal. He had a pliancy of mind which gave him great skill in subordinating his own convictions to those of his chiefs, and in drafting despatches and resolutions, in advocacy or explanation of the policy of the hour, whatever it might be. Passing the I. C. S. Examination in 1871, he came out to Bengal and was soon made one of the five assistants of Sir William Hunter, the then Director-General of Statistics, who was then engaged upon sifting the material for his great Gazetteer. Early in 1885, Sir Rivers Thomson selected Mr. Risley for research work in order to obtain more precise information as regards the castes and occupations of the people of Bengal. This work occupied him for six years. His two volumes of "Ethnographic Glossary" of all the castes, tribes, subcastes, and sections in Bengal, with an introductory essay on caste in relation to marriage, and his two volumes of "Anthropometric Data," showing the results of measurements of the physical characteristics of certain selected castes and tribes, were officially published in 1891-92, under the title of "The Tribes and Castes of Bengal." He also wrote an account of the people of Sikhim and Tibet, a monograph on "Widow and Infant Marriage," and "a Manual of Ethnography for India." He served as member and Secretary of the Police Commission of 1890. In 1898 he was made Financial Secretary to the Government of

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**India.** Then he was put in charge of the 1901 census operations. He earned some reputation in this post and his chapter in the final census report on "Tribe, Caste, and Race," and his contributions to the sections on the distribution and movement of population, and on religion and marriage, were republished about a couple of years ago under the title of "The People of India." In November 1903, he became the permanent Home Secretary to the Government of India after officiating in that capacity for more than a year. He was Secretary of the Government of India on Constitutional Reform in Lord Minto's reign and served for a few months as a temporary Home Member of his Lordship's Council. Last year, Lord Morley selected him to succeed Sir Charles Lyall as Secretary of the Judicial and Public Department of India Office. It was a great disappointment to him and his friends that he was not made a Lieutenant-Governor.

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## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

### *The Modern Review*

In the October number of the *Modern Review*, Mr. P. Chatterjea describes the system of education which prevailed in ancient India. He says that in ancient India education was very cheap and practically free. Mr. Jadu Nath Sarkar contributes a further instalment of his *History of Aurangzeb*. In *A Women's Movement*, Mrs. Sarala Devi describes the origin, object and organisation of the *Bharat Sree Mahamandal* of which the headquarters are at Lahore. She describes the object of this organisations to be thus:—The object of the *Bharat Sree Mahamandal* is the creation of an organisation by means of which women of every race, creed, class and party in India may be brought together on the basis of their common interest in the moral and material process of the women of India, etc. Any woman in any part of the world may be its member. At present there are nearly 500 members. The *mandal* has three branches now. In June last 50 ladies received instruction in 30 families. In Allahabad the zenana education work begun in May with 22 young ladies to give instruction to in 15 families in Calcutta. In June 34 young ladies received instruction in 25 families. In Lahore the educational work has begun from the 1st of June. Mr. M. R. Sundaram Iyer has not finished his paper on the gold standard. Mr. A. Ghose describes the *Development of the Match industry* in Japan. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal contributes a rather interesting article on *Studies in the Bhagavatgeeta*. Mr. S. N. Bose's *Culture of Cotton in the U. S. A. and Japan*, Mr. Mukundi Lal's *Kashmir and the Kashmir* and Mr. Sarat Chundra Ray's article on the *Ethnography of the Mundas* are full of useful and interesting information. *The Man in Turkey* is a further instalment of the life of General Shekret Pasha. Mr. Pramatha Nath Bosu's study of ethical tendencies of western culture still continues. Mr. Narendra Nath Law describes the means of communication in the reign of Chandra Gupta.

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### *The Hindustan Review*

The current number of the above review is a joint number for the months of October and November and is rather small in size, containing not more than 75 pages of reading matter. The place of honour is given to *The Superiority of Inferior Races* by "A Visitor to the Universal Races Congress" in which the writer gives a gist of the contributions to the above Congress by Sir Sydney Oliver, Governor of Jamaica, Sir Charles Bruce, late Governor of Mauritius, and Sir H. H. Jhonstone, formerly the British Commissioner and Consul-General in Africa. In the *Poverty of India*, Mr. K. C. Kanjilal supports the Permanent Settlement of Bengal and says that it is incumbent upon the Government to place the administration more and more in the hands of the Indians. In a paper on the *Subsidised Journalism in India*, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao gives an account of those journals which up till now have received

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Government patronage. *The Religious system of Ancient Greece, Education and its Ideals in India and India and Russia* are some of the other interesting articles.

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### *The Imperial & Asiatic Quarterly Review*

The current number of this excellent magazine has three articles on India. Of these two—*What are the Hindus?* and *The Antiquity and Originality of Hindu Civilization* have been noticed elsewhere. The remaining article is on the *Moslem University* in which Mr. M. T. Katerbhoy, the Honorary Secretary of All-India Moslem League, London, supports the Aligarh University scheme. This article was read before a meeting of the East India Association and there was a most interesting debate over it. We are glad to find that there was at least one Mahomedan speaker, Mr. Rausaf Ali, to protest against sectarian Universities. He said:—If the doors of the University were to be opened to all classes, then, surely, the central idea was an all-Indian movement, and he failed to understand why it should be denominationalized by the name Moslem. Their people had founded many Universities in the past, but he ventured to think they had never been so narrow-minded as to designate them with a sectarian title. . . . He thought it extremely undesirable to designate it by the word Mahomedan, because the great trouble in India was that names led to much ill-feeling, when there was really no necessity for it. He advised them not to attach any sectarian designation to the suggested institution, and he did not think there could be any better object to commemorate His Majesty's visit to India than the founding of an institution free from all sectarian narrow-mindedness and religious bigotry. Sound words these. Thakur Shri Jeepraj-singhji Seesodia said that, regarding the suggested new Universities, he feared that it would only intensify the bitter feeling between the different classes of India.

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### *The Indian Review*

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu opens the September number of this review with a poem on, *The Bird of Time*. It is followed by a message which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji issued to his friends in England, India and S. Africa in reply to congratulations and good wishes on his 87th (last) birthday. Mr. Sherwood Eddy's *Japan's message to India* is noticed elsewhere. Next comes a review by the Late Varadachari J. Kirtikar of a book entitled *Christ for India*. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh then sets down the gist of the recommendations made by the different speakers of the Universal Races Congress for the promotion of the brotherhood of man. We have no room here to note the recommendations of all the different speakers and shall therefore be satisfied with quoting the opinion of Mr. Brajendra Nath Seal only. He recommended:—(1). The organisation of a World's Humanity League with branches, committees and bureaus in different countries, to promote mutual understanding and appreciation among members of different races, peoples, and nationalities, and congresses to enable Oriental

## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

and Occidentals to disseminate cultural ideas to be held under the auspices of the League in different centres. (2). The endowment of Chairs of Oriental Civilisation and Culture in western universities and academies to be held by Orientals from the countries concerned; and *mutatis mutandis* in the East. (3). The publication of an *International Journal of Comparative Civilisation* which would have for its object the application of the biological, sociological, and historic sciences to the problems of present-day legislation and administration, to serve as a medium for the exchange of views. (4). An organised effort against colour prejudice; the forcible shutting of the door of the West against the East, with the forcible breaking it upon in the East in favour of the West, and national Chauvinism. *History of the Andras* is a readable article by Mr. C. S. R. Samayajuly, Mr. A. P. Smith scornfully refutes the imputation that the Eurasians in India are a depressed class. He says that the Eurasian in India, even at his worst, compares more than favourably with Englishmen of the same condition of life in England in education, in wholesome living, in sobriety of conduct and in refinement. Rai Bahadur V. K. Kamaniyachari next considers whether intercaste marriages were recognised by the Hindu religious books and comes to the conclusion that generally they were so. In an extremely readable article Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai recounts the services done by Bradlaugh to India. Then follows a biographical sketch of the late Nizam of Hyderabad.

### *The Vedic Magazine*

The following articles are of some interest in the current number of the above magazine:—*A Bird's Eye View of Spanish History*; *The Theory of Creation*; *The autobiography of Sri Sri Dnyananda*; *The Church in Spain*; and *Ethical Foundations of Society and the Arya Samaj*.

### *The Modern World*

We welcome this new Magazine of which the current (September) is the second number. The magazine is edited by Mr. Y. Mangalvedkar of Madras. The present number contains an important article—*Indian Military Expenditure*—by Mr. S. K. Sarna. There is a note on President Diaz, the maker of Modern Mexico.

### *The Dawn*

The October number of this magazine contains the following articles:—(1) *Spadeshi India or India without Christian Influences: An Exposition and a Defence (Part Sixteenth)* (2) *The Civilisation of Northern India: A Contribution to the Study of Moslem Relations (IV)* (3) *India's "Industrial Revolution: What It Means and Involves—II"* (4) *Ideals Behind the Moslem University Movement—(III)* (5) *Indian Society of Oriental Art.*

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

**DENOMINA-  
TIONAL UNI-  
VERSITIES IN  
INDIA**

It is a most painful feature of Indian public life that so few men have come forward to protest against the establishment of denominational universities in India. Even such cultured and discriminating men as Dr. Rashbehari Ghose and H. H. the Aga Khan have come forward to bless the idea of a denominational university with large gifts from their long purses. The educated people all over India seem to have ranged themselves in the scales either on behalf of this university or that according to the religion or race to which they belong. It is a thousand pities that there should not be at least a dozen men in all India to see the dangers ahead of denominational universities and to frankly come forward with a note of warning to the public.

Before we come to discuss the evils which we fear will ensue from the establishment of such universities, let us warn the public of two very important facts which it seems to have very conveniently forgotten at this time. One is that universities are always and everywhere the nurseries of old and conservative ideas. Even a cursory study of the history of such universities as Oxford and Cambridge will leave no doubt in the mind of any intelligent observer as to their antipathies to popular and democratic movements. It has not been so alone with Oxford and Cambridge. The trend and drift of all academic centres in the world, no matter where, in Spain or Greece or ancient India, has been to conserve old ideas and to preserve old traditions. Neither Cordova nor Benares nor Santipur has been any exception to this general rule. The second fact that is so conveniently lost sight of is that India by itself is a country where there is an amount of extra enthusiasm for all sorts of religion and religious institutions, and that the strenuous life of modern India, with a keen struggle for the preservation of the race as well as of self, is too much in conflict with the development of theological dogmas and ceremonial rituals. Religion divested of all this may indeed lead to spiritual culture and as such may be an asset to any people in the world. But religion overcrowded and superseded by rituals and customs has a tendency to set back the hand of progress by turning men's mind from material struggles to abstract contemplation and metaphysical speculation.

## **EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS**

Apart from the question of the preservation of the culture and traditions of the two religions, the crying need of new India is not the encouragement of religious teachings, but the development of reason. Alighur and Benares are bound to encourage rituals if they are to be denominational Universities at all in the sense in which some of their promoters intend them to be, and to the extent they shall do it shall they also hamper the growth of the spirit of rationalism in India. These two universities when established have therefore a very great risk of retarding the material progress of India in the future.

But the greater danger still is that Benares and Alighur are likely to make a permanent cleavage between the Hindus and Mahomedans of India and set the two communities into a bitter feud against each other. Since Sir Syed Ahmed and Lord Dufferins's time, the policy of dividing the people of India into two hostile camps has found definite shape in the councils of the Empire and a very regrettable stage was reached by the promulgation of the Council regulations which brought the new Indian Councils Act into operation last year. Discriminating publicists all over India have repeatedly drawn attention to the disastrous effect of the dissension brought about between these two leading communities of India without the Government paying any heed to these notes of warning. What we have so long found fault with the Government we are now going to perpetuate ourselves. If we sincerely feel that the Government has committed a great blunder by creating special electorates for special classes, we cannot, in that case, consistently support the establishment of special universities for special communities. And when once we find the Hindus and Mussulmans of India sharply divided into two watertight compartments in the field of legislation, administration and education, the result will be not the development of a common nationality inspired by common ideas and sentiments but the establishment of powerful communities availing themselves of all opportunities to fly at each other's throat. Such a state of things will not only be a great political danger but a most effective engine to drive the wheels of progress backwards.

And then it must not be forgotten that all Hindus and Mussulmans do not think alike and as soon as one of the subsets of any of these communities are in the ascendant, a most bitter jealousy will be created and sometimes bloodshed may follow. Once you give the idea of a denominational university

## THE INDIAN WORLD

a start, you will not know what particular caste or sect to encourage and where to end. That is how the history of India has been made so painful a reading to patriotic Indians. And if sufficient apprehensions are not felt for history repeating itself under similar conditions in the future also, one can pity the enthusiasm which leads a man to ignore the writing on the wall.

We shall now conclude with a word of appeal to the leaders of these two communities. In the course of the last two weeks we have seen announcements in the papers of the amalgamation of the various schemes of an university promulgated by three different sections of people in the name of the Hindu community. Now that Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya has joined hands with Mrs. Besant and Maharaja of Durbhanga, may we not hope that some common friends of the Hindus and Moslems will be able to induce the promoters of both the Hindu and Moslem Universities to come to some definite terms regarding the establishment of a non-denominational, up-to-date University with two different centres at Alighur and Benares? If an University could be established in India to teach more science and technical arts, if chairs could be endowed handsomely for teaching the arcana of modern industries, if an impetus and encouragement could be given to the spirit of rationalism and the study of the history and antiquity of India, including archeology, epigraphy and ethnology, if some scholarships could be found to enquire and reconcile the various systems of Indian philosophy and Indian schools of religious thought, if boys could be sent out in numbers to the various European countries for keeping India into line with modern ideas and thoughts, in every department of intellectual activity—much greater good could be done to the people of India and the motherland which we love so dearly than founding academies for the encouragement of the study of the theology and rituals of any particular creed in India.

For ourselves we are perfectly convinced that instead of doing any good either to these special communities, or the general body-politic or the State, these denominational universities will create a situation in this country which no discriminating friend of India can view without alarm. It is a most unpatriotic work to which Pandit Madanmohan has set himself, and if the Government should ever come to think that the entire Hindu community feel and think with him in this matter, no greater mistake would be committed. In our next article, we shall labour some of these points still further.

## DIARY FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1911

Date

16. The King to-day received Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael in audience, who kissed hands on his appointment as the Governor of Madras. Sir Thomas was invested with the Knight Grand Commandership of the Order of the Indian Empire.

18. His Highness the Maharajah of Cooch Behar died this evening.

19. The District and Sessions Judge of Chittagong dismissed the prolonged suit under Section 92 of the Civil Procedure Code against Mohanta Jatirban of Sitakunda to disposses him of his gadi on account of his marrying against all precedents.

21. Kaviraj Bejoyratna Sen dies in Calcutta.

22. Mr. Jenkins in replying to the Raja of Dighapatia's question in the Imperial Council *re* the subsidised "Sulov Samachar" said : "The contract referred to by the Hon'ble member was originally personal to the late Rai Bahadur Narendra Nath Sen. It has been continued by the Bengal Government to his son for a period of nine months from the date of the death of his father, but will not be continued beyond that period."

23. A Conference between the Hon'ble Mr. Butler, Education Minister, and the constitution committee of the Moslem University was held today at Simla.

25. The *Times* of London publishes a letter from Mr. Montagu to a correspondent embodying a statement in defence of the Indian police.

26. A telegram from Simla informs that the Government of India will shortly address the Secretary of State on the question of the constitution of a Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar.

27. The All-India Ayurvedic Conference called Vaidyak Sanmilan began its sitting at Allahabad.

Ram Mohan Ray anniversary was celebrated in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu.

28. It is understood that a petition signed by nearly 6,000 residents of Bombay has been sent to the Government of Bombay in support of the anti-gambling legislation proposed by that Government.

29. The Punjab Hindu Conference met today at Amritsar under the presidency of the President, Rai Bahadur Lal Chand.

30. A public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Bombay was held today in the Framji Cawasji Hall, Bombay in support of the Hon'ble Mr. Basu's Special Marriage Act Amendment Bill.

## OCTOBER

1. The Punjab Hindu Conference supports Mr. Gokhale's Bill and the Hindu University Scheme.

2. The death is announced of Sir Herbert Risley in London of cancer in the throat.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab issues a note of warning to the Punjab Press for violent writing.

His Excellency the Viceroy lays down the foundation-stone of Dharmpur Hospital.

Anglo-Indians from all parts of India meet in conference at Jhansi, under the presidency of Mr. J. H. Abbott, a well-known land-owner and merchant.

## **THE INDIAN WORLD**

4. The festival celebrating the first anniversary of the establishment of the Portuguese Republic was observed in many Portuguese cities in India.

5. The sixth Provincial Mahomedan Educational Conference of Bengal commenced to-day at the Calcutta Town Hall. The Hon'ble Aftab Ahmed Khan, of Aligarh, presided.

6. Mr. Bopin Chandra Pal is arrested on board the mail boat on arrival in Bombay and produced before the Presidency Magistrate on a charge of sedition as the writer of an article on "The Etymology of Bomb in Bengal." Mr. Pal pleaded guilty, and prayed for mercy. He said that when he wrote the article he was not in touch with the politics in India and he was guided by what information was supplied to him. But after a perusal of the article afterwards, and even on that day, he was convinced that he ought not to have written it. He begged that he might be warned or fined or treated as a first offender. Mr. Nicholson said that the Government did not press for a heavy sentence. The Magistrate said that in view of what had been said both by Mr. Nicholson and the accused he would sentence the accused to one month's simple imprisonment.

7. At an emergency meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League, a boycott is declared against Italian goods as a protest against Italy's unjustifiable war against Turkey.

8. A meeting of the Mussulmans at Bankipur is held to denounce the outrage committed by Italy upon Islam.

9. Information is received of Sir Edward Baker's resignation of the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal.

It is understood that the Government of India propose to proceed with the General Delegation Bill next cold weather and meanwhile the Bill has been circulated for opinion.

10. It is announced that the permanent successor to Sir Edward Baker in Bengal is unlikely to be settled for some time. Meanwhile Mr. Duke will continue to officiate.

12. Reuter wires that proposals in favour of the abolition of seven Inspector-Generalships, mainly for the sake of economy, have been sent Home, but the decision of the Council of India has not yet been taken.

13. Sister Nivedita dies of dysentery at Darjeeling.

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1909-10 ...	2,90,342	3,12,184	10%

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	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1907-8 ...	12,24,650	4,66,350	Nil
1908-9 ...	42,15,135	23,50,275	2,000
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# THE INDIAN WORLD

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Vol. XIV ]

DECEMBER—1911

[ No. 81

## DIARY OF THE ROYAL TOUR EVENTS IN BOMBAY

### DECEMBER 2.

Their Majesties land at the Apollo Bunder, being received there by Lord Hardinge and the Governor of Bombay. Presentation of Municipal Address. Procession through the fort and native city, with school-children massed at various points, followed by visit to Government House. The streets decorated and illuminated at night.

### DECEMBER 3.

Sunday: Divine service at the Cathedral, attended by their Majesties.

### DECEMBER 4 AND 5.

Their Majesties remain in Bombay and visit the Exhibition of Old Bombay.

### DECEMBER 6.

Departure of their Majesties for Delhi.

## EVENTS IN DELHI

### DECEMBER 7.

Their Majesties enter Delhi in State at 10 A.M.

Public holiday throughout India (Government offices closed as far as practicable from 7th to 12th December inclusive).

Arrival of their Majesties at Selimgurh Bastion Station in the Fort; reception by the Governor-General and other high officials. Presentation of Ruling Chiefs, about 150 in number, in adjacent pavilion. Procession through principal streets of Delhi to the Ridge, where representatives of British India will be assembled in a special pavilion; address from them to be presented by Vice-President of Viceregal Legislative Council. Their Majesties then proceed to their camp. In the afternoon visits will be received from the principal Indian Chiefs.

# **THE INDIAN WORLD**

## **DECEMBER 8.**

**Morning :** Further visits from Ruling Chiefs.

**Afternoon :** His Majesty lays the memorial-stone of the All-India King Edward Memorial (equestrian statue).

## **DECEMBER 9.**

**Morning :** Further visits from Ruling Chiefs.

## **DECEMBER 10.**

**Sunday :** Their Majesties attend Divine service.

## **DECEMBER 11.**

The King-Emperor presents colours to three British and two Indian regiments.

## **DECEMBER 12.**

### **THE DURBAR DAY.**

The Durbar is to be held at 12 (noon) in an arena composed of two amphitheatres witnessed by 100,000 persons. After receiving homage within the inner amphitheatre, their Majesties will appear at Royal pavilion in centre of arena, where Royal Proclamation will be read before the whole assemblage.

**Evening :** State banquet in King-Emperor's Camp, followed by reception.

[Public holiday throughout India. Royal Proclamation will be read in every town and village and Portrait of King-Emperor exhibited on all Government and public buildings, which will be illuminated in the evening. Royal salutes fired at all military stations.]

## **DECEMBER 13.**

**Morning :** Reception of Volunteer Officers and Native Officers of the Indian Army.

**Afternoon :** Garden party in the Fort Great fair for the people below the Fort walls, from which their Majesties will show themselves to the multitude. Historical exhibition in the Mumtaz Mahal. Feeding of the poor.

**Evening :** Illumination of the Fort and pyrotechnic display on the Bela.

## **DECEMBER 14.**

Grand review of the troops (upwards of 50,000), occupying 2½ hours.

**Evening :** Investiture by his Majesty in the pavilion of the Royal Camp.

## **DECEMBER 15.**

Military tournament and point-to-point races attended by their Majesties.

## **THE ROYAL TOUR**

### **DECEMBER 16.**

State Procession to Selimgurh Bastion Station, and departure of their Majesties from Delhi at 1 P.M.. The Governor-General and Lady Hardinge subsequently leave for Dehra Dun.

### **DECEMBER 17 AND SUBSEQUENT DAYS.**

The King-Emperor will shoot in the Nepal Terai (shooting-boxes at Bikum Thori and Nargatagunj), the Queen remaining at Agra.

### **EVENTS IN CALCUTTA**

#### **DECEMBER 30.**

Arrival of their Majesties at Howrah Station, Calcutta. Official reception by Bengal Government and presentation of Municipal Address at Prinsep's Ghaut. State Procession to Government House. Massing of 25,000 children of Calcutta and suburbs along the Red Road. Decorations and illuminations at night.

#### **DECEMBER 31.**

Sunday : Their Majesties attend divine worship at the Cathedral.

#### **JANUARY 1. 1912.**

Monday Morning : Proclamation Parade.

„ Evening : State Dinner.

#### **JANUARY 2.**

Tuesday Afternoon : Review of Troops, Garden Party.

„ Evening : Levee.

#### **JANUARY 3**

Wednesday Evening : Torchlight Tatoo and Fireworks.

#### **JANUARY 4**

Thursday afternoon : Horse Show.

„ Evening : Royal Court.

#### **JANUARY 5.**

Their Majesties attend the Pageants at the Maidan.

#### **JANUARY 6.**

Evening : Illuminations in Calcutta.

#### **JANUARY 7.**

Sunday

#### **JANUARY 8.**

Monday : Their Majesties leave Calcutta from the Prinsep's Ghat.

# ***THE INDIAN WORLD***

**JANUARY 10.**

**Their Majesties embark for England.**

**JANUARY 29.**

**Arrival of their Majesties at Southampton.**

# NOTES & NEWS

## GENERAL

### Canada and India

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company is considering a project of a new steamship service between Canada and India, with Montreal as the summer and St. John as the winter port. It is proposed to make Calcutta the Indian terminus.

### Police in East Bengal

In his annual report for 1910 of the Police administration in Eastern Bengal, the Inspector-General, Mr. Huges Buller, observes some where:—"Officers for simply doing their duty have on many occasions been subjected, with their families, to social degradation, while threats have been frequent, and personal outrages not entirely absent. In spite of these handicaps," he adds, "and with certain exceptions, I believe that the majority of subordinate officers have worked loyally throughout the stress of, in many ways, a most trying year."

### Indian Export Duties

The Calcutta Improvement Act, which comes into operation from the New Year imposes duty on all jute exported by sea from the port of Calcutta to any other port, whether beyond or within India, at a rate not exceeding—(1) in the case of raw jute two annas (or 2d.) per bale of 400lbs; (2) in the case of manufactured jute 12 annas (or 1s.) per ton of 2,240lbs. It is proposed to levy a similar tax on raw and manufactured jute exported from Chittagong. As the duty will be paid equally on jute manufactures and on raw jute, no rebate will be made on raw jute shipped to British ports.

### East Bengal Excise Administration

The excise administration report of East Bengal for the year 1910-11 does show that the total revenue for the year amounted to Rs. 78,35,223 against Rs. 72,90,638 in the previous year, showing an increase of Rs. 5,44,585, the Assam valley alone contributing Rs. 2,41,725. Foreign liquor alone, of all intoxicants, did not fetch more revenue than in the previous year. Country spirit brought in Rs. 2,25,672, *Ganja* 1,52,832 and opium 2,03,145 more

## THE INDIAN WORLD

than in 1909-10, while there was a diminution of Rs. 54,362 under foreign liquor. The total license fees were Rs. 32,11,636 and duty yielded Rs. 44,86,833 as compared with Rs. 28,79,273 and Rs. 42,95,787 in 1909-10. The total receipts from country spirit rose from Rs. 22,16,906 to Rs. 24,73,964, an increase of 11·5 per cent.

### The Indian Revenues

The Indian revenues for the first six months of the present official year ending September last compare thus with the corresponding period of the two previous ones (000 omitted) :—

		1909.	1910.	1911.
April-Sept.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Land Revenues	...	11,90,09	11,53,91	11,92,88
Salt	..	2,26,68	2,17,34	2,25,99
Stamps	..	3,54,79	3,85,22	3,61,12
Excise	..	4,66,86	5,08,41	5,57,80
Provincial Rates	...	37,86	41,97	40,03
Customs	..	3,38,87	4,70,54	4,47,68
Assessed Taxes	...	1,00,82	1,04,45	1,09,10
Forests	..	86,13	87,46	95,27

The Opium Revenues stand thus :—

Receipts	...	2,99,55	5,57,74	4,34,24
Expenditure	...	1,53,04	1,73,56	1,00,98

### The Hindu University

In reply to a letter from the Maharaja of Durbhanga, Mr. Butler lays down the following conditions on which the Government can permit a Hindu University to be established:—Hindus should approach Government in a body as Mahomedans have done. A strong, efficient and financially sound college, with an adequate European staff, should be the basis of the scheme. The University should be a modern University differing from the existing Universities mainly in being a teaching and residential University and offering religious instruction. The movement should be entirely educational. There should be the same measure of Government supervision and opportunity to give advice as in the case of the proposed University at Aligarh. It would be necessary hereafter to satisfy the Government of India and the Secretary of State as to the adequacy of the funds collected and the suitability in all particulars of the constitution of the University. The Government of India must reserve to itself full power in regard to all details of any scheme which they may hereafter place before the Secretary of State, whose discretion in regard to the movement

and any proposals that may arise from it, they cannot in any way prejudice.

**Administration of Justice in the Punjab**

The report on the administration of civil justice in the Punjab gives an account of the congestion of work in the Chief Court. In 1904, when Sir Charles Rivaz recommended four judges, there were pending 331 first appeals, 1906 further appeals and 1462 civil revisions. On 1st April, 1911, these figures stood at 268, 1,455 and 1,223 respectively. There were, in fact, enough first appeals alone to occupy two division benches for over a year, without making allowance for capital and criminal appeals and civil appeals, or miscellaneous work requiring disposal by the division bench. During the past nine months, civil division benches have almost been exclusively occupied with the hearing of cases instituted in 1907 and 1908. Accordingly, even assuming that the law of appeal is amended before the commencement of 1912, it is obvious that amendment can in no way affect the bulk of work coming before the court until 1915. As a remedy six judges have been continued for a year till the beginning of the vacation of 1912, and a seventh temporary judge has been appointed from the end of that year's vacation to the same date. The most sanguine optimist, says the report, could not regard these expedients as either adequate or final, but the judges have hitherto been obliged to limit their requests to suit the financial exigencies of the province.

**A Cooch Behar Reminiscence**

The name of the new Chief of Cooch Behar, Rajendra Narayan, reminds us that he is not the first of that name to sit upon the *gadi*. The patronymic recalls a sad but interesting event in the history of Cooch Behar. As far back as 1770 the Bhutias claimed the right to interfere in all matters at Cooch Behar, through the Dewan Deo, the leading local politician, whose position appears to have been somewhat similar to that enjoyed by the Prime Minister of Nepal except that the former held office by successful intrigue with outsiders. He was regarded as a nominee of the Deva Raja of Bhutan, and as such incurred the hearty dislike of the Kochs, with the result that, though he was the brother of their King, he was treacherously murdered. The affront to the authority of Bhutan resulted in the seizure of his successor, Dharendra Narayan and the new Dewan Deo and their removal to Bhutan. The latter escaped, but the unfortunate ruler Dharendra Narayan was confined in Bhutan. The

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Bhutias then declared Rajendra Narayan, his brother, to be the Chief. He enjoyed the nominal position till 1772 when he died. It was his death and the resultant dispute as to succession between the people of Cooch Behar and Bhutias eventually led to the interference of Warren Hastings and the conclusion of the treaty in 1773, recognising Cooch Behar as a State subject to the East India Company. A small force was sent from Calcutta to the relief of Cooch Behar. It even invaded Bhutan, with some show of success for in the next year 1774, the Bhutias applied to Tibet for assistance. Through the intervention of the Bengal Government a treaty was signed in April of that year, under which Dharendra Narayan was released.

### **In the Abor Country**

The *Geographical Journal* has published, for the first time, an extremely interesting account of a visit to the Abor country made in January 1909 by Colonel D. M. Lumsden in company with the late Mr. Noel Williamson and the Rev. W. L. B. Jackman, of the American Mission. The account is taken from Colonel Lumsden's diary of his attempt to reach the Tsanpo falls. It may, says Colonel Lumsden, tend to throw some light on the reasons for Mr. Williamson subsequently renewing his visit, and for the trust he placed in the people who so treacherously murdered him and his fellow-traveller, Dr. Gregorson, with their followers. The object of my visit, writes Colonel Lumsden, was to unveil, if possible, the mystery still surrounding the falls of the Tsanpo ; but Mr. Williamson's main object, as political officer, was to establish friendly relations with the Bor Abors, while the Padre undoubtedly had his mission work at heart. Had Mr. Williamson on his second visit followed the route of the previous expedition, no doubt he would have been met once more at Kebang by Maddu Gam of Reu and had some excuse made, as was done to us, for preventing him crossing the river. To avoid this, and placing faith in the invitation the Gam of Reu then gave him to return next year and thinking all would be well, he crossed the Dihong lower down and marched for his village, encamping for the night within a few hours of the place. That evening a number of Abors came from the Reu village and offered him presents. This no doubt strengthened his belief that he would be welcomed on arrival, and on getting there next morning and being met by Maddu Gam he unhesitatingly followed him to his doom, his trusted servants and followers sharing a similar fate. Poor Dr. Gregorson (whose aims were to visit

the Tsanpo falls), who had to camp further down the river to look after some sick coolies, while attempting to join him, was also killed by the same treacherous gang, as well as those with him. Some may think that Mr. Williamson was rash in venturing again on the mission he did. But when it is considered how Col. Lumsden and his friends were received on their previous journey and the invitation given them to return, he cannot be blamed in endeavouring to maintain the friendly relations which were seemingly then established.

### Mr. Meredith Townsend

The late Mr. Meredith Townsend came out to India when only 17, on the invitation of John Clark Marshman, the son of the famous missionary and himself the founder of the Serampore College and of the *Friend of India*. The invitation he received from Marshman to come out to Serampore in a somewhat ill-defined capacity was due to the fact that the second Mrs. Marshman came from Ipswich and was related to Townsend's family. But the striking and precocious powers of the young man, his wide-reaching interests, and his unresting energy soon opened a way for him to higher things than the editorship of the Bengali newspaper he at first took in charge. For Townsend, on arriving at Serampore, threw himself into the study of the vernacular, which he speedily mastered and his knowledge of which gave him, he always believed, a key to many Oriental difficulties. The pundit under whom he studied was a Brahmin of remarkable intellectual powers and noble character, and his conversations on life and philosophy gave Townsend's mind a leaning towards certain views of the relations between the East and the West which was perceptible to the end. Marshman entrusted him with a share in the political writing and management of the *Friend of India*, and when he went home in 1852, for reasons of health he gave Townsend the complete control of the paper. So ably did the latter, then only 21, discharge these duties that his chief never resumed them and Townsend became responsible editor, and somewhat later sole proprietor, of a journal which during the next few years exercised a great influence over Indian affairs. It is unnecessary to go into the details of Townsend's vindication of Lord Dalhousie's policy during the earlier part of this period. The relation between the two was one of perfect independence, but deeply based on personal esteem and intellectual sympathy. When the dark days came when Dalhousie was held up to odium by fanatics of a different political school as a plundering "pro-con-

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sul," and when afterwards he was most unjustly charged with being responsible for the Mutiny which broke out not long after, he went home a dying man, the *Friend of India* bore faithful testimony to his wisdom, his courage, his justice, and his high sense of honour. When the Governor-General was leaving Calcutta, too ill to see even his dearest friends, he sent to Townsend a remarkable letter of thanks—a close parallel to that addressed in 1835 by Sir Robert Peel to the editor of *The Times*, and quoted in Carlyle's "Life of Sterling"—showing the character of the support that had been given and, in the sad circumstances of the hour, open to no suspicion of flattery, or social favour. In Dr. Alexander Grant's "Memoir of Dalhousie", printed in Dr. George Smith's "Physician and Friend," reference is made to a later article of Townsend's which drew from Anglo-Indians not of the Dalhousie school the warmest tributes of admiration and which, Grant said was the beginning of a reaction against the attacks on the noble ruler who laid broad and deep the foundations of our modern Indian polity. This battle Townsend fought single-handed; for the greater part of the time during which he was editor he wrote substantially the whole of the weekly issue of his newspaper; he undertook other literary works besides, and was for long the correspondent of *The Times* in India. Though he was tolerant of heat, he suffered in other ways from the hot and steamy atmosphere of Serampore, and he rarely had a chance, under the strain of severe and continuous work, of breathing the air of the hills. In 1856, after the death of his first wife, to whom he had not long been married, he returned to England to recruit his failing health, which had broken down under a dangerous attack of cholera. He was thought to be almost dying during his trying passage home, but soon regained strength. He married a second time while in England, but he was soon called back to Serampore by the appalling news of the Mutiny and by an ill-judged suspension, which was almost at once abandoned, of the *Friend of India* under Lord Canning's so-called "Gagging Act." Townsend hastened back to his post while the Mutiny still kept the Anglo-Indian mind on the rack, and the strain before long proved again too much for him. His anxieties and his toils were aggravated by domestic grief, for before the sky had cleared, his second wife had died shortly after the birth of her first child. The influence of the *Friend of India* was in those thrilling days immense and increasing, and Townsend's labour and responsibility were thus augmented while he was shattered in strength and depressed in spirit. It should be said that he enjoyed the confidence of and on the

whole lent a steady support to Lord Canning though he never felt towards him as he towards Lord Dalhousie. The Serampore journal kept up the courage of the European population in the dreariest days of disaster and panic and earned the gratitude of the best among the non-official as well as the official class, though Townsend never spared abuses practised by some bad men against helpless Indians. He was no longer able to do the work single-handed. Two or three years before he had arranged to secure William Delafield Arnold, the retiring Director of Public Instruction in India, son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, and father of the late Mr. Arnold-Forster, as assistant editor, but Arnold died prematurely at Gibraltar, as reader of his brother Matthew's poems will remember, on his way home to recover his strength. Afterwards Townsend obtained the able help of Dr. George Smith, author of "Twelve Indian Statesmen" and other works, who succeeded him as editor of the *Friend of India* and as *The Times* correspondent in 1860.

### Education in the Punjab

During the year there was an increase in the number of institutions and pupils. In all 4,343 schools and colleges were maintained with 291 lakhs of pupils. Of the total number of institutions 18 were Arts Colleges, including medical, teaching and agricultural and 357 were secondary schools. The latter included 15 high schools for girls with an average attendance of 1,300 girls. There were also 3,920 primary schools with 190,255 pupils and besides these 4,343 special schools were conducted with 289,618 pupils. When compared with the previous year there has been one increase to the Arts Colleges, three to the middle schools, 24 reductions in primary schools—all for boys. Of the girls' schools there were three high schools and five more middle schools, but there was a reduction of three primary schools. Industrial schools and training classes for girls show an increase. There was, therefore, on the whole an increase of 12,901 pupils in public institutions and 4,573 in private schools which increased by 53. The percentage of scholars to the school-going population has increased from 17·39 to 18·17 for boys and from 13·12 to 13·51 for girls. When compared with other parts of India this progress and this percentage are unsatisfactory. Punjab is very much behind the average for India and better efforts are to be made for raising the percentage of education. As regards the expenditure, we find that the burden is very rapidly shifted more to the people but the provincial allotment remains stationary. It is incompatible with the great verbal sympathy shown by the Govern-

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ment for educational progress. The total educational expenditure increased from Rs. 58.43 lakhs to Rs. 60.57 lakhs but all the increase has been met by increased income from school fees and municipal grants. The increased fees have been derived from enhanced rates which have been objected to by the people.

### **Short cut to India**

Sir Mortimer Durand presided at a meeting of the Royal United Service Institution on October 18th when Mr. C. E. D. Black, formerly of the Geographical Department, India Office, gave an address, in which he indicated an "All-Red" route by rail to India. Mr. Black pointed out that Great Britain had profited more than any other country by the Suez Canal, and in view of the acceleration of the sea transit, it was astonishing that no serious effort had been made to improve land communication between India and Europe. It was necessary to describe the alignment of the projected Railway from Egypt to Western India. It was an effort to solve the question of a direct British or "All-Red" railway route to India, as contrasted with a more round-about route passing through regions further north, where German, Russian and other foreign influences were in evidence. It was obvious that, if British gold and British influence were being invoked on behalf of a railway to India, commonsense and justice, if not self-preservation, demanded that such a line should run entirely under British control. How was this to be effected when we bore in mind that the continent of Europe, with the complications and jealousies of a whole world, intervened between London and the British sphere in the East? Starting from Port Said, or rather from the opposite bank of the Suez Canal, there lay a feasible route eastward to Nushki, which was India's westernmost railhead at present. This route was the most direct conceivable, as it followed very closely the "great arc" of the 30th parallel of north latitude, while it offered no insuperable topographical obstacles. The railway would actually touch the sea at three points—Port Said, Akaba and Koweit—and indirectly it would be in communication with the coast at two or three other points in Turkish and Persian territory, to say nothing of its proximity at its eastern terminus to large and important Indian towns. This fact was not only most helpful in the matter of landing stores and supplies during the construction of the line, but it would enable several sections to be built simultaneously—a most important factor towards expediting the laying of the line. Very few, if any, of the great railways





of the world could boast of this advantage. And the same exceptional feature would prove invaluable in case of hostilities and trouble anywhere within touch of the line, as it would enable troops, ammunition, weapons, or stores to be landed at any one of these various points. A very important question was : Can such a railway pay ? A line of 2,000 miles in length costing, so far as one would judge from railways in adjacent regions, about £6,000 a mile, would mean a capital expenditure of some £12,000,000 and adding £3,000,000 for rolling stock, one got a total of fifteen million sterling, the interest on which at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, plus  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for sinking fund, would amount to £600,000 per annum. Would the railway earn this, in addition to its working expenses ? This was, of course, difficult to predict with confidence. Considerations pointed to a very large European passenger traffic. In the case of need arising for the rapid conveyance of troops eastward or westward, the saving of time could hardly be measured by money. Then the pilgrim traffic would be very large, when we bore in mind that there were over 60 million Mahomedans in India alone, a large proportion of whom would be only too glad to achieve the great object of their lives and visit the holy places of Islam. Lastly, we must take due note of the acceleration of the mails, for it was not conceivable that the public would allow these to travel by any but the speediest means of conveyance, and a saving of six days meant much from a business point of view. Although it may be technically correct to say that some of the regions through which the railway would pass do not belong to Great Britain in a political sense there can be no doubt that strong proprietary rights could easily be acquired by us throughout, Baluchistan is actually ours. Central Persia forms the zone reserved as common to both England and Russia under the Anglo-Russian Agreement ; and Egypt where the westernmost end of the line comes to its appointed terminus on the Mediterranean is also practically British territory. There remains a large slice of Turkish or quasi-Turkish territory in northern Arabia partly sterile partly oasis, a nomad's ground tenanted by Bedouins under the rule of the Amir of Jebel Shommer which could easily be leased to a British company. If Turkey and England were so minded, in fact the western part of that very region from the Hejaz railway to the Egyptian frontier has actually been made over under a Turkish concession to the British syndicate ; so why not the country eastward to the Persian frontier ?

### **COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL**

#### **Calcutta Port Trust**

Although the income of the Calcutta Port Trust for the year 1910-11 fell short of the Budget estimate by some Rs. 2½ lakhs, it amounted to Rs. 128 lakhs, which represents an increase of nearly Rs. 10 lakhs over the figures of the previous year, and is more than Rs. 8 lakhs in excess of the revenue of the highest previous period.

#### **Future of Cotton Industry**

An article appears in the "Times of India" reviewing the situation of the cotton industry. The writer states the future is on the knees of the gods. In other words the position largely hangs upon the state of affairs in China. The writer says, only a few weeks ago the bountiful character of American crop came to be realised and there followed a boom in the milling industry in Bombay, based on the knowledge that cheaper cotton here would set all the idle machinery running once more. Shares leaped up, spinners bought cotton, and shippers bought yarn. Then followed serious developments of the Chinese revolution and uncertainty has reigned ever since. The serious aspects of the disturbances in China did not arise until the shippers had bought heavily in yarn for Hongkong and Shanghai markets. The result is whereas twenty-five spinning mills were idle for six months last season, practically all mills are now working at full capacity. The spinning mills are of course all right. Practically all the better class ones having sold forward to the end of March, the shippers will have to clear. Between this and the next spring there is plenty of time for the situation in China to clear up. While the interior of China continues in the present state of embroilment, stocks sent eastward from Bombay will be merely piled up in Hongkong and Shanghai. In the latter place business is at a total standstill for the time being. Accumulated stocks mean lower prices. Cotton exports to Europe have ceased as the Continental mills will not pay the prices demanded in Bombay. It is anticipated that prices will decline when the crop comes in freely in December.

#### **Sheep Breeding**

Interesting experiments in sheep breeding has for sometime been carried on in the Frontier Province and North Punjab, and cross-bred sheep of merino rams and indigenous ewes has so far proved a success. It is reported that attempts are being made to fix the merino type by inbreeding, and hopes are entertained that the

experiment, if care is taken in selection of ewes, will succeed. As regards mortality among the cross-bred sheep, it is stated that except when very young, *i. e.*, the first few days after birth, they are constitutionally as strong as the indigenous sheep. The annual losses, however, in flocks generally from such contagious diseases as black quarter, hæmorrhagic septicæmia, sheet scab, and foot-and-mouth disease are stated to be very heavy. Merino rams are expected to arrive from New Zealand this year, and will be entrusted to the care of influential jagirdars and zemindars. Of 25 merino rams in Kangra and Kulu, 11 casualties are reported to have occurred up to the end of the year under report, thus leaving 14 rams in the districts named. The Chief Superintendent of the Civil Veterinary Department, Punjab, does not consider the experiment is run on proper lines to ensure success. He suggests the early importation of additional rams and some ewes, as the mortality amongst those already imported amounts to nearly 50 per cent. The wool of the cross-bred lambs is reported as vastly improved, but it is stated that the people experience great difficulty in removing fatty secretions from the fleece. The Political Agent at Sibi imported some Australian merino sheep with the object of improving the quality of the fleece of local sheep on the Murree Hills. The results of these experiments have not yet been communicated to the public.

### Joint Stock Companies in India

From a statement published in the *Indian Trade Journal* we find that in all 151 new joint stock companies with a total authorised capital of Rs. 5,14,32,120 were registered during the first half-year of 1911, while 80 such companies with a total paid-up share capital of Rs. 83,68,756 and paid-up debenture capital of Rs. 23,50,000 were wound up. The total paid-up capital of all companies (limited liability) at the close of the previous half-year, *i. e.*, on December 31, 1910, was Rs. 63,54,27,777 and the debenture capital of the same, Rs. 7,33,39,654. The corresponding figures for the half-year ending June 30, 1911, were Rs. 64,91,73,437 (an increase over the previous figure of Rs. 1,37,45,660) and Rs. 7,30,50,411 (a decrease of Rs. 2,89,243). The largest number of new companies registered in the first half-year of 1911 was in Bengal 33, and next come Burma and East Bengal and Assam with 21 each. Then follow Madras, Bombay and the Punjab with 18 each, while 17 were registered in the United Provinces. Three companies were registered in the North-West Frontier Province and one each in the Central Provinces, Ajmer-Merwara and Mysore. Madras takes

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the place of bad eminence in the number of companies wound up, 27 having failed, and it is followed by Bombay with 18. Next comes Burma with 12, followed by Bengal with 9, the United Provinces with 7, the Punjab with 4 and East Bengal with 3. The largest amount of fresh authorised capital was in Burma, being Rs. 1,66,65,500 and the second place is taken by the United Provinces with Rs. 94,84,000. Then follow in order Bengal with Rs. 87,94,000, Bombay with Rs. 83,75,000, Madras with Rs. 30,24,620, the Punjab with Rs. 23,20,000, East Bengal with Rs. 19,35,000, the Central Provinces with Rs. 5,50,000, the Frontier Province with Rs. 2,20,000 Mysore with Rs. 1,50,000 and Ajmer-Merwara with Rs. 64,000. The following statement shows province by province the position as regards paid-up share capital on December 31, 1910 and June 30, 1911 :—

Province.	Half-year end		Half-year end-
	ing December		ing June 30,
	31, 1910.		1911.
	Rs.		Rs.
Bengal ... ..	25,18,58,054		25,45,52,267
Bombay ... ..	23,06,30,375		23,60,84,763
Burma ... ..	4,94,27,445		5,01,40,960
Madras ... ..	4,62,74,370		4,61,40,971
United Provinces ... ..	2,93,00,566		3,34,67,439
Punjab ... ..	1,73,27,359		1,81,66,519
East Bengal ... ..	49,85,859		49,95,866
Mysore ... ..	30,14,247		32,79,310
Central Provinces ... ..	17,72,027		17,89,896
Ajmer-Merwara ... ..	17,37,308		17,63,675
Bangalore (C. and M. Station) ... ..	10,64,882		9,91,782
Berar ... ..	7,55,856		7,69,473
Frontier Province ... ..	1,71,524		1,80,636
Baluchistan ... ..	1,19,212		1,26,250
Coorg ... ..	2,940		2,940

# SELECTIONS

## HISTORY MAKING

### LORD CURZON'S VICEROYALTY

#### I

In reviewing Mr. Lovat Fraser's new book, *India Under Curzon and After*, Lord Milner writes to the *London Times* :—

This book is, as far as I am aware, the first attempt to give something like a complete account of Lord Curzon's work to India. The task is one for which Mr. Lovat Fraser possesses a singular combination of aptitudes. A skilled literary craftsman, a man versed in affairs, who can handle delicate and controversial topics with judgment and discretion; he is also a mine of information on the recent history of India. It is true that, as he tells us in his interesting preface, he has "not had access to any private documents or correspondence." Indeed, he goes out of his way to emphasize the fact that Lord Curzon had nothing whatever to do with the production of this book. "He did not suggest it, and he has not seen a line of it. It is in no respect a reflection of his opinions, and he has neither authorized nor inspired a single statement that it contains." If, nevertheless, the work reveals "a certain intimacy with events"—and such intimacy it certainly does reveal in every chapter—the reason is that the writer was in India during the whole of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty and was the editor of one of the leading Indian newspapers during the greater part of it.

The editor of an Indian newspaper [he says] has unusual opportunities for acquiring knowledge. "I had many sources of information, generally unsolicited. I have visited many of the places mentioned, and have some acquaintance with other Asiatic countries. I knew personally most of those who figure in these pages, both Englishmen and Indians, and some of them are my friends. Such knowledge of India as I possess did not begin with Lord Curzon's arrival, nor did it end with his departure."

The book is, indeed, much more than a biography of Lord Curzon as Viceroy. The author ranges widely and boldly over the whole field of Indian politics. Some of his matter is, to the best of my belief, entirely new. and a great deal more is presented in a more complete form, or with greater candour, than it has

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been by any previous writer. I may instance, in this respect, the account of the Kabul Mission, and of the series of foreign intrigues in the Persian Gulf, likewise the criticism of British policy in Persia, and of the Anglo-Russian Convention. With regard to internal questions, the same remark applies to the author's view of the effect exercised by the Universities Act on all the later years of Lord Curzon's government, and to at least some portions of his peculiarly interesting chapters on the Partition of Bengal and the famous dispute over the reorganization of the Military Department. With respect to these and many other subjects, Mr. Fraser expresses opinions which are no doubt in some cases highly controversial, but which are always supported by so much knowledge, and advanced with so much moderation and good sense, that they will command respect even with those who differ from him. Into these controversies, however, I am neither competent nor desirous to enter. After all, what interests me most in this book, as I believe it will be most interesting to the majority of his readers, is the picture which Mr. Fraser draws of the personality and achievements of a great administrator. His own attitude towards Lord Curzon is that of a whole-hearted but not uncritical admirer. Under his plain, straightforward narrative there is an unmistakable glow of enthusiasm for the central figure. But there is no indiscriminate eulogy. His tribute of admiration seems to spring inevitably from his contemplation of the facts. And its value is no doubt heightened by our knowledge that it proceeds from no intimate and no disciple, but from one who has always occupied, and whose only desire is to continue to occupy, "the position of a detached observer."

### LORD CURZON'S INDUSTRY

What impression is the picture thus drawn calculated to make upon any one who, like the present writer, approaches it entirely without bias or preconceived notions of any kind, and with no more knowledge of the problems of India than is common to all educated Englishmen? Well, to begin with, an impression of ardent and omnivorous industry which is almost stupefying. No doubt the active head of any great Administration is obliged, *volens nolens*, to get through an amount and a variety of work of which the general run of men, even busy men, have simply no conception. Every Viceroy's life must be a life of ceaseless toil. And yet it is difficult to believe that in love of work and power of getting through it any Viceroy has been quite the equal of Lord Curzon. His interest in all questions of Indian administration

## **LORD CURZON'S VICEROYALTY**

was insatiable. And not only in questions of administration, but in everything connected with India, past as well as present. To mention only one instance, his speech in introducing the Ancient Monuments Act of 1904, which Mr. Fraser quotes at considerable length, shows an astonishing familiarity with a subject with which the overburdened ruler of India might well be excused for having only a bowing acquaintance. Surprising as it may seem, in view of the vast number of topics over which his interest ranged, the last charge which could ever be brought against Lord Curzon was that of superficiality. Whatever subject he took up he went into thoroughly and in detail. Indeed, the wonder is that his fondness for detail, which may at times well have appeared excessive, did not cripple him. But here he was saved by the co-ordinating power, the constant determination to get down to principles, which was one of his most marked characteristics. This mental grasp, this capacity of condensing an immense mass of material into a few broad and striking propositions, is an essential feature of all the speeches, minutes, and "Resolutions" in which Lord Curzon stated his policy in his own way.

But industry, even the most intelligent and systematic industry, is not synonymous with effectiveness. For the head of any great administrative machine there is another quality no less essential than industry, and that is driving power. Indeed, it is, in a sense, more essential, because it can never be acquired. Thrust into a great position, confronted with heavy responsibilities, many a man, by nature indolent, has learned to work like a demon. But no necessity can give a man, who is not naturally endowed with it, the power of getting work out of others. It was the combination of exceptional industry with great driving power which enabled Lord Curzon to achieve so much. As Mr. Fraser says, "he is a man who does things."

It would be impossible in the space at my command to give even a bald list of the many branches of Indian administration and policy upon which Lord Curzon has left his mark. It is only by vigorous condensation that Mr. Fraser has brought his summary of them within the compass of a fairly thick volume, and I must refer those who may think I am using the language of exaggeration to the evidence contained in its pages. But I cannot refrain from quoting one passage which, though dealing with a matter that to many people may not appear of the first moment, is yet so eminently illustrative of Lord Curzon's peculiar gifts that it serves to explain his success in other activities of a very different

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character. Speaking of the Imperial Durbar of 1903, Mr. Fraser says :—

“ The public never knew the enormous amount of labour Lord Curzon devoted to the Durbar. It came in the midst of absorbing pre-occupations ; it was only an incident of his Viceroyalty ; but the work he did for it would have served some men for a lifetime. The task of preparation on the spot occupied a considerable staff for a whole year. Four times Lord Curzon visited Delhi to inspect, revise, and improve the arrangements. He planned every detail, and saw every detail executed. From first to last, the whole gathering was his own conception, and the driving force which made him a human dynamo during his sojourn in India alone rendered the scheme possible of execution. Everybody predicted failure, and yet there was never the slightest semblance of a break-down. The secret of the work which Lord Curzon accomplished in India was that from early manhood he had trained himself to be absolutely methodical in all he undertook. No Viceroy, save Dalhousie, ever wrote so much with his own hand. His papers were a miracle of orderliness. Some one has said that his capacity for work is almost inhuman, and certainly to unmethodical men he seemed to toil with the unswerving certitude of a machine ; but it was only by this rigid persistence that he left behind him such an astonishing record of labours completed.”

### **FOREIGN POLITICS**

One further point is worth noting with regard to the immense range of Lord Curzon's activities. It was one of his greatest merits as an administrator that he never allowed himself to be absorbed by one problem, or group of problems, however engrossing, to the neglect of other interests committed to his charge, but devoted a constant and even attention to every side of Indian policy, external as well as domestic. It would seem almost inevitable that a Viceroy who was engaged in overhauling the whole machinery of government and in initiating the most important domestic reforms should to some extent lose hold on what I may call the foreign politics of India, always excepting, of course, the ever-present anxiety of the North-West Frontier. But with Lord Curzon it was just the reverse. Busy as he was within the confines of India, he yet found time to grapple, and to grapple successfully, with every external difficulty as it arose. During the earlier years of his Viceroyalty, our pre-occupation with the South African War encouraged more than one foreign nation to indulge in aggressive

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intrigues in the Persian Gulf, while towards the close of it the soul of India, as of all Asiatic countries, was deeply stirred by the victorious emergence of Japan. But no menace to India or the Empire found Lord Curzon unprepared. One by one the attempts of other Powers to establish themselves on the Persian Gulf were quietly defeated, and at the end of his term of office British prestige in that region stood higher than it had done for many years. And I, of all men, must be the last to forget that, at the commencement of the Boer War, it was to Lord Curzon's energy and foresight that we in South Africa owed those first reinforcements which alone prevented the Boer forces from overrunning the whole of Natal down to the water's edge. But for him, the end of October, 1899, would have seen the Boer flag floating over Mauritzburg and over Durban. No doubt Lord Curzon was specially qualified by his previous experience for dealing with the external relations of the Indian Empire. Before he became Viceroy, he had paid five long visits to the East, and was familiar not only with India, but with Japan, China, and Indo-China on the one side, with Persia, Afghanistan, and Turkestan on the other. There is, perhaps, no living Englishman who has travelled more extensively in Asia, and he always travelled as a student. Nor were the years which he spent at the Foreign Office, as Under-Secretary, without importance, both as a training in the art of administration and as affording an insight into those immensely complex international relations which no ruler of any part of the British Empire, least of all of India, can afford to leave out of account.

In one respect Lord Curzon was singularly fortunate. For a man of his energy and enterprise, a man with such a longing and capacity "to do things," it was of supreme importance that during the whole period of his government the financial position of India was prosperous enough to allow of much being done for which means had hitherto been lacking. This happy state of affairs was mainly due to the reform of the currency, for which Lord Lansdowne and Sir David Barbour had paved the way, and which was finally accomplished in the first year of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty by the late Sir Clinton Dawkins, "who had become Finance Minister for a period all too brief." It is not Mr. Fraser's habit to magnify his hero at the expense of other people, and so he is the first to point out that many of the reforms which Lord Curzon accomplished had been projected and desired by his predecessors, and that only financial stringency prevented their earlier execution.

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And in other matters also, in which financial considerations played a less prominent part, Lord Curzon was often only building on foundations already laid, reaping, as he himself freely acknowledged, where others had sown. It was not so much the novelty or originality of his ideas as his gift for translating them into action which constituted his strength.

But to say that is surely not to detract from the high credit which is due to his achievement. It is no merit in an administrator, when entering on a new post, to imagine that everything needs reforming, or to be slow to avail himself of the unfinished work of his predecessors. He will be well advised to preserve continuity wherever he can—and, even where he cannot, as far as possible to appear to preserve it. Lord Curzon, it is true, approached his task as Viceroy bursting with energy, and with an enormous programme of work already sketched out for himself. And no doubt that programme contained some new features, while much else that was new and fruitful occurred to him in the course of his administration. But it would be a mistake to regard him as an innovator in principle, or as meditating an ambitious and radical change in the Government of India. If he infused fresh life into almost every Department, and accomplished much which others had only discussed, he would yet have been the first to say of himself that he was merely carrying on a great tradition, and that his object was not to reverse, but rather to perfect and bring up to date, the splendid work to which, for more than a century, the energies of so many of the best of his countrymen had been devoted.

### **A SYMPATHETIC RULER**

So much for the absolute output of work—the sheer mass—of Lord Curzon's achievement. But there are other aspects of his Viceroyalty, well brought out by Mr. Fraser, which are even less generally realized than the enormous extent and variety of his labours. A common idea of him is that of a strenuous and autocratic ruler, excelling in the domain of high policy and the maintenance of "imperial" power, but out of sympathy with the needs and aspirations of the common people. To those who may have been infected by this prevalent misconception it will be a surprise to find that no Viceroy was ever more zealous for the welfare of the lowliest class of his subordinates, more ready to investigate and redress the grievance of any petitioner, however humble, or more resolutely determined to ensure justice to all the toiling millions submitted to his sway. "You know," he said on

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one occasion, "for I have often stated it in public, the feeling that I hold about the standards of British rule in this country. We are here, before everything else, to give justice, and a single act of injustice is, in my opinion, a greater stain upon our rule than much larger errors of policy or judgment." It was consonant with this view of his duty that he was indefatigable in travelling into every corner of India, and in seeking to inform himself on the spot of the manner in which the humane and benevolent policy prescribed from headquarters was actually being carried out. And it was the same spirit that dictated the great series of reforms which he introduced into the land revenue policy of the Government of India followed up, as they were, by the establishment of co-operative credit societies—which bid fair in time to relieve the heavy weight of indebtedness resting upon the peasantry—and by the promotion of scientific agriculture. Of all Lord Curzon's services to India, his work for "the land and the people" is most certain to contribute to enduring fame. "The peasant," he once said, "has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, of every surplus of which I have assisted in the disposition."

I may conclude this part of the case, about which a great deal more might be said, by quoting another pregnant paragraph of Mr. Fraser's:—

"It was a misfortune of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty that his countrymen at home never became acquainted with some of the more solid and enduring aspects of his internal administration of India. They heard of his stirring speeches and indefatigable journeys, of the trappings of the Delhi pageant, of the famine he fought successfully and the plague he fought in vain. The dust of bitter controversies was borne on the ocean winds, and the obscuring clouds of the final conflict swept homeward in their turn. England, absorbed for once in an Indian episode in which two great figures were at issue, came at last to associate Lord Curzon's Administration chiefly with the strife in which it closed. The object of this book is to restore perspective, to make it clear to those who care to listen that there was another side to Lord Curzon's rule, a far more important and permanent side, which will be remembered, and will bring benefit to millions, when incidental differences are only recalled by those who love to disinter the curiosities of history."

### **LORD CURZON'S PLACE IN HISTORY**

Have Lord Curzon's genuine sympathy with "the patient, humble, silent millions" of India and his unremitting labours

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on their behalf ever met with adequate recognition in that country? The question is more easily asked than answered. I am not sure that even Mr. Fraser's pages, illuminating as they are on almost every subject which he touches, do not leave me rather in the dark on this point. It is evident that what may be called the apparent public opinion of India, the opinion which finds expression at Congresses and in the Press, turned against Lord Curzon during the later years of his Viceroyalty. What is much more doubtful is whether his hold on the less vocal classes, who form the vast majority of the population, was ever seriously affected by this change. In the case of those who were brought into direct contact with him, on the other hand, whether they were British or Indian, it has, I think, always been possible to detect a division into two opposite camps—for Lord Curzon is not a man towards whom it is possible to feel indifferent or neutral. On the one side were the men attracted or dominated by his superlative capacity, on the other those whom he had annoyed, or even alienated, by his trenchancy and "drive." It may be doubted whether any zealous reformer in high place has ever been popular, especially with his immediate subordinates. And Lord Curzon was a dozen such reformers rolled into one. A "human dynamo" may become somewhat trying in the long run to ordinary human nerves. And I admit to some doubt whether Lord Curzon—now that Mr. Fraser has made me realize the whole extent of his activities—did not really attempt too much. I am not prepared to say that any particular one of these labours of Hercules could with advantage have been pretermitted. But the strain of the whole must have been immense, even for him, much more for the instruments with which he had to work. And, granted that these undertakings were all necessary and all urgent, it yet strikes me that they were sometimes pressed forward with too fiery a zeal. It is a good fault, and it is certainly a very uncommon one, to be disposed to put too much work into things. But Lord Curzon, like every other mortal, cannot escape from the defects of his qualities. The tendency to overwork and over-elaborate is the besetting sin of an ardent temperament combined with immense intellectual resources. It is the same quality which shows itself in the only serious fault of Lord Curzon's style in speech and writing—admirable as that style is for lucidity and force—namely, a certain excessive copiousness and over-emphasis. Let any one read the note, not intended for publication, it is true, in which he flagellated the unfortunate officials who had been guilty of discussing the

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rearrangement of provincial boundaries without reference to the Viceroy. The proceeding was no doubt gravely irregular ; the rebuke was well merited ; but was it really to administer it with such tremendous energy and elaboration ?

But these are minor defects small indeed by the side of the imposing monument of Lord Curzon's completed work, which will stand long, long after the friction and the hubbub that accompanied the erection of it have been forgotten. Public memory is short, and grows ever shorter. With the constant stream of fresh excitements provided by an enterprising Press, the impression made even by great events of quite recent date is quickly blurred. But this cuts both ways. If the splendour of the first five years of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty was somewhat dimmed by bitter controversies which marked its close, those controversies, in their turn, are already as dead as Queen Anne. In the long run it is solid work alone that counts. And when the most ample deduction has been ill-judged or was only of temporary importance, there is more than enough of such work to Lord Curzon's credit to place him in the very first rank of the men who have made or maintained the Empire.

### II

M. A. P. writes on the same subject :—

The avowed journalist who turns author is not always a conspicuous success in his new *role*. His judgments are apt to be biassed and his opinions swayed by outside influences. Hence it is particularly pleasant to find in Mr. Lovat Fraser's book, *India Under Curzon and After* a most admirable appreciation of Lord Curzon's administration in India, impartial in the fullest degree, and written with an amazing grasp of the subject.

As editor of the *Times of India*, Mr. Fraser, of course, had exceptional opportunities of watching the general trend of British Indian Policy, and the conclusions at which he arrives possess the greatest interest in view of the fact that before fifty years are over our rule in India may be subjected to the severest of tests. One of the questions with which the author deals most exhaustively is that of the North-West Frontier and the possibility of Russian aggression from that quarter. Incidentally, in this connection he also shows how easily misunderstandings may arise between two friendly Powers.

Not long after Lord Kitchener's arrival in India, disquieting reports anent the Russian meance started to circulate. The railway from Orenburg to Tashkent, which would link up the European

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Russian railway system with the Asiatic, was approaching completion, and would enable troops entrained at Moscow to alight within ten days and without change of carriage at Kuskh Post, a point only eighty miles north of Herat. It was asserted that Russia was collecting a force of 200,000 men in Central Asia, and the reason put forward was, that, owing to internal disturbances consequent upon the conduct of the war in Japan, the 'Tsar's Government proposed to distract public attention by an attack upon Afghanistan.

### **RUSSIA ALARMED**

How unfounded was this motive ascribed to Russia became apparent when the real cause of the moderate mobilisation transpired later. It appears that St. Petersburg was greatly perturbed at reports, received through confidential sources, that Lord Kitchener had been riding up and down the frontier examining the various passes. A supposed concentration of the Indian Army at Quetta further alarmed the Russian Government.

That was the reason why work upon the Orenburg-Tashkent Railway never ceased even during the stress and strain of the Russo-Japanese War, and explained the decision of the Russian Government to reinforce as quickly as possible its Central Asian garrisons. Mr. Fraser writes :

"I will only add that several such experiences have led me to marvel at the complete misunderstanding of each other's motives frequently manifested by the Great Powers, and though I have little faith in the new exponents of international peace, I believe there are few modern wars between civilised nations which could not and should not have been avoided."

With the example of Italy and Turkey before our eyes, one cannot but cordially endorse these sentiments. The consideration of this question of railway advance in Central Asia raises that ever-fascinating problem of whether or no the Indian and Russian systems should not be linked up *via* Afghanistan.

### **BRINGING INDIA NEARER**

There are no constructional difficulties of any importance, and the distance to be bridged is trifling. India would then be within nine days of London, allowing for some acceleration of existing services, and the passenger for Bombay could entrain at Calais, only changing once at the Russian frontier—this due to difference of gauge. The matter has time and again come up for discussion, but as far as Lord Curzon is concerned, during his period of administration, he appears to have been firmly opposed to the scheme.

## LORD CURZON'S VICEROYALTY

It is impossible within the limits of this critique adequately to deal with all the interesting points raised by Mr. Fraser, but there is one in particular which merits special attention, namely, the true facts of the case regarding the unfortunate friction which ultimately developed between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, and which was directly responsible for Lord Curzon's resignation.

Prior to Lord Kitchener's arrival in India, the military administration was divided between two officers, who might roughly be described as being the executive and administrative heads respectively of their department. The first, styled "Commander-in-Chief," controlled the organisation, mobilisation, and direction of the Army in both peace and war. The second, styled "Military Member of Council," was responsible for clothing remounts, medical department, and above all for the Military Budget.

Both were members of the Viceroy's Council, and he could turn to either for advice in any difficulty. It is most important to grasp the fact that in military questions in India the Government as a whole is paramount, and not any single member thereof.

### KITCHENER'S THREAT

From the very first, Lord Kitchener chafed at this dual control, and shortly after his arrival suggested several amendments, the discussion of which was held over *sine die*, as it was felt that, distinguished soldier though he undoubtedly was, his experience of India was not such as to justify the immediate acceptance of his proposals. For some time matters continued in this unsatisfactory condition, when suddenly Lord Kitchener threatened to resign.

The India Office immediately took steps to ascertain the cause of the trouble, and in response to their invitation, the Commander-in-Chief drew up a Minute, which was an uncompromising attack upon the whole army administration of India. He denied vehemently that the Viceroy needed an independent military opinion, while it brought him (the Viceroy) "into the arena of discussion on contentious military subjects." An inquiry was thereupon ordered, and the opinion of those in the best position to judge obtained. One and all were opposed to the elimination of the "Military Member of the Council," and the Viceroy also supported this view.

Lord Kitchener was asked to reply to the arguments of the Commission, and his characteristic Minute was not too kindly summed up in the House of Lords by the late Lord Ripon, who said: "When I turned to Lord Kitchener's Minute, I found no reply at

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all. I found nothing but a lofty declaration that he would not reply, and that he knew he was quite right."

Of course, after this it was clear that an impasse had been reached, and matters came to a head when in a most discourteously worded dispatch, the then Mr. Brodrick (now Lord Midleton) peremptorily ordered the acceptance of Lord Kitchener's scheme.

### **III**

Perhaps the only real benefit that Lord Curzon conferred on India was the reorganisation of the Archeological Department and his anxiety to preserve the ancient monuments of India. In defence of this work, Lord Curzon has himself come forward with the following letter in the *Times* :—

At a time when public opinion is seriously concerned at the inadequate means which exist in this country for the conservation of the antiquities and memorials of the past, I write to call attention to a grave error which appears likely to be perpetrated in a part of the Empire that has recently been immune from any such reproach. I learn that the Government of India has proposed to the Secretary of State the abolition of the post of Director-General of Archæology, revived in 1902, and the practical dispersion of the Department created at the same time to supervise the custody of the beautiful series of Indian monuments, of which that Government is the guardian and trustee. Were Parliament sitting I should at once invite an explanation from the Secretary of State. But in the absence of any such opportunity, I have no alternative but to seek the co-operation of the Press to prevent what would be both a public calamity and a lasting reproach to our rule. Otherwise, under the constitution of Indian Government, which admits of 99 things out of 100 being done without the cognisance of Parliament, it may be consummated within a few weeks before the public, either in England or in India, is aware. Any one who has presided over the Government of India must be exceedingly loth to criticize its actions or proposals, and it is only with the most sincere reluctance that I yield to what seems to me a duty. But this is a case in which, unless action is taken promptly, it may be too late to take it at all.

Every visitor to India, and thousands who have never been there, know that in that country are remains of the past, Hindu and Mahomedan, Brahman and Buddhist, religious and secular, without a rival in the world. They take the form of temples and mosques, of forts and palaces, of sculptures and inscriptions, of rock-caves, and towers, and tombs. Sometimes they represent the

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magnificence of vanished dynasties, more often the devotion of powerful creeds. In a tropical climate, where vegetation grows with amazing rapidity, and where the rainfall, when it occurs, is apt to be overwhelming, they require constant attention. Their custody is also a matter of great interest to the native peoples, who appreciate intensely any reverence shown to the monuments of their faith. No word of criticism, nothing but praise, has been bestowed by them upon the active policy that was initiated ten years ago; and amid many symptoms of discord or unrest we have in recent years been able to point with confidence to this claim upon the respect and gratitude of our Indian fellow-subjects.

This could not always have been said. It is only at intervals and spasmodically during the last 40 years (and scarcely at all before) that the Indian Government has realized that it possesses a definite responsibility for these wonderful treasures. Officers were from time to time appointed to exercise some sort of supervision; but after a few years their posts were abolished, or they retired; and from 1889 onwards, though the local surveyors were paid from Imperial funds, there was no Imperial officer at all.

### **THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM**

When I went to India in 1899 I found archæology resting upon the frail basis of the Provincial system, *i.e.*, each Province was left to deal with its own monuments as it pleased, to safeguard, repair, neglect, injure, or destroy, according to the artistic knowledge or lack thereof of its official head and his subordinates, or to the state of its funds. Here and there good work had been done by an active official of culture and refinement. But in the majority of cases the Local Government had neither the time nor the taste for archæology, and the control of monuments passed into the hands of engineers or officers selected for other duties—I found that the members of one Local Government did not even know by sight the archæological officer who had been in their service for years—and under this happy-go-lucky system atrocities had in many cases been committed which cannot be recalled without a shudder.

Wellknown are the cases of the exquisite little Pearl Mosque in the Fort at Lahore, which had been converted into a Government Treasury, the Audience Hall in the same Palace, which was occupied as a barrack and filled with beds, and the Sleeping Hall of Shah Jehan, which conversely had been fitted with pews and transferred into a church; the glorious little Mosque of Sidi Sayid at Ahmedabad, with its marvellous windows of pierced sandstone, which was stacked with chests, and used as the office of the local

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revenue officer; the Pavillion of Selimgarh at Agra, which had become a soldiers' canteen; the white marble Pavilion of Shah Jehan on the lake-terrace at Ajmer, which had been white-washed and converted into the Commissioner's dining-room; the Mosque of Dai Anga at Lahore, utilized as the office of a railway traffic superintendent; the two Mosques at Bijapur, one a dak bungalow, the other a British post-office; the Mosque at Vellore, tenanted by a police-instructor; the gilded Palace at Mandalay, employed partly as a club-house, partly as a church.

I might easily multiply these cases of heedless vandalism or Philistine contempt. They were the result partly of ignorance and indifference, but still more of the absence of any guiding standard, and the total lack of co-ordination, intelligent supervision, or control. Scarcely a thought was turned to conservation; and beautiful buildings were fast crumbling into irretrievable ruin. Where they were preserved for other than utilitarian purposes, they ministered to the amusements of the European population. Dances took place in the open air on the platform of the Taj; and the British soldier solaced his leisure moments by hacking out with the point of his bayonet the precious stones from the inlaid tombs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen. In the year 1898-99 the total expenditure of the Government of India on archæology was £3,000 (mainly spent in salaries) and of all the local Governments together £4,000—a total of £7,000 for a population of 300 millions and a country nearly the size of Europe, with antiquities almost as numerous and quite as splendid as the mediæval castles and cathedrals of our own Continent.

### **A CENTRAL AUTHORITY**

In 1901 the Secretary of State accepted the proposals which we had submitted to him in 1900. We did not seek to abolish the responsibility of the Local Governments for the execution of the local work of conservation and repair, because they were the legitimate and inevitable agents through whom this must be done. But we sought to encourage and assist them in the proper discharge of this duty by grants in aid, amounting to one lakh (£6,666) a year, and by the appointment of a highly trained and competent archæologist to exercise a general supervision over the archæological work of the entire country, to keep in touch with the Provincial Governments, to give advice to their officers, and to secure the prosecution of a sound and consistent policy. We were most fortunate in procuring the services of Mr. J. H. Marshall, who had served a valuable apprenticeship in Greece and Crete, and who brought to the discharge

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of his duties a scholarship and enthusiasm which have re-animated the entire sphere of Indian archæology and a tact which has kept his relations with the Local Governments free from the smallest symptom of friction. This is the post which the Government of India now desires to abolish, and this is the officer whom it is proposed, after nine years' service, compulsorily to retire.

Let me describe in a few sentences what he has assisted the Government of India to do. During the past ten years there is not a group of famous buildings or remains in India—I may almost say not a single structure—which has not been examined and taken in hand. Visitors to the Delhi Durbar this winter who have not been in India for a decade will hardly recognize the surroundings of the 'Taj at Agra, laid out as they now are, in verdant parks and gardens the approaches well kept, the colonnade restored, the shimmering fabric of the 'Taj itself flawless as when it left the mason hands. So it is everywhere in the Agra group of monuments, of which I say confidently that there is not in the world a collection of buildings so beautiful, in such a perfect state of preservation, or tended with such pious care. The King is to hold a party in the Delhi Fort, in the recovered garden of the Moghul Emperors. He will see water courses, and plashing fountains, and marble pavilions, where ten years ago there was a desolate waste, fringed round with monstrous barracks. So it has been in all parts of India. Orderliness has replaced squalor, reverence has succeeded contempt, anxious labour has arrested galloping decay.

As soon as the new policy was initiated, it was carried forward on a wave of popular enthusiasm and support. The Provincial Governors and Lieutenant-Governors without an exception lent an eager hand. The Indian Princes and Durbars joined in; the Press European and native, was unanimous; and Mr. Marshall was wanted in every part of India to inspect and advise. Our *maximum* expenditure in any single year was some £50,000 and though this has sunk more recently to £30,000, the obligation has not till now been evaded or denied. With a revenue of 80 millions sterling, and a population of 300 millions, is this too much to spend on preserving the incomparable relics of the past? It is the merest drop in the ocean, a single tear of reverence, I might almost say of penitential remorse.

Simultaneously surveys, drawings, illustrations, and photographs have been made or re-made of the monuments in all parts of India. Lists of remains have been collated, corrected, and published,

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and local museums have been started in every important centre of archaeological discovery or architecture. When I went to India I found antiquarian relics scattered about in the five Provincial museums without order and often without care. There were no others. We started museums at Bijapur, Sarnath, Peshawar, Ajmer, Mandalay, Pagan, Agra, and Delhi. The King is to be invited to reopen the museum in the Delhi Fort in December. When he ascends the throne of the Great Moghul in the Audience Hall the inlaid mosaics behind his seat will have been restored by Florentine workmen, brought from Italy to repair the work which was originally executed by artificers from the same place 270 years ago. Everywhere he will see evidences of revived interest and scrupulous care. Without the inspiration, the knowledge, and the funds, supplied by the Central Government, the bulk of these works would never have been undertaken.

During the same period the annual reports of Mr. Marshall, with their wealth of photographs and plates, the monographs on special subjects, and the scientific record of work accomplished, have, as I know, been regarded with admiration by the scholars of Europe and America. Nothing like them is produced in any other country. Nor has the task been confined to conservation or delineation alone. Exploration has been pursued with vigour, but also with scholarly circumspection. Wonderful discoveries have been made; two new pillars of Asoka have been brought to light, the great mound that contained the relics of Buddha at Peshawar has been identified, and its contents revealed to the world.

At the same time the Government of India took powers by legislation to render its policy effective. In 1904 we passed an Act—for a counterpart to which public opinion in England is now justly clamouring—to enable us to exercise control over the traffic in antiquities and over excavation, to prevent the mutilation or destruction of ancient monuments, and to provide for the acquisition of these where a strong case existed. The Act has been administered with discretion and sympathy, and to the best of my knowledge has never provoked either suspicion or protest.

### IV

Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, author of the *Failure of Lord Curzon*, thus puts in a plea for the modification of the administrative measure which will carry the name of this great Indian pro-consul to a remote generation and a measure which has been characterised by Lord Macdonnele as the greatest blunder committed by the British since the battle of Plassey :—

## **LORD CURZON'S VICEROYALTY**

It was known from the earliest days of the British Government that the population of the Lower Provinces of Bengal was very great. It was estimated in 1852, when the Crown assumed the administration, at 45 to 50 millions, but, when the first census in 1872 proved that it approached 67 millions, the advisability of partition became an important and, to the minds of many, an urgent question. Sir George Campbell, who afterwards became M. P., for a Scotch constituency, was at that time Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. A man of great ability, of great erudition and over 30 years' experience as an administrator and judge in India, he immediately saw the manifest solution. He advocated the separation of Bihar and Chota Nagpur with a thin population of 23,557,790, souls. Other influences unfortunately supervened and an inefficient partition was carried through in 1874 by the erection of Assam, with a population of 4,132,019, into a Chief-Commissionership. The idea prevailed in Calcutta commercial circles that the great tea industry of Assam, in which much European capital was invested, would prosper in a special degree under a separate administration and mercantile dictation prevailed over the clear interests of the Lower Provinces. It soon became apparent that this view had been a blunder and that, as all the tea gardens are managed by companies and agencies having their head-quarters at Calcutta, it was injurious to the industry to have its properties subject to a government at a distance of hundreds of miles and of many days' journey.

The Lower Provinces went on growing and their population less that of Assam, increased from 68,335,217 in 1872 to 69,536,940 in 1881, 74,673,798 in 1891, and 78,493,410 in 1901. The demand for partition became stronger decade by decade. In 1896 the question of Partition was again tackled by the late Sir Charles Elliot, a distinguished Lieutenant-Governor, who, before his appointment to that office, had never served for a day in the Province. It was he who, in his inexperience, started the idea of separating a portion of Eastern Bengal and uniting it to Assam. The proposal was received with general condemnation and dropped. Amongst the authorities consulted was the High Court of Calcutta. Its opinion was decisive, and practically killed the novel idea. The Judges unanimously declared it to be from the standpoint of the administration of civil and criminal Justice, the most important of all the objects of Government, "a retrograde and mischievous step." This outspoken condemnation had a very striking effect in after years. When Lord Curzon took up the Partition of Bengal, though he consulted everybody and every authority, from European merchants

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to Mussalman societies, he very wisely abstained from asking the High Court what it thought of his project.

With the population increasing by five millions in every ten years, it is evident that Lord Curzon was more than justified in approaching the question for the third time, and he fortunately had in hand ample funds for the additional cost of a second provincial government. Partition had previously been postponed for financial reasons. Unhappily, however, he resurrected the abortive and discredited proposal of Sir Charles Elliot, instead of the efficient and acceptable solution of Sir George Campbell, backed by a consensus of official approval. The line of partition thus accepted by Lord Curzon cut off the two divisions of Dacca and Chittagong, with a population of 15,531,719, from Bengal Proper. He went to Dacca and with much eloquence advocated his views. Everyone, officials and Indians, told him his ideas were impracticable and that this very form of partition had been condemned eight years before by every authority, including the High Court at Calcutta. Even Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, and afterwards, as Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal, the protagonist of Partition, expressed disapproval in the following words :—

“ Indian opinion in the Assam Valley is greatly opposed to the project. The town of Dacca is difficult of access from the Assam Valley, and no development of railway communications, which is in present contemplation, seems likely to bring Dacca as near to it as Shillong is at present. There is no community of feeling between the Assamese and the people of these districts—indeed, it is hardly too much to say that they are strongly antipathetic.”

The condemnation of the English press was much more ruthless.

The Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, the most powerful association of non-official Europeans in Asia, regarded the policy of disruption with grave anxiety.

Far from being moved by these arguments and oppositions, Lord Curzon hardened his heart, and not only insisted on his scheme in its entirety but added to the embroglio by detaching from Old Bengal another Division, that of Rajshahi.

The last appointment I held in India was Commissioner of this Rajshahi division, with its population of 8,495,028 and I positively declare that every person of any authority in that great population

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condemned, even loathed, the ukase that parted them from their brethren round Calcutta. Not one of them had been consulted. Lord Curzon thrust the Bengali people to east or to west (to be accurate, 24,026,747 one way and 17,233,104 the other) without caring one straw for their feelings, wishes or affections, much as a giant on a sea-beach might thrust the insentient pebbles to this side or to that. I speak with special knowledge and with absolute certainty when I say that this Partition was disapproved of by the great majority of high officials with Bengal experience, both by those serving at the time in India, and by those who had retired from active service. Lord MacDonnell, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor, described it in the House of Lords as the greatest political blunder since Plassey was fought and won.

It is patent that Lord Curzon's red partition cut Bengal Proper and the Bengali nation in twain, hanging its eastern section on an appanage to Assam, the new province thus formed being governed half the year from Dacca and half the year from Shillong. However we may condemn the violence and crimes that afterwards accompanied the national protest, it is only fair to recognize that that protest was natural and justifiable. What would be the feelings of Englishmen, what their passionate resentment, if Yorkshire and Lancashire and the counties north of them were to be annexed to Scotland for "executive convenience" and administered one six months from Manchester and one six months from Edinburgh? At the same time it must be remembered that at first the protest was made in a thoroughly proper and orderly manner. It helps in this connection to recall the statement of Sir John Rees, M.P.—no friend of the Bengali—in the House of Commons on the 26th of February, 1906, when he said that the "strong public feeling in Bengal against Partition was expressed in a legitimate manner in the Press and at public meetings."

In August, 1905, the question of Partition was brought before the House of Commons, and on Sir Henry Fowler, an ex-Secretary of State for India, complaining that the House was entirely without knowledge of the facts, the then Secretary of State, Mr. Brodrick, pledged himself that it would not be given effect to till all the papers relating to it had been laid before Parliament. This pledge was broken within two months, and the legislation in India necessary for the enforcement of Partition was carried through at Simla at a meeting of the official members of the Legislative Council at which not a single Indian member was present.

The predominant fact in the whole controversy is that the

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Bengali nation does not object to a partition of the over-grown Lower Provinces. The Government of India may group the five provinces and sub-provinces, *viz.* :—(i) Bengal Proper ; (ii) Bihar ; (iii) Orissa ; (iv) Assam and (v) Chota Nagpur in any combination that seems convenient for it. But let it preserve ancient frontiers. The Bengali objection is solely to the cutting up of their motherland, Bengal Proper, which has been an United Kingdom or Province since the earliest times known to history, and this objection was from the outset urged in a special degree, not by the educated or, as it is called, the Babu class but by the great titled and landed aristocracy. At the first great meeting of protest at the Calcutta Town Hall, the chair was occupied by the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, whilst the chief resolution condemning Partition was moved by the Maharaja of Mymensingh, and seconded by Raja Peari Mohan Mukherjea. The most distinguished Musalmans associated themselves with the opposition. A second and even larger meeting had for its chairman the Hon. Muhamad Yusuf Khan Bahadur, a member of the Legislative Council, a Fellow of the Calcutta University and President of the Central Muhamadan Association. His Highness the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, the premier nobleman of Bengal and lineal descendant of the Musalman governors who administered Bengal on behalf of the Moghul, recalled the very recent days when "Hindus and Musalmans were all brothers together." Amongst those who most strongly condemned disruption were the Hon. Nawab Sayyid Muhamad, at that time Musalman representative on the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and His Highness the Aga Khan, the President of the great Muhamadan deputation to Lord Minto in October, 1906, who said "he was opposed to the Partition from the beginning, and recent events had not induced him to modify his views." He allowed it to be stated that "any reference in support of Partition would have precluded His Highness from joining the deputation." This deputation laid before Lord Minto the grievances and wishes of the Musalman community, and if that community desired the Partition of Bengal, then was its opportunity. It never mentioned Partition.

An even more authoritative condemnation came in the form of a protest addressed to the Government of Bengal by Nawab Sayyid Amir Hossain, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary of the Central Mussalman Association, Calcutta, on March 1st, 1904 in these words :—

"The Committee of the Mahomedan Association, which has its branches all over Bengal, are not in favour of any change in the territorial limits of that Province. My Committee are of opinion

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that no portion of the Bengali-speaking race should be separated from Bengal without the clearest necessity for such separation, and they think such necessity does not exist. . . . One of the arguments for not transferring Orissa from Bengal, as stated in Mr. Risley's (the Home Secretary) letter, is that the prescription of a century is difficult to break, and I beg to point out that it is still more difficult to break the prescription of many centuries."

Lord Curzon's scheme necessitates every question concerning the Bengali people, their land system, their education, their revenue system, municipal system, etc., being examined and decided on by two administrations and two legislative councils of widely different 'personel', yielding probably, in a few years' time, widely different solutions. It means the disruption of the nation, politically and socially. The greatest, however, of all the arguments against it is that it breaks racial ties and ethnical and linguistic frontiers that have existed from the dawn of history, and which even the Mussalman conquerors never disturbed. The languages of Orissa and Assam are dialects of Bengali, and elder daughters of Sanskrit, whilst to the left or west Hindi is the almost universal speech, and its vocabulary is as much Persian as Indian. One is a synthetic, the other an analytic tongue. The Behari and the Bengali are more widely different than the Celt and the Teuton in race origin, in language, in marriage customs, in forms of land tenure and even in food, the Behari being a wheat or bread eater whilst the Bengali's staple diet is boiled rice.

Highly important also is the fact that the separation of Behar from Bengal is most keenly desired by its people, who have been treated in this manner in almost as cavalier a fashion as have the Bengalis. The Beharis at numerous public meetings have pressed their claim to a separate administration and with good reason, seeing that they are a homogenous nationality roundly 25 millions in population, that is as numerous as the inhabitants of the whole Bombay Presidency. About fifteen years ago, the *Pioneer*, then as now the chief Government organ in India, wrote: "it is probable that no more genuinely popular and universal desire"—the desire of Bihar for a separate administration—"has manifested itself in India since the era of public meetings began." It strongly approved of such meetings then; now they are 'disloyal'. It went on to say—"If we British were a logical people and impatient of anomalies, the relief of the over-worked Government of the Lower Provinces would lie irresistibly in the separation of Bihar and Chota Nagpur." What the Bengalis now pray for was "irresistible," "logical," and

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generally excellent in April, 1896! It is seditious in 1911! It would be all very amusing if it did not involve a bitter present and a menacing future.

In conclusion, I desire to reiterate three outstanding facts :

(i). That some partition of the Lower Provinces of Bengal had been advisable for half a century, and urgently necessary in recent years.

(ii). That the old official solution, which even six years ago was approved in the strongest manner by the Anglo-Indian press and community would at the present hour be gratefully accepted by the people of Bengal ; and

(iii). That it is the existing form of Partition, which is administratively bad and almost unworkable, that is and has been the chief cause of discontent lapsing into sedition.

Up to the period of Partition, disorder or ill-will had been unknown in Bengal. To quote from the "Englishman" of July 1906: "Until this wretched movement began it was extraordinary how amicable the relations between them ("the educated class of Bengalis") and the Europeans had become. The spirit of friendliness was growing and its trend was towards that happy sympathy which should, and does in many cases, exist between men of different races."

The loyalty of the mass of the Bengali people was beyond question. The following passage from "A Vision of India," by Mr. Sidney Low, whom Lord Morley described as a gentleman of proved competence in political subject," bears eloquent witness to the fact :

"The journey," he wrote, "of the Prince of Wales showed clearly that there is a deep and widespread attachment to the Imperial House among the Indian people ; and even where there is discontent with the mode of government, there is no feeling against the Throne. Calcutta, when the Prince of Wales visited it, was in the trough of a furious agitation against the Partition of Bengal—an agitation which on one occasion had caused every native shop to be closed in the city as a sign of mourning. Yet when the Prince appeared amongst this angry populace, he was received not only with cordiality, but even with demonstrative enthusiasm."

The Prince of Wales of 1905 is now the King-Emperor George V. His Majesty is again about to visit India, and in Calcutta will again come face to face with a loyal people, which resents to-day as intensely as it did five years ago a measure which Lord Morley in the House of Commons condemned as "an administrative operation which went wholly and decisively against the wishes of most of the





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people concerned." The time seems most fitting to conciliate Bengali feeling by a moderate and reasonable modification of the Partition. Such a policy would be acknowledged by an unsurpassed outburst of enthusiastic gratitude. Fortunately agitation has almost ceased to be associated with crime, and is again being conducted by men of position, authority, and unimpeachable loyalty.

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### THE ABOR CAMPAIGN

#### I

Mr. Perceval Landon writes in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

The real importance of the expeditions into the north-eastern corner of India lies in the extent to which they will be able to avert or postpone serious trouble with the Chinese. Lord Hardinge has come only just in time. His long and intimate knowledge of international affairs has enabled him to realise a danger to which nine Englishmen out of ten, and ninety-nine Anglo-Indians out of a hundred, would have been glad to turn a blind eye.

It is a curious fact that foreign affairs are the last thing to which the ordinary member of the administering—and even of the governing—class in India devotes neither time or attention. Even among the highest officials, the apparently intencutional ignorance of India's external relations is remarkable. No doubt this is due to a feeling that in the last resort Imperial considerations must prevail, whatever the special needs of the peninsula may be. Natural as this incuriousness is, it is a distinct source of weakness, both to India and to Great Britain. In the hurly-burly of modern European political emergencies no Foreign Secretary can be expected to display much interest in, certainly not to master from Whitehall, the peculiar requirements of a frontier that is already supposed to be the special object of Indian observation. It is only fair to Calcutta to add that the most urgent recommendations of the Viceroy in Council have of late years been treated with scant courtesy in London. Only when a Governor-General with the exceptional experience of Lord Curzon or Lord Hardinge is in charge is there a chance that the foreign relations of India will receive adequate consideration—and that chance has not always been utilised.

But for the moment it is not the political so much as the geographical aspect of this latest mission that is attracting attention. The punitive expedition led by General Bower is on the point of making its way into one of the few unexplored regions of the world, and in the present letter I propose briefly to sum up what is known

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about the Abors. The very name is suggestive. "Abor" means "savage," and for its very aloofness the tribe has always been regarded not only by the more pacifically disposed inhabitants of the Assam Valley, but even by their cousins in these sub-Himalayan tracts, with a touch of that respect which mystery always conveys.

Of course, the Abors are akin to their neighbours, the Daphlas, Miris, Mishmis, and even to the Nagas. But their reputation as an exclusive race that is able to enforce respect for its exclusiveness by force of arms is high among those of their own blood, and it is an unfortunate fact for our prestige in Assam that the record of our not infrequent attempts to overawe the Abors has been a consistent chronicle of failure. To this day, therefore, they remain confident of their ability to repulse any British expedition, and to maintain their seclusion against all comers. That seclusion has in time past been complete.

The Abors lie across what is the most obvious route between Eastern India and Lhasa, though no travellers has ever yet passed along it. The track is no doubt a difficult one, but its natural obstacles are far less than those of every other approach. There are no icy passes to surmount. The terrors of the Jelap, the Natu the Tang, or the Karo are replaced by a steady rise along the gorges of the great river, Lhasa itself being the highest point on the road. The distance is short compared with the interminable routes that lead in to Lhasa from east and west. There is no difficulty about water. Fuel is to be had for the cutting all the way.

Moreover, a considerable number of inhabited villages along the track would seem to promise all the food that an explorer could require. Yet the fact remains that no traveller has ever even attempted the journey—and the world knows that Tibetan explorers are not wanting in grit and pluck. The reason is simply that no one could possibly escape detection, and that detection would mean death. The Tibetans, it may be urged, are equally determined to preserve their sanctuaries inviolate; but the Tibetans neither murder nor ill-treat strangers; they simply turn them back. Two men have indeed lost their lives in the course of recent Tibetan exploration, but the blame in neither case seems to rest upon the race as a whole. On the other hand, the Abors do not hesitate to kill—nay, they even invite a friendly visitor to penetrate into their territory in order that they may kill him.

In warfare the Abors rely chiefly upon their bows and arrows and their daos. They possess guns of a kind, but their skill both

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in archery and in preparing poison justifies their dependence upon their traditional weapons. Their arrows will carry some 150 yards, but they are as a matter of fact, used almost always at point-blank range. The poison used is a thick paste charged with aconite, and recent experiments suggest that whenever a shaft strikes pretty deeply, unless some antidote is forthcoming within fifty-five minutes death is inevitable. It is also said that they use tetanus virus collected from decaying flesh, but this seems to be doubtful.

But even more to be respected than their archery is their tactical skill. They rely, naturally enough, upon the impenetrable jungle as their first defence. One might as well attempt to make one's way through a wall as through the dense intertwined and matted foliage of their forests. Only along a tortuous and narrow path can a passage be forced, and a column of men in single file, advancing without flank guards through the gloom of such vegetation, is an easy prey to men who know the jungle well and can make for themselves boltholes through foliage that would entirely baffle any soldier in the Indian Army. Across these paths they construct massive stockades, formed of the trunks of large trees, with the interstices filled with stones, and the whole bound together with quick-growing lianas. One each side of the path this stockade is carried for about a quarter of a mile, thus rendering any flanking operations impossible, and the ground in front is strewn with chevaux-de-frise of pointed bamboos, and small, scarcely-visible darts, embedded in the ground, which will effectually lame a man for a week.

### II

Apart from the occasions on which the Abors have come into contact with our authority, there have been very few opportunities of getting any definite information about them. What is known may very briefly be summed up. The nation is divided into two main tribes, the Min-Yongs, formerly but inaccurately called Pasi Meyongs, and Padams, who, even in recent official documents, have been miscalled Bor Abors. It is with the Min-Yongs that we are now engaged in settling our differences. They live on both banks of the Dihong River, from Pasighat northwards, but how far is quite unknown. They also certainly inhabit a number of villages inland, on the right or eastern bank, but the limits of this occupation are also merely conjectural. They appear to possess two chief towns, or rather centres of population, at Kebong and at Rigu, both on the right bank of the Dihong. Damro a town often called Miri Padam, from a reference to it made by the native explorer "K. P.,"

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though in Padam territory, seems to be either a common capital for both sections of the Abors; or, at least, a centre in which the Min-Yongs, as the more warlike tribe, have considerable influence. This town has never been seen by a white man—possibly not by any stranger of any race, as the Abors have been as hostile to visitors from the north and east as from any other direction. As, however, the Abors depend for their copper utensils and their ornaments upon the Tibetans, it is not unlikely that a pedlar or two of that nationality may have entered the place.

That this is in no way a proof of a welcome there is illustrated by the fact that the Abors buy large numbers of their daos, or long, straight swords, in Dibrugarh, and depend upon India for a supply of Scotch steel for their arrow-heads! For these and for salt—the deprivation of trade in which necessity has in the past been almost the only weapon in the hands of the Indian Government in dealing with these hill tribes generally—they bring ginger and a small amount of rubber. Two other sources of wealth are known to them, their breed of large cattle called Mithans and the gold in the bed of the Subansiri river. It is not, however, likely that this latter industry will repay development. With regard to the Subansiri, a persistent rumour among the southern Abors is remarkable. They contend that it is simply another exit of the Dihong and parts from the mother stream a few days' journey north of Kebong. This, though possible, is to the last degree improbable in such a rugged and mountainous country. It cannot be too often repeated that of the country above the first range of mountains north of the Brahmaputra, nothing whatever is known except the names of a few places and a rough sketch-map made by Williamson between Pasighat and Kebong. This, however, has proved of very little use. The course of the Dihong itself, as represented in the most recent maps, is as much guess-work as was the coast line of Asia in the days of King John. So far from the course of the stream lying to the west above Rigu, native reports assert that just there the river comes in from the north-east and makes a sharp bend.

### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Of religion the Abors have none, except a prevalence of superstitious animism, which seems to bear a strong resemblance to the aboriginal Bon ritual in Tibet. So deeply rooted is this nature worship in the Sacred Kingdom that the orthodox Buddhism, "red" and "yellow" schools alike, have been fain to come to terms with these so-called "black" magicians, and extend to them a tolerance,

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and even an un-official patronage, that would have sorely scandalised the Master. It is not at all unlikely that pantheistic, or rather pan-diabolistic, superstition of the Abors and their entrail-inspecting augurs are practically identical with those of their northern neighbours.

As a rule the Abors, who exact no considerable chastity before marriage, are more jealous of their wives than are the Tibetans. The punishment of death, or even of flogging, records Dalton, is unknown among the Padams. They settle disputes by a meeting of the gams or elders, who are liberally plied with drink day after day by the litigious party until a decision is come to. This custom militates perhaps against a rapid administration of justice, but the decree, when delivered, is at once executed by the court. If the fine is expressed—say—in pigs, the exact number is at once collected from outside and handed over to the winning side. The owners of the pigs then recover their value from the loser—a process in which they are assisted, not only by the moral support but by the active participation of the community. As, I think, Dalton remarks, the remedy is ingenious. It saves the body-politic the cost of a police force, and at the same time makes the offender realise that public opinion is against him.

Like the whole of the inhabitants of Southern Central Asia, opium-eating is an invariable habit among the Abors, the Miris, and the Mishmis. In such a country and in such a climate the drug is a necessity rather than a luxury, and if we persist in our present endeavour to make others adopt British virtues by Act of Parliament, it seems that there will be scarcely a course open to those unhappy tribes except a choice between smuggling in bad Chinese opium and extinction.

It is not uninteresting to note that a dead Abor is buried in a squatting position.

### **SONS OF CAIN**

There is a legend among the Abors that betrays their knowledge of, and in some measure accounts for, their backwardness in the scale of civilisation. All mankind is descended from one or other of the two sons of the first woman. Now the Abor Eve had one, at least, of the characteristics that folk-lore tradition in all countries associates with mothers—she loved the younger child far more than the elder. Eventually this feeling became so strong that she deserted her first-born son among the Abor hills and went away westwards with the other until she came to the land where the civilised people now dwell. Here she set herself to teach him all

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the arts and crafts for which the Europeans, his descendants, are now famous, while in the old home the elder child could but teach three crafts to the Abors who sprang from him—the art of playing tunes upon the strung gourd, the art of making long, straight swords, and the art of stringing beads, such as their women still wear. And that is why the European is, and must always remain, so much more learned than the Abor. But the Abor had the root of the matter in him. He was a fighter, and that is why he and his kith and kin remain to this day almost the only—perhaps actually the only—entirely uncivilised and, at the same time, entirely independent race on the surface of the globe.

### **THE JUNGLE**

But it is by the density of its jungle, rather than by any ethnological peculiarities, that the Abor country is at the moment attracting most attention. It is difficult to convey a clear impression of the demoniac vegetation of the Assam “terai.” With the possible exception of the jungle along the upper reaches of the Amazon, it is hardly possible that it should have a rival in the world. For nowhere else is such a combination presented of rich earth, intense heat, and abundant water. The climate of Assam during the rains resembles that of the wettest and hottest of the glasshouses at Kew, and Nature responds recklessly to the challenge.

These alluvial flats are choked with a matted and intertwined growth that one might almost saw down in sections. Overhead, there is the dense pall of leaf and branch, of creeper, liana, and epiphyte, looped and knotted and bound together, strangling for sheer want of room; underneath there is a straining and jostling tangle of 30ft. high undergrowth, in which the same struggle for life is carried on, only ten times more strenuously. It is a fight for every cubic inch of sunlit air in which a shoot can be thrust or a leaf grasp for nutriment. Through all this cat’s-cradle of living cables and dense, compact foliage stand up the trunk pillars that uphold it; but they are as invisible as the sodden and plaited masses of blind, whitened ground creepers and jointed grasses underneath which never see the sun, or as the brown, clogged pools in which the wrestling pink coil of roots that underlies the whole forest like a foundation is seen for a moment. An elephant was watched the other day trying to break through the jungle sufficiently far to enable a couple of officers to pass him in the track. After twenty minutes he had just made his own length and stopped exhausted.

## ***THE ABOR CAMPAIGN***

Such is the hedge through which our knights errant are now hacking their way to discover a most unwilling lady. What wonder, then, that it should resemble Burne-Jones's well-known series in this also, that it should be set about with the names and stories of those who have in times past tried to find the princess behind her briar roses—and have emphatically failed to find her? Alas, when found, she will be an undersized, broad-cheekboned, short-legged, flat-footed, and very dirty lady, and on her brown self she will be wearing but a string of blue-and-white beads and a tassel of clinking bell-metal. But she has the charm of charms; she has never yet been seen, and, for all of us, adventurous or not, there never can be a woman so beautiful as the woman we have not yet seen. All luck to General Bower, the latest of these Princes Charming.

## LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

### HINDU IDEALS AND THEIR PRESERVATION

Some time ago that well-known American friend of India, Mr Myron H. Phelps, delivered an interesting lecture on the above subject at the Hindu College, Jaffna, Ceylon. This lecture has now been published in the form of a pamphlet. Mr. Phelps considered three things on this lecture, viz. :—(1) What the Indian ideals are, (2) What the Western life, by which they are threatened, in fact is and (3) how the danger which threatens may be averted.

Addressing the Sinhalese students on the first point Mr. Phelps said :—

I will mention first your sublime ideal of *Renunciation*. Other peoples have followed the path of worldly *Desire*, or *Attachment*. Your ancestors first learned, and first taught, that to gain God the world must be discarded. Say the Upanishads, “not by wealth, not by off-spring, by renunciation alone, immortality is to be gained.”

And let me not be misunderstood. The renunciation which I mean is not running to the jungle, adopting the Sannyasin's robe or deserting the duties of the world. It consists in performing to the uttermost the duties of life while holding the mind and heart detached ; always remembering that the spirit is free and stands apart ; seeking no results, but performing action as duty, for its own sake. “He is the constant renouncer (*nitya sannyasi*), who neither likes nor dislikes,” says the Blessed Bhagavan.

Such renunciation belongs to India alone.

Secondly, what is your ancestral ideal of *Success in Life* ? It is not honor among men, nor wealth, nor enjoyment, but Progress towards God. That life is held to have succeeded which carries a man nearer to that supreme goal than the last ; that life has failed which leaves him further from it.

No other people in the world of whom we know have measured success in life by this kind of progress.

Then, thirdly, your ancestral ideal of *Supreme Happiness, Supreme Achievement*, what is it :—gratification of the senses or the intellect ? Great wealth, honor, or distinction ? Far from it ; it is *union* with the Supreme.

Then the Indian ideal of *Action*. Your sages declare it to be action which is in accordance with *Dharma* ; that is, action which

is appropriate to the character and acceptable to God. It is action squared to the rule of conduct declared by holy men.

In the conduct of life, among your ideals are, (1) *Simplicity* ; reducing your wants to a minimum (2) *Neighbourly Love*. Your neighbour is also to be worshipped. Relations among men should be so adjusted and maintained that love may grow in the heart. The purpose of life is the development of love. (3) And *Peace* ; where but in India shall we find the ideal of *Peace* ? *Shanti, Shanti, Shanti*, Peace, Peace, Peace, is a refrain which echoes alike from the temple, the palace and the cottage, for here it has been well known that in peace and quiet only can the path to God be found.

Another of your ancestral ideals in the conduct of life is *divorce from sensuousness*.

Giving, generosity, unselfishness, is another of your ideals.

These ideals and others like them are the heritage of all India.

Nowhere else in the world will such ideals be found. They are the soul of your literature and religion. They are your most precious and splendid possession ; your noblest heritage embodied in the lives of your ancestors.

As regards the ideals of the West he says :—

Anything like the first of the Indian ideals, *Renunciation* or *non-Attachment*, is not known in the West. It was taught by Christ but has been completely forgotten. The worker in the West looks first and always to the *results* to be accomplished. By them all action is measured and valued. The actor does not stand separate from the action, nor has he any thought of the freedom and independence of the spirit. He is wrapped up in the action and the anticipated results.

*Success in Life* in the West is esteemed to be the achievement of wealth, honor, social position, distinction ; the *Highest Happiness* is found in gratification of the senses.

Instead of action according to *Dharma*, each man in the West aims to act *according to his desire*. Personal will is pushed to the uttermost. The check is not God's will but *not getting found out*. It is discovery that is the crime.

Instead of *simplicity*, we find in the West an ever-increasing *complexity*. Year by year the burden of *things* increases.

For *Neighbourly Love* as a rule of life, the West has substituted *competition*—keen, cruel, destructive. That means, not taking a fair return for your labour or your goods—not being satisfied with a fair profit, but *getting all you can*, whether your neighbour lives or starves. Competition is that treatment of others which will aggrand-

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ise you most at their expense. It destroys love. It is worse than war. It results in horrible poverty.

*Peace* is not sought by the West, but avoided. There, excitement, Novelty, is the soul of life.

Instead of your ideal of non-sensuousness, the West eagerly seeks sense-gratification. It has been aptly said, that in the West "civilisation" and "comfort" mean the same thing. Even its priests, its ministers, its spiritual men, live luxuriously.

I rejoice that I can ascribe generosity to the West. That virtue it has, and it means much. Splendid sums are given to education; there are magnificent public charities.

*Industrial Development* is much heard of as an aim to Western life. It is a function of properly ordered industry to minister to the growth of spirituality—to train and sharpen the mind so that it may at length become a proper instrument for the unveiling of the spirit. But this, the real purpose of industry, has never been learned in the West, and industrial development has taken a direction which wholly ignores and suppresses this true function of work. Men are cooped up in factories—thousands in a single building. They are made into machines. A man may spend his life in fashioning the points of pins. Their souls are stifled, their minds dwarfed. And all this soul destruction is for what? To multiply objects of sense enjoyment.

Finally, the great shibboleth of the West is *Progress*. Progress towards what? No one knows. It is concerned with the multiplication of forms of matter—the subdivision and re-fashioning of *Prakriti*, of which the changes are endless. There is Scientific Progress, Political Progress, Social Progress. But as to Progress towards God, it is not so much as heard of. Here too, as in all else which characterises the West, the ultimate object of effort is the comfort and convenience of the body and the diversion of the mind.

So the chief features of Western life—those which characterise it—may be summed up as—

Pursuit of excitement, sensationalism.

Pursuit of wealth, social position and distinction in the state.

Pursuit of gratification of the senses.

Pursuit of those pleasures which minister to the more refined tastes and the intellect, in the fields of literature, scholarship and the arts.

And in these pursuits the "rule of the game" is competition—self-aggrandisement, without attention to the sufferings caused thereby to one's neighbour.

So it is, in its broad aspects, a civilisation without a god, without a religion.

I do not mean to say that one will not find in the West good men—spiritual men. There are many of them—some in the Churches, but more outside the Churches. There are many groups and associations of men and women intent on spiritual growth. There are lovable traits of character and life. But these exceptions only emphasize the main proposition which I have advanced. The social, civic public life—the life of the masses of men—goes on just as it would go on, if men had actual knowledge that there was no God. Probably at least three-fourths of the men of America go through the business and pleasures of the day, from the time they rise in the morning until they retire at night, without a single thought of God or spiritual things. The Churches have become for the most part mere social clubs, where men go to meet their friends and acquaintances. "Religion" is put on and discarded with Sunday clothes.

It is otherwise among you. In India have always been found, as there are to-day, many men of spiritual knowledge *jivan-muktas*, knowers of God. These living witnesses have instructed your ancestors, as they to-day instruct those of you who see them, in the true meanings of religion and the sacred books. Therefore, in India, religion is alive, is respected by men, and moulds their lives.

Look, then, on this picture and on that. On the one side these noble and spiritual ideals; dearer than wealth—dearer than life itself; leading directly and luminously to the footstool of the Almighty.

On the other side a waste of arid materialism.

Shall these ideals be submerged by this avalanche of sensuousness and intellectuality?

No, answers Mr. Phelps; Westerners, proceeds he, are not the men to consult about religion. They are excellent authorities on stocks and bonds and railways and motor-cars and flying machines. But don't ask them about religion or take their advice. On that subject they know little.

Mr. Phelps then urges that as missionary education is apt to denationalize Hindu students, Hindus should not send their boys to Christian Schools and Colleges and should start their own educational institutions where more justice might be done to their history and philosophy than was possible in missionary institutions.

### **THE NEW DEFINITION OF THE CULTIVATED MAN**

The following paper, which was read by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, L.L.D., Ex-President of Harvard University, before the National Educational Association of America, July 6, 1903, and which attracted much attention among American Educators, will be of especial interest to our readers now when Dr. Eliot is visiting India.

The ideal of general cultivation has been one of the standards in education. It is the object of this paper to show that the idea of cultivation in the highly trained human being has undergone substantial changes during the nineteenth century.

I propose to use the term "cultivated man" in only its good sense,—in Emerson's sense. In this paper he is not to be a weak, critical, fastidious creature, vain of a little exclusive information or of an uncommon knack in Latin verse or mathematical logic: he is to be a man of quick perceptions, broad sympathies, and wide affinities, responsive but independent, self-reliant but deferential, loving truth and candor but also moderation and proportion, courageous but gentle, not finished but perfecting.

There are two principal differences between the present ideal and that which prevailed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The horizon of the human intellect has widened wonderfully during the past one hundred years, and the scientific method of inquiry has been the means of that widening. The most convinced exponents and advocates of humanism now recognize that science is the "paramount force of the modern as distinguished from the antique and the mediæval spirit" ( John Addington Symonds, "Culture" ), and that "an interpenetration of humanism with science and of science with humanism is the condition of the highest culture."

Emerson taught that the acquisition of some form of manual skill and the practice of some form of manual labor were essential elements of culture, and this idea has more and more become accepted in the systematic education of youth.

The idea of some sort of bodily excellence was, to be sure, not absent in the old conception of the cultivated man. The gentleman could ride well, dance gracefully, and fence with skill; but the modern conception of bodily skill as an element in cultivation is more comprehensive, and includes that habitual contact with the external world which Emerson deemed essential to real culture.

We have become convinced that some intimate, sympathetic acquaintance with the natural objects of the earth and sky adds

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greatly to the happiness of life, and that this acquaintance should be begun in childhood and be developed all through adolescence and maturity. A brook, a hedgerow, or a garden is an inexhaustible teacher of wonder, reverence, and love.

The scientists insist to-day on nature study for children, but we teachers ought long ago to have learned from the poets the value of this element in education. The idea of culture has always included a quick and wide sympathy with men, it should hereafter include sympathy with nature, and particularly with its living forms,—a sympathy based on some accurate observation of nature.

We proceed to examine four elements of culture :—

*Character.* The moral sense of the modern world makes character a more important element than it used to be in the ideal of a cultivated man. Now character is formed, as Goethe said, in the "stream of the world," not in stillness or isolation, but in the quick moving tides of the busy world, the world of nature and the world of mankind. To the old idea of culture some knowledge of history was indispensable.

Now history is a representation of the stream of the world, or of some little portion of that stream one hundred, five hundred, two thousand years ago. Acquaintance with some part of the present stream ought to be more formative of character, and more instructive as regards external nature and the nature of man, than any partial survey of the stream that was flowing centuries ago.

The rising generation should think hard and feel keenly just where the men and women who constitute the actual human world are thinking and feeling most to-day. The panorama of to-day's events is an invaluable and a new means of developing good judgment, good feeling, and the passion for social service, or, in other words, of securing cultivation.

But some one will say the stream of the world is foul. True in part. The stream is what it has been, a mixture of foulness and purity, of meanness and majesty ; but it has nourished individual virtue and race civilization. Literature and history are a similar mixture, and yet are the traditional means of culture. Are not the Greek tragedies means of culture ? Yet they are full of incest, murder, and human sacrifices to lustful and revengeful gods.

*Language.* A cultivated man should express himself by tongue of pen with some accuracy and elegance ; therefore linguistic training has had great importance in the idea of cultivation. The conditions of the educated world have, however, changed so profoundly since the revival of learning in Italy that our inherited

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ideas concerning training in language and literature have required large modifications.

In the year 1400 it might have been said in Europe that there was but one language of scholars, the Latin, and but two great literatures, the Hebrew and the Greek. Since that time, however, other great literatures have arisen there, the Italian, Spanish, French, German, and, above all, the English, which has become incomparably the most extensive and various and the noblest of literatures.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to maintain that a knowledge of any particular literature is indispensable to culture. When we ask ourselves why a knowledge of literature seems indispensable to the ordinary idea of cultivation, we find no answer except this: that in literature are portrayed all human passions, desires, and aspirations, and that acquaintance with these human feelings and with the means of portraying them seems to us essential to culture. The linguistic and literary element in cultivation, therefore, abides, but has become vastly broader than formerly, so broad, indeed, that selection among its various fields is forced upon every educated youth.

*The Store of Knowledge.* The next great element in cultivation to which I ask your attention is acquaintance with some parts of the store of knowledge which humanity in its progress from barbarism has acquired and laid up. This is the prodigious store of recorded, rationalized, and systematized discoveries, experiences, and ideas,—the store which we teachers try to pass on to the rising generation.

The capacity to assimilate this store and improve it in each successive generation is the distinction of the human race over other animals. It is too vast for any man to master, though he had a hundred lives instead of one; and its growth in the nineteenth century was greater than in all the thirty preceding centuries put together. In the eighteenth century a diligent student with strong memory and quick powers of apprehension need not have despaired of mastering a large fraction of this store of knowledge. Long before the end of the nineteenth century such a task had become impossible.

Culture, therefore, can no longer imply a knowledge of everything, not even a little knowledge of everything. It must be content with general knowledge of some things and a real mastery of some small portion of the human store. Here is a profound modification of the idea of cultivation which the nineteenth century

has brought about. What portion or portions of the infinite human store are most proper to the cultivated man? The answer must be, those which enable him, with his individual personal qualities, to deal best and sympathize best with nature and with other human beings.

It is here that the passion for service must fuse with the passion for knowledge. We have learned from nineteenth century experience that there is no field of real knowledge which may not suddenly prove contributory in a high degree to human happiness and the progress of civilization, and therefore acceptable as a worthy element in the truest culture.

*Imagination.* The only other element in cultivation which time will permit me to treat is the training of the constructive imagination. The imagination is the greatest of human powers, no matter in what field it works, in art or literature, in mechanical invention, in science, government, commerce, or religion ; and the training of the imagination is therefore, far the most important part of education.

I use the term "constructive imagination" because that implies the creation or building of a new thing. The sculptor, for example imagines or conceives the perfect form of a child ten years of age. He has never seen such a thing, for a child perfect in form is never produced. He has seen in different children the elements of perfection, here one and there another. In his imagination he combines these elements of the perfect form which he has only seen separated, and from this picture in his mind he carves the stone, and in the execution invariably loses his ideal ; that is, falls short of it or fails to express it.

Constructive imagination is the great power of the poet as well as of the artist ; and the nineteenth century has convinced us that it is also the great power of the man of science, the investigator, and the natural philosopher. The educated world needs to recognize the new varieties of constructive imagination.

Zola, in "*La Bete Humaine*," contrives that ten persons, all connected with the railroad from Paris to Havre, shall be either murderers or murdered, or both, within eighteen months ; and he adds two railroad slaughters, criminally procured. The conditions of time and place are ingeniously imagined, and no detail is omitted which can heighten the effect of this homicidal fiction.

Contrast this kind of constructive imagination with the kind which conceived the great wells sunk in the solid rock below Niagara that contain the turbines that drive the dynamos, that

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generate the electric force that turns thousands of wheels and lights thousands of lamps over hundreds of square miles of adjoining territory, or with the kind which conceives the sending of human thoughts across three thousand miles of stormy sea instantaneously on nothing more substantial than ethereal waves. There is going to be room in the hearts of twentieth-century men for a high admiration of these kinds of imagination, as well as for that of the poet, artist, or dramatist.

It is one lesson of the nineteenth century, then, that in every field of human knowledge the constructive imagination finds play,—in literature, in history, in theology, in anthropology, and in the whole field of physical and biological research.

That great century has taught us that, on the whole, the scientific imagination is quite as productive for human service as the literary or poetic imagination. The imagination of Darwin or Pasteur, for example, is as high and productive a form of imagination as that of Dante, of Goethe, or even Shakespeare, if we regard the human uses which result from the exercise of imaginative powers, and mean by human uses not meat and drink, clothes and shelter, but the satisfaction of mental and spiritual needs.

It results from this brief survey that the elements and means of cultivation are much more numerous than they used to be, so that it is not wise to say of any one acquisition or faculty, with it cultivation becomes possible, without it impossible.

The one acquisition may be immense, and yet cultivation may not have been attained. We have met artists who were rude and uncouth, yet possessed a high degree of technical skill and strong powers of imagination. We have seen philanthropists and statesmen whose minds have played on great causes and great affairs, and yet who lacked an accurate use of their mother tongue, and had no historical perspective or background of his historical knowledge. We must not expect systematic education to produce multitudes of highly cultivated and symmetrically developed persons. The multitudinous product will always be imperfect just as there are no perfect trees, animals, flowers, or crystals.

Let us as teachers accept no single element or variety of culture as the one essential: let us remember that the best fruits of ~~that~~ culture are an open mind, broad sympathies, and respect for all the diverse achievements of the human intellect at whatever ~~stage~~ stages of development they may be to-day,—the stage of fresh discovery or bold exploration or complete conquest. The moral elements of the new education are so strong that the new forms of culture

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are likely to prove themselves quite as productive of morality, high-mindedness, and idealism as the old."

India has need to ponder over this exposition of culture and she ought to receive with open arms the man who so forcibly brings to a materialistic age the vision of sublime manhood.

### MISSIONARIES AND INDIAN POLITICS

Professor S. C. Mukerji of the Serampur College read a highly interesting paper at the Calcutta Missionary Conference which was held on 6th November last in which he advised his brother missionaries not to keep aloof from the political life of the people at large. This paper has now been published in our Christian contemporary of the *Indian Witness*. Professor Mukerji says :—

Before we make an attempt to answer the question proposed to-night, *viz.*, "What should be the attitude of missionaries towards the political aspirations of the people?" we ought to have a clear idea of what these political aspirations are, and then we shall be in a better position to determine the attitude of the missionary towards them.

In the forties or fifties of the last century there was most probably no political aspiration of the people in the sense in which we use the terms now-a-days. It took a tangible shape a little over a quarter of a century ago—only after the memorable Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon when a small percentage of the educated people began to discuss public question in an intelligent fashion. This brought into existence the Indian National Congress, "the one and only political organisation for the whole of India." It is here that the political aspirations of the people of India are focussed and the growth of this movement will show the growth and development of these aspirations.

Now, the dominant ideas in the first Congress (1885) as expressed in the Presidential speech of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee were :—(i) Greater intimacy of friendship ; (ii) Removal of race, creed or provincial prejudices ; (iii) growth of national unity ; (iv) Desire for a larger share in the administration of the country.

These ideas grew and ten years after they took a remarkable shape. The dominant ideas of the Congress then as expressed in the Presidential speech of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (1895) were these :—(i) Enlarged rights for the Indian people : (ii) the Indian

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people to become an integral part of the British Empire ; (iii) India's place in the great confederacy of free states.

Another ten years passed : the above ideas grew and developed and Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, in his presidential speech at Benares, enunciated the goal of the Congress in the following words :—" The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves, and that in course of time a form of government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire."

At last in 1908 under the presidency of Dr. Rash Behary Ghosh the political creed of the Congress was formulated for the first time. It runs as follows :—"The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country."

Such are the political aspirations of the Indian people. Now, as regards Missionary attitude towards politics.

In the course of his speech, the Hon. Seth Low, L.L.D., of New York, when presenting the report of the Commission of Missions and Governments, said :—" There is one other point on which, however, the missionaries are absolutely at one, and that is that everywhere a missionary is under a moral obligation to abstain entirely from politics." In another part of the Report under the head of Dutch East Indies, I came across this sentence : " With political aspirations, in the narrow sense of the term, the missionaries will have nothing to do." I felt, however, a little relieved when I found the following expression of opinion regarding India :—" Missionaries in India, as elsewhere, are sympathetic with all that is best in the national life of the people amongst whom they live, and believe that, in the Providence of God, India has a great place to take among the nations, and in the developement of Christian thought and life..... While differences may exist among them as to the proper *rate* of change, they are on the whole agreed that a transfer of power to the natives of the soil should proceed *pari passu* with their advance in enlightenment and moral stability. But very few consider it part of their duty to spend any part of their time and

thought in propagating this idea, Their task lies outside politics, as the term is usually understood." But my heart rejoiced when I came across a really statesmanlike utterance in another part of the Report which has reference to the political aspirations of the people of Natal. I am glad to find that the Commission also characterizes it as a piece of wise utterance. The Commission says:—"As touching the question of the political aspirations of the people throughout South Africa, we may quote what seems a wise utterance on the part of an experienced missionary (not a British subject) which, *mutatis mutandis* may be applied to many parts of the mission field:—"In South Africa we are working for a subject people ruled by a foreign race. (1) Missionaries must ever inculcate absolute loyalty to Government. (2) In cases of grievance missionaries must often smooth the way of approach, so that the parties wronged may bring their complaints to the notice of the proper authority. The missionary should not be slow to show the natives having a grievance the proper way of seeking redress. In so doing he is not only helping his people but he is serving the Government. When it comes to political aspirations that are at all legitimate and reasonable, the missionary should impress upon the native the gravity of responsibility accompanying such privileges; he should be taught the necessity of his proving his worthiness to receive such responsibility and privilege; he should counsel patience enforcing the lesson from English history, showing how many centuries it has required for Britons to secure their present political privileges; once more he should reiterate that only through absolute and abiding loyalty to present authority can the native ever hope to secure the privileges he covets.'" I endorse every word in this passage. Every syllable of it applies to India. It lacks in one point only and that is it does not tell us what the missionary should do when he thinks that the people are ripe for enlarged rights and privileges.

As to the policy enunciated by the Hon. Dr. Low, which I have quoted above, and which seems to me to be the verdict of the world's Missionary Conference, with all humility and with all deference to such an august assembly, I must say that it is a short-sighted policy and not thoroughly sound. I want to make only one point clear. I do not, nor have I any right to, criticise this verdict so far as it relates to countries other than India. But I certainly call in question the soundness of the policy so far as it has reference to India where England is the paramount power and the Government a Christian Government. If that policy is really

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adopted and pursued, if the missionary in India says he is under a moral obligation to abstain from politics, to keep altogether aloof from the political life of the people, his influence upon the educated classes will, in the course of the next fifty years, become almost *nil*. If you say you will touch the life of the people from three sides, that you will see to their social, intellectual and spiritual emancipation, but you will not touch the fourth side, which may seem to you the least important side, that you will not see to their gradual political emancipation, you are bound to fail. You must touch the whole life or you will fail to touch it at all. It is one entity—you cannot disintegrate it, anatomise it according to your will. One of India's greatest political leaders said to me the other day—the missionaries have *now* become a wing of the Government. If this sort of an impression goes abroad and finds a place in the minds of the people, the inevitable result will be that there will be (I am afraid it has already begun) a gradual estrangement, an alienation between the missionaries on the one hand and the educated people on the other. And this separation is bound to effect the evangelisation of the country so far as the educated people are concerned.

To become thoroughly identified with the people does never mean to assume a hostile attitude towards the Government. The missionary occupies a most enviable position. When the missionary criticises any measure of the Government which he considers unjust, unfair or unrighteous, he is never suspected. The Government may not pay any heed to what he says but, one thing is sure, he is never suspected but on the other hand respected. In several cases it has been found that his word carries weight and it is a fact that certain important things in Indian legislation are due to missionary effort and representation. My point is that this important position the missionary holds ought to be used for the advancement of the people. The people of the country owing to their high education and administrative ability are crying for a greater share in the administration of the country. The Missionaries have to a great extent created this craving and, I think, the people of this country can quite reasonably look to them for advice, for guidance and for actual help in the matter. If you find that their aspirations are just, are fair, are legitimate, it is your duty to see that they are gradually realised.

You stand between the Government and the people. More than any one else, you can interpret the Government to the people and the people to the Government. But this you cannot do if

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you make it a point to keep at a respectable distance from the political life of the people. You will not cease to be a missionary in the real sense of the term, if you guide and control the political life of the people or if you give expression to your views on political questions.

To become thoroughly identified with the people, to sympathise with them in all their aspirations, does not necessarily mean that you must endorse everything that they say. If our people are sometimes wrong you can check them without the least difficulty, if you can make the people realise that you are a true and sincere friend of theirs, that you are really anxious to advance their cause, that you are willing to sacrifice your time, your energy, nay, your life for their good and welfare.

In one word, what is needed is sympathy. Sympathy is the universal solvent. It can work wonders. But lip-deep sympathy won't do; it is nothing but sheer mockery to say that you sympathise with the aspirations of the people, that you think they ought to get greater rights and privileges, and there should be a transfer of the power to the natives of the soil *pari passu* with their advance in enlightenment and moral stability, but at the same time to say that it is not your province to help them in the matter, that it is beyond your jurisdiction, forgetting all the time that the whole life of the people is within your jurisdiction. This is really adding insult to injury. Educate the people of my country in the highest and fullest sense of that term. So educate them that all these heterogeneous masses be formed into a homogeneous people. So educate them that they may be gradually welded into a great nation : so educate them that they may be fit to be the members of a Federated Empire on terms of absolute equality. So educate them that they may become the brightest jewel in England's Crown. So educate them that one day these 308 millions will form a chosen people of God. That is what you are here for—that is your mission in life here.

## REMEDIES FOR INDIAN UNREST

Mrs. Annie Besant has contributed a series of article to the *Christian Commonwealth* on Indian Unrest. In her concluding article, Mrs. Besant suggests some remedies for this unrest. She says :

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Many of the remedies for Indian unrest leap to the eyes by the mere statement of its causes. They may readily be summarised.

1. The introduction of religious and moral teaching into education, the teaching to be according to the religion of the pupils. If prejudice against a name could be eliminated, the Theosophical presentment of the doctrines common to the great faiths might be utilised. Where this is impossible, Hindus can be taught from the text-books, elementary and advanced, issued by the Trustees of the Central Hindu College, already used for the teaching of Hindu boys and girls in the leading Indian States, and students of other religions can be taught by their own ministers. Education which does not build up character is not worthy of the name.

2. The opening of all posts under Government control to Indians and English on equal conditions, and the removal of examinations for the Indian Civil Service of India. The rightful ambition of Indians to fill the highest posts in the service of their own country should be recognised and gratified. Colour should cease to be a disqualification for any post, and the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1857 should at length be carried out.

3. The abolition of the unfair burdens imposed on Indian manufacturers, as on the cotton mills of Bombay, and the employment by Government, wherever possible, of Indian-made articles in preference to foreign made.

4. The encouragement of private effort in the foundation and endowment of educational institutions, up to Universities, instead of the official opposition now encountered.

5. The severe punishment of all outrages committed by Europeans on Indians, and the exclusion of all found guilty of such outrages from all official functions and hospitalities.

6. The encouragement of the sentiment of loyalty innate in Orientals by the placing of a member of the Royal Family on the Viceregal Throne, surrounding him with a Privy Council of the first-class Indian Princes, giving him a Ministry of Indian and English statesmen to be appointed by himself, and a Legislative Council elected by electorates in which no special religion was given any advantage. Such a Government would arouse and gather round it loyal and patriotic citizens, and under its guidance progress would be ensured without violence, legitimate ambitions would be gratified, and a career of public utility and of honour would be open to every citizen.

Such are, says Mrs. Besant, a few of the changes which would go far to remove unrest. As the violent side of this unrest

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disappears, freedom should be restored to the Press, with a law of libels applicable alike to Indian and English newspapers, which should protect private persons. Mrs. Besant here makes a most unjustifiable and base attack on the Indian Press in general which cannot be too severely condemned. She says :—"The Press edited by Indians, with one or two honourable exceptions, is curiously irresponsible, printing any amount of anonymous personal abuse, without making the slightest attempt to distinguish truth from falsehood. It is this lack of the sense of responsibility which has rendered the Press laws necessary, but while these protect the Government they leave the Press free to pour out any amount of filth on private individuals. The English-edited Press is not venomous, except where Anarchists are concerned, and there are some good papers edited by Englishmen which maintain honourable traditions, and do not permit themselves to be made the tools of private malice. Verily, a Daniel is come to judgment ! Indian admirers and Indian worshippers of Mrs. Besant, please note.

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A retired educationist, Mr. Syama Charan Ganguli, advances a scheme for a fresh territorial readjustment of the Indian provinces in the current number of the *Modern Review*. He says that inspite of all Morley-Baker pronouncements, Bengalis cannot accept the Partition of Bengal as a settled fact and they will go on cherishing the hope that ultimately the British people will come to see the necessity and the expediency of rectifying a measure which was carried through against the declared wishes of the great body of the Bengali people. He also asks the political leaders of the Bengali-speaking people to devise a suitable method of annual demonstration that shall be free of all fuss and objectionable features. According to him :—

More important than any demonstration would be the elevation of the question of partition to a higher plane than it now occupies, the transformation of it from a Bengali to an Indian question. This end would be served if the question of the administrative union of the entire Bengali population were merged in the larger question of the desirability of the great administrative divisions in India being all put on linguistic lines. Of such a course of policy a modification of the Partition of Bengal would be a necessary part. If it is bad for Bengalis to be

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split up and placed under different administrations, it must be equally bad for Hindustania, Marathas, and Oriyas to be similarly split up and placed under different administrations. Hindustanis in the United Provinces are separated from Hindustanis in the Delhi division of the Punjab, in Bihar, in a portion of the Chotanagpur division, and in the Central Provinces; Marathas in the Bombay Presidency are separated from Marathas in the Central Provinces; Oriyas in the Province of Bengal are separated from Oriyas in the Madras district of Ganjam. But it is one thing to remain divided from of old and another thing to be divided after having remained united long. This differentiates the Partition of Bengal from the long-standing separation of Hindustanis from Hindustanis, Marathas from Marathas and Oriyas from Oriyas.

We are all ardent advocates now of a common Indian nationality. Why then, it may be asked, should there be a cry for putting territorial divisions in India on a language basis? A common Indian nationality is necessary indeed for India's welfare, as will be discussed further on. Nevertheless the separate peoples, marked each by its language-stamp, that have grown up under the operation of natural forces, must have to be reckoned as sub-nationalities that have each its special interests, which concern itself exclusively; and, on every principle of justice and expediency, each separate people ought to be administratively united for the attainment of its special objects. Bengalis, for instance, stand in special need of physical regeneration, while Punjabis do not stand in such need. Soldiering being laid aside, even the policeman's work in Bengal towns cannot be performed by Bengalis, the necessary physical hardihood required for such work being wanting. Sir George Campbell, while Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, put forth the idea that policemen in Bengal Proper should be Bengalis. But the idea could not be carried out then and it can not be carried out now either. Such a state of things should certainly not continue for ever. One heavy misfortune that has befallen Bihar in consequence of its not being in administrative union with the United Provinces, as they are now called, but being in administrative union with Bengal and Orissa, may here appropriately be specified. The misfortune is that at the *fat* of a late Lieutenant-Governor, Hindi books for popular education came to be printed in Kaithi character, standardised with the help of an expert, Mr. (now Dr.) G. W. Grierson, instead of the Devanagari, which is the character in which all Hindi books are printed in the United Provinces and elsewhere. Outside Bihar and Chota Nagpur,

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and even in these two provinces Hindi books read in High English Schools are all printed in Devanagari character. Educationally a barrier has thus been erected between Bihar and other Hindi-speaking territories in India. Bihar is not an ethnic unit speaking one language, that language being the only vernacular spoken within its limits and not spoken over any neighbouring area. The word Bihari as meaning a native of Bihar, which, by the way, was not very long ago called Behar, has only recently come into use ; and a common name Bihari for the three allied vernaculars spoken in Bihar—Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri—was invented by the Editor of the *Englishman* in the year 1881, and unfortunately adopted by the eminent scholars, Dr. Hornle and Dr. Grierson, in place of the earlier name, Eastern Hindi, given to the group by Dr. Hornle himself. A common name, Bihari, for the Bihar vernaculars, Maithili, Magahi, and Bhojpuri, is no more known to the people than is Platt-Deutsch among the English-speaking peoples as a common name for their own tongue and certain closely allied tongues of continental Europe. Further, the Bhojpuri vernacular is spoken over a much wider area outside Bihar than Bihar itself ; and Dr. Hornle says in regard to Maithili, "Indeed I am doubtful whether it is not more correct to class Maithili as a Bengali character dialect rather as an eastern Hindi one." Maithili is again written in a character which is almost identical with the Bengali character. Would this Maithili, which has received considerable literary culture, while Magahi and Bhojpuri have hardly received any, submit to be standardised into a common mould with the latter two tongues by some European expert ? The claim lately put forward by certain Bihari gentlemen for Bihar being "a racial unit" is thus noway a tenable one. The town *lingua franca* all over Bihar is Hindustani, which is besides the mother-tongue of all respectable Muhammadan families in Bihar, and in this Bihar is at one with the United Provinces—nay with even the Punjab.

If all the parts of British India in which Hindustani is the town *lingua franca* were to be administratively united together, the territory would embrace the Punjab and would thus be too large for a Governorship or Lieutenant-Governorship of existing standard. Any wide departure from existing standards it would indeed be unwise to aim at, except where absolutely unavoidable. So the Punjab, which has acquired a well-marked individuality of its own, may well remain a distinct administrative unit as now, though it should properly give up the Delhi section of it, which, as being the

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head-centre of Hindustani speech, should properly be attached to the province now called the United Provinces. As a set-off against this loss, Sindh may very conveniently be attached to the Punjab, and the two united Provinces may appropriately be called Punjab-Sindh. The rest of the area over which Hindustani is current as the town *lingua franca* would be large enough to be formed into two Lieutenant-Governorships of the existing type. But it being undesirable to divide people racially united, the whole of this area, wide though it be, should rightly constitute a single province under the name of Hindustan Proper (*Hindustan Khas*).

Bengal Proper, Orissa and Assam Proper speaking, as they do, closely allied languages, may very well form an administrative unit with the name of "the Bengal Province"—a name that can hurt the susceptibilities of neither Orissa nor Assam. These two may have a certain measure of local autonomy each to safeguard their special interests. Indeed where more than one cultivated vernacular happen to be spoken in a province, a certain measure of autonomy for each language-area would be very proper. One injudicious feature of the Bengal Partition has been that it leaves European covenanted civilians in the existing Province of Bengal under the necessity of learning three Indian vernaculars—Hindustani, Bengali and Oriya, written in three different characters—while it makes it necessary for officials of the same class in the new Eastern Bengal and Assam to learn practically one language, to wit, Bengali, for Assamese differs very little from Bengali barring only two letters, one of which was in use in Bengal within the life-time of men still living.

The Bombay Presidency, shorn of Sindh would consist of Marathi-speaking and Gujrati-speaking territories with a slice of Kanarese-speaking territory in the south. This last might very well go over to the Madras Presidency, while the Marathi-speaking portion of the Central Provinces might very well join the Marathi-speaking portion of the Bombay Presidency. The Madras Presidency, if it ever gets the Kanarese slice from Bombay should give up the Oriya slice of the Ganjam district to Bengal.

# REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

## A STUDY OF INDIAN ECONOMICS

[By MR. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEA, Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., London.]

Of all sciences, the science of economics has been universally recognized in the civilized world as a dark and a dismal one. When Adam Smith wrote his work on the Wealth of Nations, people took his work as one more of philosophic speculation than of scientific theories. This dismal science has, however, undergone a world of development since the 18th century, and today with an array of most learned authors scattered throughout the world, the science of economics has been practically brought into line with many others of the same plane and less doubtful utility.

In India the science of economics was not recognised as worth much attention till Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji came out with his historic work on the poverty of India. Since then many interesting and illuminating works have been written on the subject from time to time by many Indian and English writers. Among the more well-known publications on this subject may be mentioned Mr. Ranade's *Indian Economics*, Mr. Digby's *Prosperous British India*, Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray's *Poverty Problem* and *Indian Famines* and Mr. Theodore Morison's *Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province* and *India in Transition*. The late Mr. R. C. Dutt published two books on the history of some of the Indian industries and the British policy in relation to them. These books of Mr. Dutt are more valuable as materials for a more comprehensive history of the industrial and economic position of India, than as a study of the conditions of life in relation to the growth, development or otherwise, of the domestic and corporate industries of the Indian people. On the question of our currency there have been also published many interesting works in recent years with a book on Indian taxation by Mr. Alston and papers from Sir James Wilson, Messrs. S. K. Sarma and Sundaram Iyer.

For the first time in the history of British India, Lord Curzon, to his credit be it said, gave an impetus to the teaching of Indian economics under the auspices of the reformed Universities. Lord Minto gave a practical demonstration of his sympathy and

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earnestness to promote the study of the subject by sanctioning an annual grant of Rs. 10,000 for founding a chair of Indian Economics at the Calcutta University. An Indian graduate of Cambridge was appointed to the chair as Minto Professor (as he is called) about 3 years ago, and he was required to make a tour through India to study its social and economic conditions, and to deliver a course of lectures dealing scientifically with the subject with special reference to the application of economic theories and principles to Indian problems. Unfortunately, owing to circumstances of which we are not aware, he has not made much progress in his work and the publication of his lectures is likely to be delayed. In the meantime, the interest of the educated community in the subject has been considerably roused, thanks principally to the industrial conferences, and we are gratified to find attempts here and there being made to keep up that interest by the publication of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with various economic problems concerning India.

The latest book on the subject is Prof. Pramatha Nath Banerjea's "Study of Indian Economics" which is an earnest of a more complete and ambitious treatise which yet remains to be published. Mr. Banerjea has brought together within a compass of about 225 pages all the facts and theories of Indian Economics, and they contain an outline of almost every thing that is worth knowing on the subject. Chapters I, III, IV and XI of the book, dealing respectively with the difficulties and complexities of the subject, the social structure, the special features of society, and consumption, are specially interesting as they reflect what is probably the universal opinion regarding the influence of natural conditions and social customs and constitution on the economic conditions of the country. We congratulate Mr. Banerjea on the lucidity, and in some instances the originality, with which he has handled these points. His arguments leading to the conclusions—(1) that the most expensive standard of living is not necessarily the highest standard ; (2) that the real test of civilisation is not the growth of wants, but the growth of activities, (3) that owing to insufficient supply of the necessities of life, the efficiency of labour as a factor of production is diminishing ; and (4) that the demand for luxuries misdirects labour and capital and leads to economic waste—will readily appeal to every keen observer of society which is being debased under the blind pursuance of certain vague and immature ideals of life and customs.

But there is one serious drawback in Mr. Banerjea's book which he who runs may read. The most vital and at the same

time the most controversial topics—namely the theory of the 'drain' and the 'exploitation' of the country by foreign capital the causes of the rise of prices, the holding of the greater portion of the Gold Reserve Fund in London, the burden of land revenue, the expansion of revenue as evidence of increasing prosperity of the people, the disproportionate growth of public expenditure, the merits and defects of the Permanent Settlement, the Government policy in regard to excise revenue, the question of the military charges, the utility of the Famine Insurance Grant, the question of protection *versus* free trade,—these topics have not been subjected to an independent scientific investigation, but have been in most cases disposed of by quoting the *opinions* of one or other eminent publicist. We should have been glad to read a fuller discussion of the economic principles which underlie these questions and a scientific exposition of the fallacy or otherwise of the doctrines generally entertained on them by our public men.

Among minor deficiencies of the work under review we may mention the following :—

- (1) The author does not explain the expediency of holding 12 crores of rupees in Government securities as part of the currency reserve ;
- (2) The nature of the Home Charges is not described ;
- (3) The circumstances under which the Fowler Committee on Indian currency was appointed in 1898 are not stated ;
- (4) The effects on Indian production and the lower classes of the closing of the mints against free coinage of silver are not adequately explained ;
- (5) The balance of Indian trade is not clearly discussed ;
- (6) The causes of the low Bank rate of interest in summer and of the high rate in winter are not discussed ;
- (7) A fuller history of the development of local and provincial financial systems is not given.

Next, Mr. Banerjea places an excess of faith in the present position of the industrial education and activities in India. He writes with enthusiastic optimism of the value of education imparted by the "third grade" technical schools and colleges in India, of the facilities for technical instruction which exist in the country but which have not been availed of by our young men, of the value of the work done by certain private institutes and associations, and of the vitality and the potentialities of the various moribund or stagnant native industries in various parts of the country. Our experience of the last 30 years, however, does not delight us with

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the progress that has been actually accomplished ; for, with the exception of the jute and cotton industries, which are exclusively in the hands of Europeans and Parsis, the Indian industries have shown little development along progressive and profitable lines. On the contrary, the failure of many joint-stock companies in Bengal and elsewhere, which were started during the period of excitement of the Swadeshi movement, has given a rude shock to public confidence in the enterprise and capacity for business management of our countrymen. The conclusion at which Mr. Banerjea arrives regarding the advantages and disadvantages of large *versus* small (or cottage) industries is so vague that it may be said to be almost of no value at all to his readers.

On the whole, Mr. Banerjea has made an attempt to bring before the reading public the principal problems of Indian economics, the factors that influence them and the controversial points that require fuller treatment ; and in his treatment of them, he has been eminently successful. We trust that Mr. Banerjea will, in a future edition, not sacrifice an exhaustive and scientific discussion of the topics we have mentioned above to considerations of space, and will allow the student not only the benefit of his own researches but encourage him to research and study on his own account.

## RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

- COTTON, SIR HENRY**—Indian and Home Memories  
(with 21 Illustrations, Fisher Unwin, London. 12s. 6d.)
- BARODA, MAHARANI OF AND S. M. MITRA**—The  
Position of Women in Indian Life (Longmans,  
Green & Co., London. 5s. net.)
- BANERJEA, PRAMATHANATH**—A Study of Indian  
Economics (Macmillan & Co., London. 3s. 6d)
- FIELD, CLAUDE**—The Charm of India (Herbert and  
Daniel. 3s. 6d.)
- BESANT, MRS. ANNIE**—The Immediate Future (Re-  
print of Lectures delivered in India. Theosophical  
Publishing Society, London. 2s. 6d.)
- FRASER, LOVAT**—India under Curzon and After  
(Macmillan & Co., London. 16s.)
- MACMUNN, MAJOR G. F.**
- LOVETT, MAJOR A. C.**—The Armies of India (with a  
Foreward from Lord Roberts and containing 72  
full page illustrations in colour and a number of  
facsimile reproductions in black and white, Messrs  
Adam and Charles Black London. 20s. net.)
- GUPTA, J. N.**—Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt  
(with an Introduction by his Highness the Gaekwar  
of Baroda. J. M. Dent and Sons. 10s. 6d.)

## ARTICLES

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### THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress was started with three distinct aims. The first was the fusion of the Indian peoples into a distinctive nationality ; the second was the removal of communal barriers and establishment of a social intimacy between the people of the different provinces of India and the last was the education of public opinion regarding the administrative and public affairs of the country with a view to the removal of political disabilities and administrative grievances.

The Congress is now a quarter of a century old and it is high time to take note of its achievements and its failures. We shall take these achievements and failures item by item and discuss them as dispassionately as contemporary events admit themselves to be treated of.

On the point of the fusion of Indian peoples into a common nationality, we think the Congress has achieved during the last quarter of a century a more signal success than any other contemporary movement in the world. When the Congress had not come into being, India was sharply divided into hundred different communities, speaking hundred different dialects, with hundred different aims and objects in life and, what is worse, with an amazing indifference to the interests and grievances of one another. It is difficult to say from when, but our reading of Indian history clearly points out that this state of things must have prevailed in India from the very dawn of Indian civilization. Divided into warring races and creeds, walled off from each other by feudal and tribal customs, and seething with hatred and jealousy of one another, and seeking opportunity to fly at each other's throat—that has been the condition of the people of India from time immemorial. The establishment of British rule brought for the first time a common system of government, a common system of administration, a common statute-book, and above all, a common language. When Lord Ripon came out to India as viceroy, India had been under these common institutions for practically a century and a half. By that time, the leaders of the educated community of every province in India had come to realise that the position of isolation and detachment could not be held any longer if the

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Interests of the entire body-politic were to be advanced. Lord Ripon's sympathetic rule quickened the public pulse of India and the dry bones in the valley were instinct with life with the change of policy inaugurated by him. The idea of establishing a common platform for discussing common grievances must have been germinating in many minds before the Congress came actually to be an established fact, but no contemporary observer can deny that the beginnings of a coalescence towards a political personality have already been made and good spade work done in the matter. When one realises how hopeless and acute had been the differences in India till the third quarter of the last century between one race and another, one creed and another, one caste and another, one feels the nature of the revolution that has been silently working amongst us to weld all these into a common nationality. To this revolution and to this achievement the Indian National Congress has not contributed a little.

On the second point of social intimacy, we are afraid, the Congress has not achieved much success. No doubt that the establishment of railways and steamship lines and the facilities for inter-provincial communication had made it possible for all the provinces of India to come into greater contact with one another, and the Congress would have been able fully to avail of the advantages afforded by these, if unhappily the policy of the British rulers in India had not been changed by Lord Dufferin all on a sudden. It is an irony of fate that Lord Dufferin who was one of the most enthusiastic inspirers, if not one of the fathers, of the Indian National Congress, and who desired that the first duty of this organisation should be to see the social fusion of the Indian people and the removal of all social grievances, should have ended his eventful Viceroyalty with the promulgation of the new policy of *divide et impera*. But for this new policy, the Mahomedans should have in due course of time thrown in their lot with their Hindu brethren and worked out a common destiny. But the Fates, inexorable like the Sphinx, would not have it, and a cleavage was created between the two great communities of India. The example of the Mussulmans to work out their own communal destiny has proved fatally catching, with the result that we find today several communities and castes crying for detached development. Though the different provinces of India have come to know one another more intimately, and though it must be admitted that a community of interests, even of sympathy, has been established among these provinces, one cannot ignore the fact that

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new barriers are being raised in place of the old ones, just as strong to prevent the welding of a homogenous nationality. In this matter, the leaders of the Indian National Congress have much to do individually and privately, and if each and all of them would by example prove to be an Indian *first* and a Bengali or a Maratha, or a Hindu and a Mussalman *after*, much useful work might be done.

It is such a delicate matter, and the history of India has been so peculiarly unfortunate in this, that no one can safely predict what would happen to India in another ten years.

We now come to the third aim of the Indian National Congress, and for an organisation only twenty-five years old, the result has not been very unsatisfactory. During the last quarter of a century, many administrative grievances have been brought to the front, the system of administration has been brought under severe criticism, and the policy of England towards India frequently reviewed. Public opinion in India and England stand enlightened on many important questions affecting the government and administration of this country. Some of our grievances and inequalities have been removed, while others are under consideration of the Government. The reduction of the salt duty, the employment of qualified Indians to offices of trust and responsibility and the numerical expansion of the Councils must be put to the credit of the agitation started and carried on by the Congress. But these are nothing compared to the grievances and inequalities that still loudly cry for removal, and if not much has been done during the last 25 years to convince the Government of the justice of our demands, we think, the Indian National Congress is itself to thank for it. The agitation carried on by the Congress has not been half so whole-hearted as one would desire, and besides sitting in session for three days in the year, there are very few signs to realise the existence of the organisation. The right spirit seems to be lacking in the organisation. For most of the men in the front benches of the Congress seem to forget all about it as soon as these three days' sessions are over. The All-India Congress Committee seldom meets, and, when it meets, it meets only to transact formal business. There are not many people to think of the real organisation of the Congress, to carry on the propaganda of the Congress from year's end to year's end. It is a midsummer dream to hope to make the Congress a living force until the existence of a propaganda is felt all over the country throughout the year. A three days' session in the year makes very little impression either in the public mind of India or in the mind of the Government of the country.

## CORONATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

So long as the spirit of the organisation is not changed, so long as declamation on the Congress platform forms the main proceeding and propaganda of the movement, there is very little hope of an improvement in this line. We certainly don't intend to discount platform oratory, but, we think, the time has come when close attention should be paid to the real organisation of the Congress and to see its propaganda vigorously carried on throughout the year. The day for holiday patriotism and arm-chair criticism is now over. Those for strenuous work have come. In the past, it has mainly been talk, talk and talk. In the future, it must be mainly work, work, and work. If the Congress will fail to take advantage of the new forces and ideas that have been brought into being by the recent movements in the country, it must run the risk of being superseded by a more vigorous organisation in no time. Is there no man in India who can save this institution from that dreaded fate?

Political

## CORONATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

Coronation of George V. The approaching visit to India of His Majesty George V and his great Durbar at Delhi as Emperor are unique events in the history of British India. The grand preparations, and the impressive solemnities, of the events naturally draw attention to the old Hindu Coronation ceremonies. A brief account of these ceremonies would not, therefore, be without interest at the present time. In this article, however, we shall confine ourselves to the Coronations described in the Vedas and the earlier epics.

### I. THE EPICS

Coronation in the Epics. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are excellent store-houses of old customs. They are pretty old, the bulk existing from before the birth of Christ. They are important also, as they stand in the parting of the ways. Numerous customs and ceremonies which prevailed in the Vedic period find a place in them, but with such omissions, alterations and additions, that they point to the subsequent developments of the Pauranic period. Among such descriptions, those about Coronations are not the least important.

Firstly, the last (130th) chapter of the Yuddha-Kanda of the *Ramayana* gives an interesting narration of Rama's Coronation at the city of Ayodhya on his return from Ceylon. The narration is translated below literally :—

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'The younger brother of Raghava (Bharata), of high energy, told Sugriva:—'Oh chief, for Rama's anointment send messengers about'. Sugriva quickly gave to four monkey chiefs four jewelled golden jars (and added): 'Oh Monkeys, do so that by next dawn four jars filled with water from the four oceans be received.' On being said thus, the elephant like high-souled monkeys rose into the sky swift as Garuda. Jambavana, Hanuman, Vegadarsi, and Rishava brought water-ful jars from five hundred rivers. Water-filled jars the energetic Sushena brought from the eastern ocean, Rishava from the southern ocean, Gavaya from the western, and the son of the wind (Hanuman) from the northern ocean. Seeing the waters thus brought by the monkey-chief, Satrugghna with the ministers reported to the chiefs' chaplain and the kinsmen about Rama's anointment. Then the old Vasishtha with the Brahmins made Rama and Sita sit on a jewelled seat. Like the Vasus unto Vasava (Indra), Vashishtha, Vijaya, Javali, Kasyapa, Katyayana, Gautama and Vamadeva anointed the tiger among men (Rama) with purified fragrant (waters). Then the serving priests, the girls, the ministers, the citizens, the guildsmen gladly anointed him with (waters) mixed with all herbs. The regal crown, made before by (the god) Brahma and worn by the energetic Manu and the kings in his line, was brought to that assembly adorned with many jewels, and was placed on the head of Raghava by the high-souled Vasishta and the serving priests. On Rama's head Satrugghna held up a white auspicious umbrella, Sugriva held a white fly-whisker, and the Rakshasa-chief, Vibhishana, another moon-like fly-whisker. Deputed by Vasava, the wind-god bestowed on Raghava a bright golden hundred-lotused necklace and one jewelled pearl-necklace. During anointment of the wise-revered Rama, the Devas and the Gandharvas sang, and the Apsaras danced. During the festival of Raghava the earth became full of grains, plants rich with fruits, and flowers with fragrance. Raghava gave the Brahmins a hundred thousand of horses, of cows and of bullocks, thirty crores of gold (coins), besides numerous valuable dresses and ornaments. The King gave Sugriva a jewelled necklace of gold, bright like sun's rays, and Bali's son (Angada) a pair of bracelets, ornamented with cat's eyes and bright like moonshine. Rama also gave to Sita a fine pearl necklace beautified with excellent jewels and shining like moonshine, a pair of fine cloths, and various ornaments." (Chapter 130, verses 48-78.)

It is interesting to compare this account with a similar account of the coronation of Yudhishtira, given in the Santi-

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parva of the *Mahabharata*. On his return from the famous war on the fields of Kurukshetra this coronation in the *Mahabharata* took place at the city of Hastinapura, then the capital of the Pandavas.

"Then the king, son of Kunti, freed from pain and distress, gladly took his seat on an excellent seat of gold with his face to the east. Vasudeva, with the other Pandavas and others, then took their seats, some on golden, some on jewelled, and some on ivory seats. Seated there, the righteous-souled (Yudhishtira) touched (respectively) white flowers, (seats marked with the auspicious) *svastikas*, unhusked grains, earth, gold, silver, jewel. Then the citizens headed by their priests visited the Dharma-raja, bringing many auspicious objects, earth, gold, various jewels, and anointment jars filled with all requisites. There (were brought also) golden, wooden (audumbara), silvern, and earthen water-filled jars, flowers, parched grains, kusa grass, milk, fuel of Sami (mimosa suma), fig and palasa (*butea frondosa*) woods, honey, clarified butter, small ladle of audumbara wood, and gold-mounted conch-shells.

"Then the wise chaplain Dhaumya, directed by Krishna, marked with lines an altar, sloping to the east and the north, made the righteous-souled (Yudhishtira) and Krishna, the daughter of Drupada, sit on a shining white square (*sarvatobhadra*) seat, firm-legged and covered with tiger skin, and uttering proper hymns sacrificed in the fire. Then Vasudeva, getting up and taking (water in) the sacred conch-shell, anointed Yudhishtira, the king of earth, the son of Kunti. (So did) Rajarshi Dhritarashtra and all the subjects under the directions of Krishna. Thus anointed with the Panchajanya (conch-shell water), the king Pandava with brothers became nectar-mouthed (sweet-looking). At that time was played music, cymbals and drums. Dharma-raja, too, accepted duly all presents, and respected them (the presenters) with abundant gifts, while he gave the blessing Brahmanas a thousand gold coins (*nishkas*) each."<sup>\*</sup>

The *Mahabharata* also in the Sabha-parva describes the performance of the Rajasuya sacrifice by Yudhishtira. The sacrifice ended with a day of anointment (*abhisheka*) when all the chiefs and the invited Brahmanas gathered near the altar. It was on this day that the suggestion of Bhishma to offer the *arghya* (guest's offerings) to

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\* Santi-parva (Chapter 40, verses 1-19).

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Krishna, as chief of the Kshatriyas, led to a violent altercation which ended with the killing of the Chedi king Sisupala by Krishna.\*

On analysing these accounts we find that the *Rajasuya abhisheka* was quite different from the Coronation *abhisheka*.  
 The Main Functions of the Epic Coronation. The essentials in the two Coronation accounts, however, agree in many particulars. According to them, the Coronation ceremony involved the following important, functions :—

- (i) The bringing of sacred waters from rivers and seas;
- (ii) The presence of kinsmen, citizens and merchants during the ceremony;
- (iii) The covering of a throne with tiger-skin;
- (iv) The placing on this throne of the King and the Queen;
- (v) The anointing of the King with the consecrated waters, first by the priests, next by the kinsmen and then by the subjects present;
- (vi) Concluding with gifts to the Brahmanas and other persons present.

The ceremony was observed with great rejoicings not only in the King's palace, but also in the capital and elsewhere. A good idea of the different kinds of rejoicings held in the city can be formed from the *Ramayana* in its description of the celebration of Rama's proposed accession as heir-apparent. In view of the present celebrations, this description is worth noticing here.

"Then the citizens, hearing of Rama's anointment and seeing the break of day began to decorate the city. The turrets, like white clouds, the temples, the cross-ways, the roads, the places of worship, the houses, the merchants' shops filled with goods, the pleasant houses filled with relatives, the assembly places, and the trees were marked with flags and streamers. The crowd listened to the pleasant songs of singing bodies of *Natas* and dancers. The people talked about the Coronation of Rama in houses and cross-ways, while the children playing at the doors talked to one another of this Coronation. For this festival the public roads were made pleasant with offerings of flowers and made fragrant with incense. In case of a night tour, trees of lamps were erected on all side-roads. . . . To see Rama's anointment people from provinces poured into the city and filled it up."†

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\*See the *Sabha-parva*, Chapters 33-45. Cf. *Vana-parva*, Ch. 254, Duryodhana wished to perform the *Rajasuya*, but was forbidden by his chaplain, on the ground that this sacrifice had already been done by Yudhishthira who was still living, and that Duryodhana's father was also living.

†*Ayodhya Kanda*, Ch. VI, verses 10-22, and 46.

# CORONATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

## THE VEDIC LITERATURE

The ceremonies in the Epics are, no doubt, based on the older Vedic rites. These rites differed in different Vedic schools. All Vedic schools, however, dealt with the Rajasuya sacrifice. But in some of the Rig-vedic schools, the Rajasuya rites were distinguished from the rites of the *punarabhisheka* or repetition of the anointment ceremony, or from those of the *muhabhisheka* or the grand ceremony of anointment.\* The coronation ceremony of Yudhishtira may be regarded as that of *punarabhisheka* or repetition, he having been already anointed at the time of the Rajasuya sacrifice. Similarly in some of the Atharvan schools the rites of an ordinary *abhisheka* were separated from those of the *abhisheka* of an *ekaraja* or emperor.†

Nevertheless, in ordinary use the *abhishechaniya* ceremony meant the anointment rites prescribed in the Rajasuya. A full and clear account of the ceremonies involved appears in the sacred literature of the Vajasaneyi schools. Vajasaneyin is the last of the Vedas, and being a Yajurveda deals specially with the rituals. Hence the Rajasuya will be described here from this literature, which consist of the following :—

(i) The hymns (*mantras*) in the *Vajasaneyi-Samhita* (IX. 35- & X. 33), the Madhyaudina recension used ;

(ii) The bulk of these hymns with the rites noted and explained by means of myths, legends, and philological remarks in the *Satapatha-Brahmans* (V. 2.3 to the end of the Kanda V) ;

(iii) The rituals described in the *Katyanyana Sranta Sutra* (Chapter XV).

## II. RAJASUYA IN THE WHITE YAJURVEDA

The word is derived from two roots, *Raja*, king, and *Su* to inaugurate, and thus means the inauguration of the King. It formed one of the greatest sacrifices in the Vedic rituals, long, elaborate and complicated. It was spread over two years, and included no less than seven Soma-sacrifices, besides the final butter and animal sacrifice of Sautramani. The hymns concerned take up 39 Kandikas of the *Samhita*, while the description and discussion of the hymns and the rites are

\*The *Atishaya Brahmana*, 8th Book, Chapters 4-6

†*Kausika Sutra*, XVII. 1-29.

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spread over 325 paras of the *Brahmana*. Limit of space forbids the description of the rites in full, but some of the more important ones will be briefly discussed here.

The *Rajasuya* began with a purificatory soma-sacrifice. It usually commenced on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Phalguna (Feb-March). This soma-sacrifice was followed by four seasonal offerings, the first performed on the full-moon day of Phalguna, and the other three succeeding at interval of four months each.

During this part the most important rite was that known as *Ratna-havis* or offerings to 'Jewels'. Besides preparing a cake at his own house and a cake at the house of his barren, and therefore discarded, wife the King visited on successive days the following 'jewels' and offered at the house of each a cake to one deity. These *Ratnas* or Jewels were eleven : 1. the Commander of the army, 2. the Court Chaplain, 3. the Queen, 4. the Court Minstrel, 5. the Village Headman, 6. the Chamberlain, 7. the Charioteer, 8. the Tax Collector, 9. the Dice-keeper, 10. the Court Huntsman, 11. the Court Courier. A somewhat similar list is given in the *Taittiriya Samhita* and *Taittiriya Brahmana*. In the *Atharva Samhita*, too, the chariot-makers, the smiths, the makers of King, the charioteers, and the leaders of hosts are mentioned (III. 5, 6, 7) in connection with the ceremony about the prosperity of royalty.

The King's visit to these relatives and officers is ascribed in the *Brahmana* to the fact that thereby he makes them his own faithful followers. In the *Rig Samhita* and the *Atharva Samhita*, some hymns indicate that the kingship, though hereditary, was some times elected. For example, it is said:—"Thice let the clans choose unto kingship, thee these five divine directions ; rest at the summit of royalty, at the pinnacle ; from thence, do thou the formidable, share out good things to us."\* It would thus be quite natural that the throne having been secured with the aid of these relatives and officers, the king would mark his pleasure by visiting them and holding a part of the ceremony at their houses. Several of these people also used to take part in a subsequent ceremony, the passing round of the sacrificial sword.

The next rite was the *abhisheka* or the anointment. It began on

\* *Atharva Samhita*, III. 4-2 ; *Taittiriya Samhita*, III. 3-9-2 ; and *Atthavayana Samhita*, IV. 5-10.

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**The Anointment.** the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra (March), and consisted of several functions:—1. the initiation rite, 2. the preparation of consecrated waters, 3. the offering of the oblations named *Partha*, 4. the investiture of garments and weapons, 5. the ascending of the quarters, 6. the stepping on the tiger skins, 7. the crowning, 8. the sprinkling (*abhisheka*) with the waters, by the priest, a kinsman, a kshettriya and a Vaishya, 9. the mounting on a chariot and the cow-raid, 10. the offering of the oblations named *Ratha-Vimochaniya*, 11. the seating on a throne-seat placed over a tiger skin, 12. the throwing of the dices, and 13. concluding finally with the passing round of the sacrificial sword (*spkya*).

According to the *Brahmana*, these acts with their respective hymns were more or less symbolical, a remark quite reasonable when we look to the details. The details are generally dry and uninteresting, but some of them are worth mentioning. For example,

**Cakes of Different Grains.** at the time of the initiation, the king offered eight cakes of different grains, each to one deity. In the names of these grains one gets an interesting list of agricultural produce then known:—1. rice fast-grown (*plasuka*), 2. rice quick-grown (*asu*), 3. millet (*syamuka*), 4. rice wild, 5. rice red (*kuyana*), 6. seeds of *gavedhuka* (coix barbata), 7. seed of Namba, 8. barley. In the *Rig Samhita*, rice is not named, and in the *Atharva Samhita*, rice (*Vrihi*) occupies a quite secondary position to barley (*Yava*). But in the *Samhitas* of the two Yajus, black and white, the importance of the two had got reversed, as it is at present.

For consecration, seventeen different kinds of waters were collected:—1. water from the Sarasvati, 2. water rising in front, 3. water rising from behind, 4. water flowing on, 5. water flowing against the main stream, 6. water flowing off the main stream, 7. sea water, 8. water of the whirlpool, 9. water of a standing pool in a flowing stream, 10. rain water falling during sunshine, 11. pond water, 12. well water, 13. mist water, 14. honey, 15. the embryonic fluid of a cow calving, 16. milk, 17. clarified butter (ghee), 18. water heated by sun-motes. It will be seen that the sacred waters are headed by that of the Sarasvati river. This seems to be a reminiscence of the oldest period, of the time of the *Rig Samhita*, in which the Sarasvati is described as the best of mothers, of rivers and of goddesses, bestowing wealth, plenty, nourishment and offspring, and her breast yielding riches of every kind.

Before consecration the King was dressed by the priest. He was

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**The Dressing of the King.** made to put on first an undergarment of silk (?) (*tarṭya*), then a garment of uncoloured wool, over which was thrown a mantle (*adhivasa*, modern *chadder*). The King next wore a head-dress (*ushnisha*), whose ends were tucked into the navel. Finally he was armed with a bow string, and three arrows.

**Stepping on a Tiger skin.** Just before the consecration, the King was made to kick off a piece of lead tied in a tigerskin spread before the jars of consecrated waters, and then stepped on the skin itself. The use of tiger skin is curious. It is taken in the *Brahmana* as symbolical ; when Soma flowed through Indra, the latter became a tiger and therefore the tiger is Soma's beauty. But the symbolism seems deeper, recalling the earliest periods, when the King was elected partly on account of his personal prowess, he having shown himself worthy of the office by having killed a tiger, that dreaded beast of the forest.

**Crowning.** This rite was followed by the placing of a small gold plate at the foot of the king. The priest then laid on the king's head the crown, a gold plate perforated with nine or hundred holes, saying " Might thou art, Victory thou art, Immortality thou art." This was the main feature of the coronation ceremony.

The crowning was immediately followed by the consecration. **Sprinkling with the sacred Waters.** Standing with arms raised and with the face to the east, the king was sprinkled in front with the sacred waters, first by the chaplain, and then by a kinsman, then by a friendly Rajanya (*kshatriya*), and lastly by a Vaishya. The consecration was made by the priest with the following solemn hymn :—

' With Soma's glory I sprinkle thee. Be thou the chieftain of chiefs (*Kshattras*). Guard against darts (of enemies). O gods ! Quickened him to be without rivals (enemies), for great chiefdom, for great lordship, for man-rule, for Indra's lordly sway ; him, the son of such and such (man), the son of such and such (woman), of such and such clans. O ye (people) ! This man is your king. Soma is the king of (us) Brahmins.'\*

The above hymn (*minus* the last sentence, and for "Soma's glory" substituted "Agnis glow" or "Surya's splendour" or "Indra's energy") was repeated successively by the kinsman, the *Kshatriya*, and the Vaishya at the time of sprinkling. The last sentence of the hymn is remarkable, for thereby the Brahmins

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\* *Yajusamyai Samhitā*, X. 17-18.

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acknowledged as king only the god Soma and none else. This sprinkling was followed by a repetition of the stepping on the tiger-skin, after which the remainder of the consecrated waters was poured into the priest's vessel which was handed to the king's dearest son.

A chariot was now brought inside the altar which the king yoked with four horses. Mounting the chariot, the king drove it into the midst of cows placed north of the *Ahavaniya* fire. According to the Black Yajus, (*Taittiriya Samhita*, I, 8-15) a shamfight took place here, the king discharging arrows at a Rajanya posted with a bow. The rite seems to be a reminiscence of old cattle-raids, which the king was expected to undertake to strengthen his claim to the royalty.

On his dismounting from the chariot, a throne-seat of *Khadira* wood, perforated and bound with thongs, was brought to the altar. The king placed the throne on the tiger's skin and spread over it a mantle. The priest then made the king sit on the throne, and touched his chest with the following hymn:—"He hath sat down, the upholder of the sacred law, Varuna, in the homesteads, for supreme rule, he, the wise" (*Vajasaneyi Samhita*, X. 27). On this point the *Brahmana* remarks that the king, indeed, is the upholder of the sacred law, as he should speak only what is right and do what is right. This is the famous enthroning rite of the coronation.

Then followed two curious practices. The king was given five dice to throw, and was struck with sticks on the back by the priests. According to the Black Yajus, the priest and the 'jewels' now sat down in a circle round the king to do him homage. A priest handed to the king a sacrificial sword, which was passed round to the king's brother, then to the minstrel or the governor, who handed it to the village headman, the latter passing it on finally to a tribesman. This tribesman with the sword marked the gaming ground, on which the priest threw down for the king the dice. The passing round of the sword evidently symbolised an acknowledgment of the power of the new king. From the prominence given to the playing of dice, this would seem to have been the chief social amusement in the Vedic period. The hymn X 34 of the *Rig-Samhita* describes forcibly the lament of the gambler.

The great ceremony of anointment was followed by several other rites, such as *Dasapeya* or the drink of ten, the inauguration being naturally attended with much

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drinking of soma and other spirituous liquors. A year after the anointment on the full moon of the month Jyeshtha (May-June), came the rite of the king's hair-cutting, which was followed by two smaller soma-sacrifices. The whole round was completed with the performance of the *Sautramani*. This was a combination of butter and animal sacrifices performed, like the saving clause in an Act, to expiate for any excess committed in the consumption of soma liquor.

### III. THE RAJASUYA IN THE ATHARVA VEDA

The above account of the white Yajurveda can be partially traced to the older Atharvan. In fact, that Veda, being specially devoted to charms and incantations, may be expected to include hymns for the protection and the strengthening of royalty. In the rituals laid down by the *Kausika Sutra*, we find much prominence given, firstly to the preparation of consecrated waters, by mixing the waters of the sacred rivers with the juice of sacred plants, secondly to the sprinkling of the king with these sacred waters, and thirdly to the king's stepping on a tiger skin. All these appear in a more elaborate form in the ritual of the Yajus. They, too, appear in the following hymn of the *Atharva-Samhita* (IV.8):—

“ 1. “The Being sets milk in beings ; he became the chief lord of the beings ; Death attends his consecration  
Atharvan Hymn on the Rajasuya. (*Rajasuya*); let him, as king, approve this royalty.

2. Go forward unto [it] ; do not long away as a stern corrector, a rival-slayer ; approach, prosperer of friends ! May the gods bless thee.

3. Him approaching all waited upon ; clothed in grace, he goes about in his own brightness ; great is that name of the virile Asura ; having all forms he approached immortal things.

4. A tiger, upon the tiger's [skin] do thou stride out unto the great quarters ; let all the clans want thee, (and) the waters of heaven, rich in milk.

5. The waters of heaven, revelling in milk, in the sky or on the earth, with the splendour of all these waters do I sprinkle (*abhi sinch*) thee.

6. The heavenly waters, rich in milk, have sprinkled thee with splendour ; that thou be a prosperer of friends, so may Savitar make thee.

7. Thus embracing the tiger, they incite the lion to great good

## CORONATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

fortune ; like the well-being ones that stand in the ocean, do they rub thoroughly down the leopard amid the waters."

### IV. THE RIG-VEDA

The name, *Rajasuya*, is not traceable in the original *Samhita* of the Rig-Veda. But its two *Brahmanas* and its two *Srauta Sutras* refer to this sacrifice at length. In the schools of this Veda, the hair-cutting ceremony was the last, being preceded by the *Sautramani* and there are several smaller differences in the order and in the number of the rites. But an enumeration of them is not likely to interest the readers. The *Rig-samhita* has, however, in its last Mandala (the 10th), a hymn of six verses (157) dealing with the consecration of a new King, which on account of its age may be worth quoting here :—

1. "Oh (so, and so), I put thee in the kingship. Stand firm (*dhruvah*), unmoved. May all the clans wish for you. May your Kingdom be not lost.

2. May you be not deprived of (the Kingdom) ; but remain unmoved as a mountain, and stand firm as Indra. Take hold of this Kingdom.

3. Him thus made firm Indra on getting unfailing oblations, has protected. Him Soma has blessed ; him, (the god) Brahmanaspati.

4. Firm is the sky ; firm this earth ; firm are these mountains ; firm this universal world ; firm is this king among the clans.

5. May the King Varuna make your Kingdom firm ; may the god Brihaspati (make it) firm ; may Indra and Agni (make it) firm ; and hold (it) firm.

6. With (these) unfailing oblations I touch the unfailing Soma juice. Now Indra has made the clans exclusively your own and tax-paying."

The word *dhruva* appears in every verse, and thus makes the hymn interesting from a literary point of view. This hymn is considered by many to be comparatively later. Nevertheless, this one and the hymn eighth of the fourth Kandika of the *Atharva-Samhita*, already translated, are the "oldest texts" on Coronation rituals in India and are probably the oldest existing in the world.

### V. THE ENGLISH CORONATION

- Though the Coronation ceremonies in England differ strikingly from the old Hindu ceremonies, not a few points of agreement will be noticed by the observant student.
- Similarity with the ceremonies of English Coronation. The four principal ceremonies, the anointment,

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the investiture, the enthronement and the crowning are found in both. The anointing is followed in both by the symbol of election. The English anointment is, however, made not with waters, but with olive oil, (in the older days with chrism, a mixture of oil and balm) when the king is seated on the historic stone of Scone, in the chair called after St. Edward. During the investiture three swords play a prominent part, while during the anointment the ampulla containing the consecrated oil. At the time of enthronisation the king is surrounded by the Peers, spiritual and temporal, who render him homage, the present title of the king being "King of the United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, and Emperor of India."

So many agreements in the essential rites can not be accidental.

Do they point to some common origin in the  
Are they Indo-Germanic? Indo-Germanic family before they had divided?

If so, the inauguration ceremonies must be the survival of a pre-historic period, when the Aryans were living in a nomadic hunting stage.

**Monmohan Chakravarti**

## THE ANNEXATION OF JHANSI

It is said that European women and children of Jhansi were most horribly and savagely mutilated by the Sepoys. This is best refuted by Mr. Layard, sometime M. P. for Aylesbury, who absolutely refused to take newspaper reports on this matter on trust. Resolved to judge for himself and ascertain the real facts, he visited India at that momentous period; and when he returned home he delivered a speech on the 11th May 1858 in St. James' Hall before a large gathering while Lord Bury was in the chair. In this speech Mr. Layard said:—"While he was in India he endeavoured with utmost conscientiousness to find out whether or not there had been any case of mutilation, and he had been assured by men, who had been employed by the Government to make enquiries, and men, who he was sorry to say, would have joyfully pounced on any case of cruelty on the part of the natives, *that they had not found one case of mutilation.* On the other hand there had been numerous cases of fearful revenge on the part of their own army. He heard an educated English gentleman declare, in the presence of a large assembly that he had watched for two days a sepoy who was wounded so that he could not get away, when the

## ANNEXATION OF JHANSI

crows and eagles had begun their horrible repast on his eyes and vitals."\*

Elsewhere Mr. Layard spoke authoritatively :—" From the information I received from the very best and most trustworthy sources, after the most careful inquiries, I am convinced that the series of horrible cruelties alleged to have been committed upon English women and children at Delhi, Cawnpore, Jhansi and elsewhere were almost without exception shameful fabrications, partly circulated and still unfortunately persisted in, by the Anglo-Indian press for the object of exciting public feeling against Lord Canning who, like a true-hearted English gentleman and a wise statesman, endeavoured to check the terrible cry for vengeance against the natives which threatened to lead to a struggle of races, only to end in the most disastrous results to us and the people of India."†

The same conclusion is drawn also by George Campbell who notes—" All the discussions and enquiry have more and more convinced me that almost all the stories of torture, mutilation and dishonour are pure inventions."‡ There might have been a few cases of outrages by the rude soldiery and a few cases in which mutilations might have been perpetrated, says a learned contributor to the *Quarterly Review*, " by the felons escaped from our jails rather than by the seyoys."§

When this dark tragedy was enacted at Jhansi by the scum of the Jails and some of the barbarous sepoys, it is of the utmost importance to know what the attitude of the Ranee was. Was she in any way implicated in the dirty works of the mutineers? We have already seen she had nothing to do with them. The Ressaldar Kala Khan was all in all. She was not liked even by the bloody mutineers for her antipathy against their barbarities. Therefore "they had invited Sada Sheo Rao in the city to take the government."¶

These facts clearly prove beyond any doubt that Luchmee Bai was not at all implicated in the massacre. It was by the order of Kala Khan, and under the superintendence of Bukshish Ali, that this most atrocious crime was perpetrated. No less a high authority than that of Sir John Kaye bears testimony to this effect. He says: "I have been informed, on good authority that none of the Ranee's servants were present on the occasion of the massacre. It seems to have been mainly the work of our own

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\* *The Home News*, May 17th, 1858. p. 690.

† *The Times*, 25th August, 1858.

‡ *The Times*, July 20, 1858.

§ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 104. p. 227.

¶ *Kaye's History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. III, p. 370.

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old followers. The Irregular Cavalry issued the bloody mandate and our Gaol Darogah was foremost in the butchery."\*

The events which followed closely this scene of horror, more than any thing else establish conclusively the authenticity of the aforesaid remarks.

After crowning their deed of infamy by this wholesale massacre of the Europeans, the mutineers in a body marched towards the palace of the Ranee, and loudly declared that they had no objection of leaving Jhansi to her, as they were going to Delhi to serve under the Imperial banner, provided she would immediately supply Rs. 3,00,000 to them, for their exertion and trouble. Besides, they threatened, that if refused they would bombard the palace. With utmost prudence and consummate tact, the Ranee appealed to their hearts by saying that since the annexation, she was penniless, and it was unworthy of them to rob a woman, placed in distressing circumstances. This tended to mollify a little their exorbitant demand ; but still they declared that if not sufficiently recompensed, they would give the *Gadi* to Sada Sheo Rao whom they had already invited. Thus placed in an embarrassing circumstance, which would have brought even a male prince down on his knees, she succeeded in appeasing the mutineers by paying them over Rs. 100,000, and extricating herself from their unwelcome presence. Satisfied with this handsome amount the mutineers left Jhansi for Nowgong and Delhi leaving behind them an uneviable and unwelcome immortality. †

Thus ridding Jhansi of the most annoying presence of an unlicensed soldiery, she was enabled to preserve it from anarchy and ruin. One of the first acts of the Ranee after the departure of the mutineers was to secure and bury the bodies of the Europeans massacred, and to help and provide those few Europeans who by some means or other had managed to save themselves. Counting upon the fidelity of the people, the heroic lady proceeded with utmost prudence and firmness, amidst chaos and confusion of a newly wrought revolution, to the most arduous and difficult task of establishing a regular government, but as ill luck would have it, she was visited with fresh calamities. Sadasheo Rao, who had on the way seized the fort of Karrara and issued a proclamation to the effect that henceforth he was to be the ruler of Jhansi, arrived at Jhansi just then. To check his impertinence the Ranee despatched an army of 1000 men against him. Sadasheo

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\* *History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. III, p. 369.

† Notes relating to Jhansi.

## ANNEXATION OF JHANSI

was fain to escape into the territory of the Scindia. He made another futile attempt over Jhansi shortly afterwards, but was captured. To make matters worse and taking advantage of this confused state of things, the neighbouring States of Daltia and Pihary came forward to wrest Jhansi from Luchmee Bai with their combined army. But such right royal welcome did they receive from the brave Ranee that they hastened back in dismay to their territories in utter confusion.

These disturbances were soon followed by another of no less magnitude. The Ranee of Boraha, named Larhi Bai (the warrior queen), sent a large army under her General Nakha Khan to take possession of Jhansi. Before attacking the fort, he intimidated Luchmee Bai of his readiness to assign for her the same provision as the British Government had previously done, provided she gave up the fort to him. This elicited from the proud Ranee an angry retort. On receipt of this, Naka Khan immediately attacked the fort. Luchmee Bai, on the other side, dressed as an Afghan officer, sword in hand, appeared at the ramparts of the fort and implanted on the highest summit the Union Jack and the Marhatta standard. Such was the fury and precision with which she fired on the enemy that they soon retired pursued by her cavalry. Thus discomfited, Larhi Bai applied for peace and friendship was established between her and Luchmi Bai.

She was much too energetic to rest on her laurels. She devoted her time to the many problems of internal administration. Profoundly skilled in the tactics of war, she fortified her strongholds and raised from the scanty resources of her land a body of about 14,000 men and 20 pieces of artillery.

She erected some public offices and began to coin money in her own mint. Settling herself somewhat after this frightful revolution she addressed Kharitas to the Commissioner of Jubbulpore, Major Erskine and the Chief Commissioner of Agra, Colonel Frazer, lamenting the Massacre of the English at Jhansi by the mutineers and stating that she was in no way concerned in that brutal affair.

The Kharita addressed to the Chief Commissioner of Agra was forwarded through the hands of Mr. T. C. Martin so that he might know the views entertained by the Chief Commissioner on Jhansi. Mr. Martin's information convinced the Ranee of the fate that awaited her in the hands of the English. She had hoped that innocent as she was, the English would be magnanimous enough to

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\* *Vide* Further Part. Papers No. 4. p. 169.

† *Sir Kaye's History of the Sepoy War*, vol. III, p. 370.

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allow her to retain her beloved Jhansi. Sadly disappointed at this and mortified at noticing that the English, notwithstanding her innocence, regarded her as a rebel—nay a miscreant, as having sanctioned the massacre of the Europeans,—she firmly resolved to stand against them for Jhansi ; for, life she could gladly and easily part with, but Jhansi never. The immensity of danger in contending against that mighty power she fully knew, but fervent love of her country, added to the undying fidelity of the people to her cause, inspired her and made her desperate. How she utilized the short time she had been allowed to retain Jhansi will be described in another article. In the mean time she had been all alive to the demands and necessities of her subjects. How she conducted the military, executive and judicial affairs of the state to the entire satisfaction of the people at that troublous time seemed miraculous and wonderful.

**G. L. D.**

# **The Progress of the Indian Empire**

## **PROVINCE BY PROVINCE**

### **BENGAL**

Thanks to the separatist tendency working among our people from some time past, our Beharee friends now meet in a separate provincial Conference to discuss their own affairs. The fourth session of this Conference was recently held at Gaya under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque, one of the foremost leaders of public opinion in Behar. Mr. Haque is one of those few men among Indian Mahomedans who are not wholly given up to sectarianism and can now and then think of united India and Indian nation. He is also a public man who has the courage of his convictions and can boldly speak out his mind even when his views may happen to run counter to those of his co-religionists. It is, therefore, no surprise to find in his presidential speech a condemnation of the special electorates as being unsound in principle. Referring to the question of extending communal representation to the District and Municipal Boards, Mr. Haque said that it was suicidal for the best interests of the Mahomedans themselves, and trusted they would come round to his view in due course. Mr. Haque added that the Council Regulations were very "unjust and unfair to the Hindus who absolutely had got no franchise." We cannot accept the view of the Conference in so far as it approved of the creation of separate electorates, believing as we do that they are great stumbling blocks in the path of our being formed into a united nation and that Lord Morley's original proposal of providing for mixed electoral colleges was sufficient for the protection of all interests of minorities. But save and except this clause we are in total agreement with the rest of the resolution which asks (1) that the non-official majority in the Council should consist of elected members, (2) that the head of the local Government should not have the right arbitrarily to disqualify a person from seeking election, (3) that the system of voting by delegates should be done away with, (4) that the Government officials should not be eligible for election, (5) that persons possessing no knowledge of English should be ineligible for membership of Council and (6) that a representative of the Indian commercial community should be elected by a constituency made up of traders paying

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income tax. The Conference did well to protest against the tendency of Government to depart from the policy laid down in 1854 and re-affirmed in 1882 of seeking to extend education as far as possible by encouraging private effort by liberal grants-in-aid, and to prefer schools owned by Government and managed by the Educational Department; and also against the raising of fees in schools and colleges. Whatever may be said of the claim of Behar to have its public service entirely manned by its own men, there can absolutely be no reason in the dictum of Mr. Mazharul Haque that one out of the three Indian judges in the Calcutta High Court should always be a Beharee. Indeed, for the life of us we can not understand why, if one of these three posts is to be ear-marked for Behar, similar provisions should not be made for Chotanagpur, Orissa and Assam. Nor can we understand why, because there is now a Beharee Mahomedan on the Bench, a Beharee Hindu will have to be invariably appointed to put the balance even. We emphatically hold that these higher offices should be open to Indians in general, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. We have no objection to all the three High Court Judgeships going to Behar and that for ever and for ever. But they must go on one test and one test alone, viz., that of efficiency. Among other important resolutions, the Behar Provincial Conference recorded one in favour of abolishing the Provincial Service which has been so aptly described by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as the *Pariah* Service. The same service has also come in for severe condemnation at the hands of Mr. Valentine Chirol as well as, if we remember aright, of Sir Bamfylde Fuller.

The unmistakeable way in which Behar has spoken out against the Partition of Bengal is significant. The president of the Conference who was at one time, we believe, against any modification of the Partition has, we are glad to find, come round and declared in his address that they would co-operate with their brethren of Bengal in their efforts to put the whole Bengali-speaking people under one administration. Mr. Nand Kishore Lall, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, condemned it as being "based on no ethnological or scientific grounds, but mere mischievous perversity to spite the Bengalees by dividing them and destroying their solidarity." The Conference itself adopted a resolution expressing "its sympathy with the Bengali-speaking people in their grievances against the Partition of Bengal." In the same breath, it (as well as its president) urged the necessity of constituting a separate province with Behar, Chota-

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**Magpur and Orissa and "bringing the entire Bengali-speaking people under one administration." Whether it would be much to the advantage of Behar to separate itself from the old province we can not exactly say. But the decision of Behar on the point ought to be final ; and it seems that Behar is unanimous in that respect. Nor is it that they have raised a new cry like some of the Mahomedans of East Bengal. As Mr. C. J. O'Donnel has pointed out in his newly published brochure on the Partition of Bengal, the Beharees have been pressing their claim from a long time and their claim was recognised by a late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Campbell, as the most feasible way of dividing Bengal. It is a riddle in Indian politics, why instead of accepting this scheme, Lord Curzon resurrected a thoroughly discredited one which everybody condemned and nobody wanted. With Behar clamouring for separation and Bengali-speaking people (except a number of Mahomedan in East Bengal) for re-union, it is difficult to understand for what earthly reason the present Partition is still being kept up. It is obvious that if things remain as they are, all the Hindus and Mahomedans of Behar, almost all the Hindus of East and West Bengal and almost all the Mahomedans of West Bengal, will continue to think that their best interests have been sacrificed. Those Mahomedans of East Bengal who still support the present Partition cannot reasonably ask to perpetuate a state of things which is detrimental to the interests of so many people. All that they can legitimately demand is that the special advantages which they have got in consequence of the Partition should not be taken away from them ; and nobody thinks of seriously suggesting such a thing. It has not been proved that those advantages can not be kept without the present unnatural and unscientific division of Bengal. We heartily agree with Mr. O'Donnel that the present is the most fitting time for conciliating the Bengali feeling by a reasonable modification of the Partition. Mr. O'Donnel is entirely right in saying that such a policy would be acknowledged by an unsurpassed outburst of enthusiastic gratitude. But will they do it? Will the never-failing statesmanship of England rise to the occasion?—that is the question which is in everybody's mouth now.**

**. If the Government really intend to do something in the matter, it has a splendid opportunity to avail of at the present moment. The north-eastern frontier is threatening to be a part of the country where the Government may have trouble off and on, and whatever may be the**

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result of General Bower's expedition against the Abors, there can be no doubt that a strong Government is wanted there. The Government would be unwise if it would not keep the north-eastern frontier of the empire sufficiently guarded and looked after, and any step towards that direction must involve a territorial redistribution of the Bengal Provinces. We hope this opportunity will be seized by the Government and a great grievance removed.

A conference of the Mahomedans of West Bengal was recently held at Burdwan to discuss the position and prospects of their community in the Province and the Partition of Bengal. According to the report of the *Statesman*, which is no friend of the Anti-Partitionists now-a-days, the gathering was large and representative. This Conference—with regard to the *bona fide* character of which there can be not the least room for doubt—has formally adopted the following resolution in the name of the Mahomedans of West Bengal :—"Considering the fact that the Mahomedans in West Bengal are in great minority in comparison with the Hindus and considering the fact that the language, custom, educational necessities of the Mahomedans of Burdwan and the Presidency Divisions and those of Dacca, Rajshahi, Chittagong, are same or similar, that the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal enjoy facilities for education and admittance into the public services and representation on public bodies necessary for their advancement and progress, which the Mahomedans of West Bengal are denied, this Conference is of opinion that these two divisions (Burdwan and Presidency divisions) should be placed under the administration of East Bengal." The resolution speaks for itself and goes to show that we have not exaggerated the situation by saying that, among others, all the Mahomedans of west Bengal, will continue to think that their best interests have been sacrificed by the present Partition of Bengal. The proceedings of this Conference ought to dispel whatever doubt there might be in the minds of some that Mahomedan opinion is unanimous on behalf of the present Partition. A superstition dies hard indeed, but we think an honest superstition ought to die after this.

At a recent meeting of the Calcutta Corporation, the Chairman, the Hon'ble Mr. Maddox, made an important statement to the effect that the Commissioners had addressed the Government a letter asking for the modification of the Calcutta Municipal Act, and among other things to equalise the representation of elected and nominated members in the General

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Committee, in the place of two-thirds nominated and one-third elected, as is now the case. He further added that recommendations of a similar nature had been made three times during the last three years, but the Government had taken no notice of the matter. In other words this recommendation means, that in the deliberate opinion of the Commissioners (of whom according to new law half only are elected and half nominated), it has become imperative (as the number of representations would show) to vest their elected brethren with more powers in order to make the administration of civic affairs in Calcutta the success that it ought to be. Now, is it not tantamount to saying that the new Calcutta Municipal Act has failed and failed most miserably? Lord Curzon's Municipal Act was directed to curtail the powers of elected commissioners, to destroy the self-government that existed in the Calcutta Corporation and to convert it into an official body. Before that Act was passed, the Calcutta Corporation had got 75 Commissioners, two-thirds of them having been elected by the different Wards and the remaining one-third nominated by the Government. The proportion of representation in the Executive Committee was also the same, viz.  $\frac{2}{3}$  elected and  $\frac{1}{3}$  nominated. Sir Alexander Mackenzie proposed that in the place of the Executive Committee a General Committee was to be created with 12 members, 4 of whom were to be elected by elected commissioners, 4 by nominated commissioners and the remaining 4 by the Government. Bad as this proposal was, it was not so bad as what was proposed by Lord Curzon who came to India just then. Had Sir Alexander Mackenzie's proposal been carried out, there would still have been left some sort of popular control over the Corporation; for, even then the number of people's representatives would have preponderated in the main body. But this did not suit "the most brilliant of all our viceroys" who, in his wisdom, proposed to reduce the number of Commissioners from 75 to 50, half of them being elected and half nominated. The General Committee was to consist, as Sir Alexander Mackenzie proposed, 4 representatives of the elected commissioners, 4 of the nominated commissioners and 4 of the Government. This was strangling self-government to death and Calcutta was stirred to its inmost depths. A vigorous agitation was set on foot, both in and out of the Council Chamber and protest meetings were held in hundreds. But all to no purpose. The moving hand of Lord Curzon wrote and having writ moved on without caring for public opinion or popular indignation. As a result of this, 28 of the leading commissioners—the very pick of

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the Corporation, so to say—left that body in disgust. Since that time people have ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Corporation, the election affair has lost all life and most of our best men have been keeping aloof from it. Now that the mistake has been found out, we ask, why not revert to the old state of things? May we also ask, why as many as three recommendations of the Commissioners have been silently, but, no doubt, conveniently ignored by the Government? The New Act has had a fair trial for a good number of years. Experience has given its verdict. Will not official obstinacy yet give way?

Brevity may be the soul of wit, but evidently it is not so of a police notification which has little to do with it. A Police Notification and its abuse That is perhaps why the Police Commissioner of Calcutta neither assigned any reason for prohibiting the carrying of "*lathies*" in the public streets nor gave any definition of the term "*lathies*" used in the notification. We come to know on the authority of a contemporary that as a result of the vagueness created by the omission of the definition there was some time ago an interesting tug of war between an Indian Barrister and a police constable, one at each end of a walking stick which the Barrister carried in his hand. This was ridiculous enough; but even this was surpassed by the case which was to follow, viz., the arrest and conviction of a *jatra* actor who was to appear in the role of Rama and had a sword hung by him in the orthodox *jatra* fashion. As ill luck would have it, his green room chanced to be on the other side of the street and the man was therefore standing on the road and biding his time to appear in the scene. In the mean time an overzealous police sergeant came and warned him. But as the poor man could not see his way to spoil the whole thing by appearing before he was due, he was arrested under the Arms Act. The Magistrate could not of course tolerate this charge but fined him Rs. 3 on the strength of the new circular. A tug of war between a Barrister and a constable and an actor with a mock sword hauled up and fined!—If the Police Commissioner's notification was meant to create humour and add to the amusements of the public then, we admit, it has served its purpose.

It is, we hope, not too much to expect that even the action of the Government ought to be based on some sort of principle in every matter and not on mere whims. We have tried to find out the principle on which the Indian section of the Bengal Press has been invited to the Delhi

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Durbar ; but we confess we have failed to discover any. Thank God, in Bengal at least, the importance of a newspaper or periodical is *not* determined by the amount of patronage which it may receive from the Government. We can, therefore, afford to do without any invitation, especially when we hear that, unlike other guests, the representatives of the Press will have to pay their own fares to and from Delhi. But that does not justify that the Government will create unnecessary anomalies and invidious distinctions. Of the four Anglo-Bengali dailies of Calcutta, three have been invited including the *Indian Mirror* which, shorn of the personality of Mr. Narendranath Sen, is now as good or as bad as the *Hindu Patriot* which has not got any invitation. Of the four principal vernacular weeklies of Calcutta two have not been invited, we donot know why. Of the two Anglo-Mahomedan weeklies one has been invited and the other which is senior in age and has perhaps a larger circulation is left in the cold. All the Mahomedan vernacular papers are ignored. The editors of the *Indian World* and the *Modern Review* have been left in the cold, while Mr. Natesan of the *Indian Review* and editors of several up-country periodicals have been honoured with invitations Personally we donot care for such an invitation, for patronage of this kind often retracts from the usefulness of playing a candid friend to the Government. If it was not possible for Government to invite all the Indian papers, they might have asked the papers to elect a limited number of representatives from amongst them ; and those in their turn might have been invited to attend the Durbar. Any of these methods would have been infinitely better than the present haphazard manner of sending out invitations. But the Government have an unfortunate knack of making peculiar mistakes at a time when they ought to be avoided, and thus we see that fresh wounds are created when all differences ought to have been made up.

Mr. Duke is sincerely to be congratulated on the eminently sensible speech delivered by him at the last St. Andrew's Dinner in Calcutta. His observations on the future of our trade and commerce, on the education of our boys and on the present unrest are so sane and judicious that we must ask every educated Indian and Englishman to read and ponder over them.

The writer of the article that appeared in the October number under the head of "A Note on Bengalee Proper Names" wishes to state for the information of the readers of this Review that in his character

"A Note on Bengalee Proper Names"

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manuscript all the Bengalee words and letters were in Bengalee and the two Persian words in Persian character and that he had no idea that they would all be printed in Devanagari character. He feels bound to object to the substitution of the Devanagari character for his Bengalee and Persian characters, as he is no convert to the creed that all the Indian vernaculars, including Urdu, should be written and printed in Devanagari character.

### **MADRAS**

The liberal training and varied experience of Sir T. Gibson-Carmichael, the new Governor of Madras, as a practical politician and administrator entitle us to hope that His Excellency's regime will be characterised by liberality, sympathy and statesmanship. Sir T. Carmichael was a popular Governor in Victoria, Australia, and was the liberal member of the House of Commons for Midlothian till 1900, to which seat he had the unique distinction of succeeding Mr. W. E. Gladstone in 1895. We are sure that if His Excellency will only keep to the spirit of the speeches he delivered recently, he will be as successful a Governor in Madras as he was in Australia. In reply to the addresses from the Madras Mahajan Sabha, the Provincial Congress Committee and the Provincial Moslem League, His Excellency said :—"We, in Britain, and you here in India, are, I think, indissolubly bound up. It is difficult, no doubt, to foretell the future, but I think that of this we may be certain, that for many years to come, at any rate, our histories must be bound together, and that if either of us are to do anything for progress, we must work together. I think we are all agreed that if we are to work together, there must be mutual respect and mutual sympathy between us. Our histories are not the same ; it is possible that change does not proceed so quickly here as it does in Europe, and I need hardly say to you who are students of history and constitutional development that all development must be based on what has happened in the past and must be shaped by it. Therefore, we may not proceed quite on the same lines ; but I do not think that there need be any difference in the ideals we both aim at." We are glad that His Excellency laid stress on the fact that both Englishmen and Indians should cultivate "mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual sympathy" and "should in the main be working towards the same ideals, and must find common-

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ground on which to unite if there is to be development—for progress, and take it, we all feel sure, there will be.” The people of this Presidency will, we have no doubt, hail with satisfaction the assurance which His Excellency has given in this behalf in the following words :—“ If it be my good fortune or my duty to have any part in the settlement of the lines on which development is to take place in this Presidency on and of those most important questions to which the Madras Provincial Congress Committee have referred and as to which the Hon’ble the Prince of Arcot hinted, I can promise you that I will give them my fullest consideration, and I believe that I know enough of your history and enough of your aims to be able to say that that consideration will be based on respect and I will certainly add that I will have a good deal of sympathy with your ideals.”

We are glad that Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair has come out with a spirited protest against the mischievous ideal of denominational Universities. Mr. Sankaran Nair always speaks straight and has the courage of his convictions, and one really feels refreshed with his telling arguments against the Besant-Malaviya College at Benares. While generally agreeing with him, we do not quite see why a Hindu University will necessarily foster a feeling of animosity towards the British Government. But in other points mentioned in his note to Mrs. Besant, Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair is not far from the mark. It has been contended that as the Hindu University will be open to pupils of all religion, it will not create a spirit of religious exclusiveness. This may be true theoretically, but in practice Mahomedan and Christian boys will no more avail of this University than if it were an exclusively Hindu one. It has also been contended that Mr. Nair is wrong in thinking that this University will teach “Varnasram Dharmas.” The Bengalee of Calcutta says that Bengal has ‘given its support to the movement’ on the express condition that no antiquated ideas about religion or society will be revived in it. As the constitution of the University has not yet been formed, it would be interesting to know with whom this agreement was entered into. Whatever may be thought by the Bengalee and others, we have little doubt in our mind that when the Hindu University is formed, it will soon be a stronghold of orthodoxy and revivalist ideas. The very fact that the most enthusiastic supporters of this University are those provinces and people only who are particularly noted for their orthodoxy shows which way the wind blows. To most

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of our people the connection between religion and the practices enjoined by Varnasram dharma has not unfortunately ceased to exist. Indeed, we think that it is this hope that orthodoxy may be revived under its shade which has created the enthusiasm we see around us over this movement. Is there any reason to say then that the ideas of these orthodox people who are by far the most numerous among its supporters, will not ultimately dominate in the University? Mr. Nair has, therefore, we hold, done indeed a public service by coming forward with a straightforward disclaimer against this pernicious movement.

It reflects no small credit on the administrative abilities of Mr. A. R. Banerjea, Dewan of Cochin, that he has been able to wipe off almost completely, during the last three years, liabilities of the State to the extent of over Rs. 22 lakhs, at the same time incurring increasing expenditure under the various service heads as a result of re-organisations and improvements which have been introduced with almost feverish activity ever since he took up the high office. The progress of education, the Dewan states, has been remarkable during the year, the most important feature of the administration being the passing and introduction of the Cochin Education Code, the chief aspects of which, aiming at efficiency and liberal grants-in-aid, have been already referred to in these pages. The total number of Sircar schools, as well as of pupils, rose in the year under review. But the total number of aided schools fell with a very considerable reduction in the number of pupils. We are told that the fall in the number of aided schools was due to the removal of some of the inefficient institutions from the aided list. We do hope that in the interests of efficiency, facilities for extension of education would not be curtailed, but would be increased. The large fall in the number of pupils cannot but be matter for regret, and we can only hope that the new grant-in-aid Code would be so worked as to encourage indigenous agencies to start and maintain schools in an efficient condition. The general results of collegiate education in the State were satisfactory, the University Inspection Commission having favourably reviewed the work of the College. In the field of primary education, also the strength of Sircar schools increased while aided schools decreased in number. This was also, we are told, owing to the removal of some inefficient primary schools from the aided list, and the conversion of certain others into Sircar schools. It is stated, however, that 'Primary education has, on the whole, made substantial progress during the year.'

## **PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BOMBAY)**

The report of the administration of the Padukkottai State for Fasli 1320, drawn up by Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, Superintendent, discloses several satisfactory features. The total revenue, which had remained stationary in the previous year, increased by more than a lakh of rupees in the year under report and exceeded 16 lakhs, the highest figure reached in the State. The land revenue contributed about Rs. 25,000 towards this expansion, while stamps and excise were together responsible for Rs. 47,000. Elementary education is free in the State except in the town of Padukkottai and a few large villages. Measures have been adopted for training a large number of elementary teachers. During the year under report, new educational rules were framed, the Inspection Code was revised and the Grant-in-aid Code was improved. Grants will, in future, be made dependent on the standard of qualifications possessed by the teachers and "a system of thorough examination will be substituted for the former efficiency grant examination which was found to be unsatisfactory." The Durbar is also satisfied that a real advance was made in elementary education during the year under view. The new creed of efficiency has also travelled down to this State. We read: "The policy of the Durbar for the present is to improve the quality rather than the quantity of elementary education, and with this object in view special attention was given to the improvement of the methods of instruction and to the training of the teachers. The Superintendent of Schools introduced many important changes in the curricula of the schools under his charge and spared no pains to instil a new spirit of zeal into the minds of his subordinates."

### **BOMBAY**

The topic of the hour is, of course, the arrival of Their Majesties in Bombay and the Delhi Durbar, and by the time these lines meet the eye of the reader, they will have landed on Indian soil. For the present we are all expectation, tracing in imagination the epoch-making voyage of the *Medina* as she brings her illustrious passengers nearer and nearer to these shores. Those parts of the Island through which Their Majesties are to pass have been transformed into a fairy land and the preparations for the reception are fast nearing completion. The old Bombay Exhibition, which is going to be

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a great show, with its Himalayan Railway and a score of other amusements, will be formally opened before their Majesties' arrival. Elaborate arrangements have been made for the accommodation of school children along the route of the procession. The city is already crowded to the full with visitors, small and great and the hotels have been literally packed. The accounts we used to read about the crowds the bustle and the confusion of London during the Coronation festivities are now vividly coming home to us. It is an enigma to many, which has appeared in the press, that a leading Hindu citizen of Bombay who was specially singled out for the honour of a knighthood twelve years ago, should not have been invited as a guest to the Durbar this time. If it was an unconscious slip, it has not been yet rectified and the riddle has not been correctly read. At any rate, there is no reason why a public grievance should be made of it and there should be so much fuss over the affair.

Among the many boons and souvenirs that are being suggested to commemorate the Delhi Durbar, some financiers and merchants are expecting the announcement of the introduction of a gold currency in India.

As usual with two uncompromisingly hostile parties in a controversy, the supporters of the yellow and the white metal are irreconcilable. The advocates of the reopening of the Indian mints to private coinage of silver contend that in however large quantities gold may be imported into the country, it will all be absorbed hoarded or converted into ornaments and none will be offered for coinage at the proposed mint. They appeal to past experience and the poverty of the mass of people in India and look upon the introduction of a gold currency as mere midsummer madness. On the other side there are people, mostly bankers and import and export merchants, who would like this country to have an Indian gold coinage and thus vindicate to the world the enormous commerce and growing wealth of India. Latterly the Anglo-Indian press has been flooded with letters and leaders vigorously discussing this currency question and vehemently criticising the government of India and the Secretary of State for their blundering and hesitancy in the matter. The problem is not as easy as it appears to many of these critics. Some of them, however, say that no radical change need be made for the present ; Government should only start coining gold pieces and watch the experiment, which, they promise, will succeed in the end. Taking for granted that this proposal is accepted, what kind of gold coin shall it be? Shall it be a

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sovereign, of the weight, fineness and value of the British sovereign, with only a different superscription or shall it be a piece of a smaller denomination, say worth ten rupees only ? This question is troubling the minds of many correspondents in the Anglo-Indian press. Whether the Government is thinking of doing anything in the matter there is no evidence to say. Some time ago the public was told that the subject was under consideration. It is most unlikely that announcement in that connection can be made at Delhi. The problem is one which will take some thinking, corresponding and discussing. There may probably be exchange of views when the Secretary of State comes to this country in the company of their Majesties. At any rate, some pronouncement may be expected in the Imperial Legislative Council next spring.

When it is a question of political privileges we are told that East is East and West is West and that what is good for the one is the reverse for the other. But in matters economic and industrial, the policy followed in this country has been deliberately based upon the principle that because free trade is good for England it must be good for India too. The cotton excise duties have been defended on this theoretical ground and the suggestion that Indian interests are being sacrificed to the selfish clamours of Lancashire has been scouted. When the Hon'ble Mr. Clarke, the Member for Commerce and Industry, was the other day, among us in Bombay, the Millowners' Association availed themselves of that opportunity to air their grievances before him. The chief among these concerned is the cotton excise duties. There is a widespread impression among Indian, Anglo Indian and even English thinkers that these duties have been imposed at the mandate of Lancashire. The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai pleaded eloquently and authoritatively in favour of their repeal in the Viceroy's council some time ago and a chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association indicated all the reasons why the continuation of the countervailing duties are a wrong and hardship to Indian manufacturers. Supposing Protection is an evil according to the Cobdenite economic doctrines, it must be borne in mind that the import duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. is not in the least protective as the Indian mills compete neither with Lancashire nor the indigenous hand-loom weavers, anxiety for whom is alleged to be one of the reasons for keeping up the impost. The Hon'ble Mr. Clarke could do nothing more than give the usual stereotyped official reply. It is well-known that the Indian Government, however favourably inclined towards the repeal of the duty, is helpless.

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So is the Liberal Ministry which cannot afford to displease its supporters in Lancashire.

**Enhanced Fees in High Schools**      The Government of Bombay have laid down a new scale of fees for the high schools in the Presidency which will come into operation from this month. It is alleged that while the cost of living has risen and there is a higher level of prices today than was the case a few years ago, the high school fees have remained at their old low level. With the increased revenue from fees, it is said, there will be opportunities to enhance the efficiency of secondary education and Government have promised to set apart the increase for improvements only. As regards private schools, receiving state grant, their hands will be strengthened, as they will be enabled to pay higher salaries to their teachers and improve the equipments and other things which make for a really sound education. Government have no funds to spare for the expansion of secondary schools, as all the available money will be required for the provision of primary education. In these days of high prices, high fees cannot but operate as a handicap upon parents of moderate means—and they are the majority—and many a boy may have to go without secondary education. A large number of free studentships have been allowed, but they are not an adequate compensation for the hardship that is certain to be felt by people. Prices have risen; not so the income of the mass of the people. The enhanced fees cannot, therefore, be justified on that ground. The number of students to be admitted to high schools has also been limited, and Government have expressed their inability to meet the growing demand for secondary education. All this is really unfortunate and something must be done to facilitate the spread of secondary education and provide for the increasing demand for it. What Government says it is not in a position to do, private agency must come forward to supply. It is to be seen how the new arrangement works out in practice.

## REVIEW OF INDIAN REVIEWS

### *The Modern Review*

One of the most important articles in the November number of the *Modern Review* is a history of the Constitutional Movement in Japan by Mr. R. G. Pradhan. 'Star Pictures' is a posthumous article by the late Sister Nivedita. Mr. C. F. Andrews describes a march in the Simla Hills. Mr. J. C. Sen draws up a scheme of a commercial school for Bengal. Mr. E. Willis foreshadows a coming industrial war in the West and incidentally says:—"The curse of capitalism has not as yet fallen fully upon India. She may yet profit by the bitter experience of Europe, and save herself from the ruin and disruption with which Europe is being so seriously threatened by her present capitalistic and competitive industrialism. And to be able to do so, India must religiously hold on to the land as the main source of subsistence for the masses, keep as much as possible to her old domestic economy of the joint-family, and, above all, she must not lose her old ideal of simple life. In all these India has something to teach to Europe which Europe can refuse to learn only at her own peril." History of English Education in Bengal is an interesting article written by the late Jogendra Chandra Basu. Mr. Syama Charan Ganguli's academic article on The Partition of Bengal is noticed elsewhere. Mrs. J. C. Bose contributes an appreciative sketch of Sister Nivedita. There is another article by Mr. F. J. Alexander on her and also a collection of some of her ideas and thoughts. Mr. Krishnaprasad Basak contributes the article on The Problem of Education. Mr. Narendra Nath Law continues his articles on the reign of Chandra Gupta and describes some works of public utility of his reign. He says that there were hospitals with store-rooms and scientific arrangement for post-mortem examination. All cases of violent death were brought to the morgue. There were various regulations framed to protect person and property from the dangers caused by fire. When famine overtook the people, the king started relief works by giving works to the famine-stricken and free distribution of alms, etc. As a precaution against intemperance only a limited number of people was allowed to take part in liquor traffic and liquor was sold only in small quantities. Mr. Bipinchandra Pal continues his second article on the Gesta,

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Mr. Saratchandra Roy describes the social ceremonies and customs of the Mundas. Mr. Mukundi Lal's article on Kashmir and the Kashmiris and Mr. Jadunath Sirkar's Aurangzib still continue.

### ***The Indian Review***

The October number of the above magazine opens with Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose's article on 'Civilisation : Indian and Western.' The writer says :—" There are two characteristic features which distinguish the modern civilisation of the West (or Western civilisation as we shall briefly call it) from Hindu civilisation—industrialism and the democratic spirit. The intellectual basis of the Western civilisation is natural science, as that of the Hindu civilisation is mental and moral science. Hindu philosophy paid far more attention to the spiritual than the animal side of man. Western science, on the other hand, takes but little account of any thing but the phenomenal world and the life in it." Mr. P. V. Ramchandra Ayer's article on the Ethical Ideal of Bhagavad Gita comes next. Mr. G. A. Chandravarkar gives a readable sketch of Swami Dayananda Saraswati. Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai contributes an interesting review of the beneficent works of Thomas Babington Macaulay whom he calls the maker of Modern India. Mr. A. Vasunder Pillai thinks that the attempt to educate the depressed classes before they are stripped of their social disabilities is tantamount to putting the cart before the horse. The gist of this article seems to be that the depressed classes ought to embrace Christianity or Buddhism. Mr. Swaminath Ayer, with arguments far from convincing, comes to the conclusion that the proposed Civil Marriage Bill is premature.

### ***The Malabar Quarterly Review***

Mr. Kamakhya Nath Mitra thinks that the ideas of equality preached by the Indian National Congress are false. He thinks that the Congress is not national in as much as it is not democratic. He says :—you should never say that the Provincial Services should be abolished ; for what requires abolition is the various departments of the Indian Service. . . . As for equality as between the races, you should strenuously insist that Englishmen over here should get just as little for their services as you children of the soil—not that you should get as much as they ; for two wrongs can never make a right. Mr. M. Sutchchidanandam Pillai discusses the problem of caste and sets forth its evils thus :— (1) caste is founded on a lie, there being no such distinctions in the human nature as it asserts, (2) caste puffs up certain classes with pride, (3) caste keeps many in social degradation, (4) caste is

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a great obstacle to progress, (5) caste divides man from man, and (6) caste induces all religions to be confined to mere outward ceremonies.

### ***The Vedic Magazine***

The most important article in the current number of the above Magazine is the Modern and Ancient Educational Systems of India by Mr. Myron H. Phelps.

### ***The Modern World***

The present is a joint number for October and November. The most important article in this number is the Aryan Conception of Woman's Liberty by Rai Bahadoor V. K. Ramampachar. There is an article on Raja Rammohan Roy.

### ***The D. A. V. College Union Magazine***

The principal articles in the current number are :—(i) A Short History of the Growth of Biology in Europe. (ii) Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution in England. (iii) Educational Ideals. (iv) The Modern Philosophy of India.

### ***The International Police Service Magazine***

This is a very interesting magazine containing much useful information about the Police department and many readable stories. The current number is a joint one for September and October. Crime and Social Progress is interesting. Sundar Sing and his Gang contains an amazing record of crime and exemplary Police work. The Confessions of a Dacoit is continued from the last number.

### ***The Muslim Review.***

The October number of this Review is a special number and may be called the Nizam number, devoted as it is entirely to the discussion of the life and work of the late Nizam. There is a well written article on His Highness and a collection of interesting things about him, his ancestors and his dominions.

### ***The Journal of the South Indian Association.***

The current number of this Journal contains three learned articles ; (1) Some Inscriptions of the Muttariyars and others, (2) Indian Currency Problem and (3) Indian Chronology and the Procession of Equinoxes. The editor holds out the hope that there is some prospect of good work being done by the members of the South Indian Association in the way of historic and economic studies.

### ***The Dawn.***

The November number reprints an article by Mr. Hyder, Financial Secretary to the Government of Nizam, on the Mahomedam University published in the *East and West* in 1904. The writer strongly deprecates the idea of separate universities. The description of the Onam or the Great National Festival of Malabar is interesting.

## REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

**BRITISH RULE  
IN INDIA** Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji may have exaggerated a bit in describing the advent of King George V in India and his ensuing coronation at Delhi as the greatest event in Indian history, but it would be idle to deny that the present royal visit and the coming Coronation are very significant and remarkable events even in the crowded story of our land. It is not very often that a single man has the opportunity of reigning over so vast territories, teeming with a population whose history goes beyond the earliest civilisation of Egypt and Chaldea, not to speak of Rome and Greece. There may have been empires in India in the days of Chandra Gupta and Asoka and in a later day during the life of Akbar and Aurangzeb. But the Indian empire of those days were nothing compared to the Imperial dominions of England in this ancient land today. The Indian Empire of George V is not confined today to that triangular peninsula whose sides are washed by the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal and bounded on the north by the Himalayas. The British Indian Empire comprises today the mountainous plateaux stretching as far north as the frontiers of Persia, Russia and Tibet and to the east it takes in a region which stretches across Burma and Tenasserim up to the Malaya peninsula.

In a different section of this paper a learned writer describes some of the coronations of the most remarkable Indian princes in the epic and the vedic era. We have no record, however, of the coronations of the later emperors of Hindustan. But it has been a custom throughout the civilized world to review the history of the empire during every important coronation, and in the following pages we shall take a birds' eye view of the outstanding facts of the empire whose head will be crowned at Delhi in another fortnight's time.

It is a most complicated problem—the relation of India to England. Since the British established their first territorial foothold in the field of Plassey and assumed a part of the government of the Country, there have arisen different schools of political thinkers in England which have differently viewed this imperial relation of England towards India. The

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ideas of Edmund Burke, of Lord Macaulay, of Carlyle and the Perish-India school of a much later date have been alternated with those of Warren Hastings, of Dalhousie, of Curzon and Milner. It is useless at this hour of the day to discuss the proposition whether this Eastern dependency is really a trouble and a burden to England or is the brightest jewel in the crown of the United Kingdom. To-day, the question has no more than an academic value, and can be relegated to leisurely discussion. Equally academic is the controversy that has raged in India since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Ray over the proposition that England's connection in India is a dispensation of the Providence. With these academic questions we are not concerned at the present moment and shall give them a wide berth in this article.

Nor are we much concerned with the enquiry as to how far has England gained by the establishment of an Empire in this country. The only points which we intend to bring forward in this article are the gains and losses of India since she entered into imperial partnership with England.

We shall begin with our gains, and on this head we must put to the credit of England the establishment, above all, of peace and a sense of security of life and property so firmly established in the Indian mind and so unknown in India till the beginning of the last century. This has been a tremendous gain, when one remembers that for the absence of this peace and security, there could be no development of Indian intellect and scope of usefulness of indigenous energy. To-day, with the *Pax Britannica* firmly established, Indian intellect is finding scope for enough useful work, Indian industries are developing, commerce and trade are expanding, communications are increasing everywhere and there are fresh fields and pastures new for exploitation and development. With these advantages, the Indian people have entered into a new stage of political life, a new stage of economic development.

The next most important benefit that we have derived from British connection is the establishment throughout the country of a common system of education, of a common system of government, common system of administration and, to crown all, the prevalence among the upper classes of a common spoken tongue. That the Indian should neglect his own vernacular and speak and write in English may be bad enough from a particular standpoint, but the special advantages of having one language spoken and understood throughout India cannot

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possibly be overestimated. One cannot also sufficiently gauge the enormous advantages of having a common system of government, administration and a codified law obtaining over so heterogeneous a people as ours. All these have practically made New India, and have laid the foundations of a common nationality, the very idea of which was a mere moonshine in the days of Asoka and Akbar.

We also owe to British rule the establishment of world-wide trade and commercial relations, the establishment of arts and industries unknown to India of a previous age, and the exploitation and development of our agricultural and mineral resources. India no longer glories in self-contained entity but has now been drawn into the vortex of world-politics and into the zone of modern civilisation.

These are the outstanding gains of our connection with England on the positive side. On the negative, we owe to the British the suppression of many inhuman customs such as *thuggee*, *Sati* and infanticide. Owing to the moral pressure of Western education and civilization, such barbarous customs as polygamy, hypergamy and polyandry are also fast disappearing. The elevation of the position of women, so significantly recognised in the earlier days of our history, is again receiving considerable attention throughout India.

Though the Hindus and the Mahomedans are now more sharply divided than they were in the days of the great Moghul, the influence of the suzerain power have made active hostilities impossible. Among the minor creeds, castes and tribes, the bitterness of mutual prejudice and antipathy have died away; and, though friendly relations may not have been established even to this day, they are being fast merged into a homogeneous people, knit together by common ties, by common laws, common grievances and common sympathies.

We come now to our losses, and in this matter, we are afraid, it is difficult to speak with much restraint. We have lost a good deal under British rule—more than a foreigner can gauge. The most significant item under this head is the loss of our ancient ideals of life and the bad bargain we have made in bartering a spiritual for a material life. Our old moorings have been cast adrift, and socially we are now a people without any definite ideals, without knowing whither we are drifting. Hindu society, or for the matter of that, Indian society of today is now like a ship without a pilot

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and with no one to steer it clear of rocks. The want of ideals and the absence of guidance are the creation of British rule. The old order of plain living and high thinking have been replaced by luxurious living and no thinking; the old neighbourly feeling has given way to a life of rigid selfishness; the old code of doing good to others when you can has made room for a spirit of indifferentism new under an eastern sky. There has been a general disintegration of social order all along the line.

It is difficult to say if we have lost much in morals or ideas of social purity. But the fact must go without challenge that intemperance, fraud, deceit, mistrust are gaining currency to an extent which could find no parallel in the history of India except in the intriguing courts of Agra and Delhi.

We had not much organised charity nor had we any ideas of it either in days preceding the advent of the British. Asoka is reported in history to have made a good beginning in State charities, but that policy changed with the decease of that emperor. In India, therefore, charities organised by the public or the State have not been taken very kindly by the people and all charities before the 19th century owed their inspiration and origin to individual munificence. Now, individual charities for one's own village, one's own society, one's own family have gone to considerable discount, and no charities of the present moment find any encouragement which do not afford opportunities of advertisement to the giver. Formerly, charities were inspired by a spiritual motive and were regarded as good *karmas* done to be accounted for in the day of judgment; now people give money with the 'honours list' in view. All this may be owing to a change of our ideal, but no one would deny that the change has been for the worse.

Speaking of charities, one cannot ignore from his consideration the collapse of the joint-family system under the new order of things. No thinker even of the school of Mill and Spencer would venture to vote down the joint-family system, as was in vogue in India till very recent times, as an unmixed evil. It is a very knotty question of economics to decide whether the joint-family system of India or the poor-house system of Europe is more conducive to the well-being of the body-politic. That is a point which is not before the practical politician today. The fact remains that the joint-family system has broken down and the poor-house system has not come in, with the result

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that among certain classes of people poverty is most acute and distressing.

This brings us to a most important question—the question of the poverty of India. We have repeatedly maintained that India, taken as a whole with all the people that inhabit it, is certainly not getting poorer, though men like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. William Digby and other economic thinkers of that school have moved heaven and earth to establish that view. We do not believe in the economic drain so insistently put forward by this school; we have ceased to count wealth by coins in modern life; we have ceased to have much faith in unproductive munificence as obtained in pre-British days. If we have a certain amount of money “drained” away to England, it is because Indian capital has been shy enough to come forward for investments and that our large reproductive works have been mainly effected by the flow of British capital into this country. Paying small interests for money urgently wanted to minimise distress or raise revenue is no “drain”; and as for the Home Charges, they are incidental to the Government we have at the present moment. It is idle to say that the Pathan, Afgan and Moghul emperors of India spent all their revenues in this country. We do not know if they really did. But if they did really, the money was spent on so many unproductive purposes that from the economic point of view it was a dead loss to the country. Enjoying to-day the benefits conferred upon us by the opening of 35 thousands of miles of railway and nearly half as many miles of irrigation canals, by the establishment of industries which are feeding hundreds of mouths, it does not certainly look graceful to complain of the ‘drain’ which is conveyed by the interest of the capital invested for these purposes.

Though there is nothing in this “drain” theory, no one can deny that there is still acute and chronic distress and poverty among certain classes of people who decidedly form the backbone of our society and among them poverty is deepening year after year. The condition of these classes have under British rule gone really from bad to worse, and these unhappily are the articulate classes in India. Upon them British rule has absolutely conferred no benefits, and from many of their mouths bread has been taken away to feed an alien people. The condition of these classes are getting more acute and hopeless year after year. The disappointment and distress of

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these people constitute to-day one of the standing menaces of British rule in India, and if nothing is done to relieve them, British rule must stand condemned before the world.

One more point and we have done. One of the worst lessons that England has taught India, both morally and politically, is that colour is a crime. This lesson has not only made the establishment of friendly relation between the rulers and the ruled absolutely impossible, but it has also sufficiently retarded the progress of Indian mankind and the developement of the Empire. Morally the Indian people feel that under this ban of colour they are not regarded as equal subjects of their king, either in their own home in India or in their distant home in South Africa, Australia or Canada. This is too galling a ban to be lightly thought of, and the iron goes into the soul when one finds much being made of this natural inequality between man and man. So far as Imperial Proclamations regarding this question are concerned, one may not find much reason to quarrel, but, like many other good things in the world all pious wishes of religious neutrality and colour impartiality are thrown to the winds whenever important questions come up for final settlement. Pious wishes go by the board and narrow prejudices prevail whenever a white man is the final arbiter of the blackman's destiny. In India, before the advent of the British this colour question never entered into any administrative or political discussion. It is under the British only that we have learnt by bitter experience what great a crime colour is. This is one of the blackest features of England's relation with India, and justice and political expediency both demand that the sense of helotry must not be allowed to rankle in the breast of the cultivated Indian.

## DIARY FOR THE MONTH OF OCTOBER, 1911

Date

16. Sanction is announced to-day of the appointment of an Assistant Secretary to the Provincial Legislative Council, Burma.

17. The Partition anniversary is observed this morning in several towns and cities of United Bengal.

18. At a meeting of the Reception Committee of the XXVth Indian National Congress, held in the rooms of the Indian Association, Calcutta, the election of the president is referred to the All-India Congress Committee.

19. H. E. the Viceroy and suite left Hyderabad at 11 P.M. this evening.

20. The Municipality at Karachi supports Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill by a majority of votes.

22. At a conference held at Benares between Pandit Madan Mohan, Maharaja of Durbhanga, Mrs. Besant and others, an amalgamation was settled upon with regard to the different Hindu University schemes.

23. Mrs. Annie Besant cabled to the Secretary of State withdrawing her petition for a separate Hindu University.

24. The General Officer Commanding telegraphing from Lakhipur states that he has reached that place about ten miles from the Mora Lalli along the Pasighat Road.

25. Information is received that the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam have adopted urgent preventive measures to stop the dacoities which have of late increased alarmingly. Besides free distribution of fire-arms to some villagers, the Government have decided to increase the Police Force by 2700 persons, of whom no fewer than 200 are to be Sub-Inspectors and the rest Head Constables.

26. The General Officer Commanding, telegraphed from Passighat that he arrived there safely after a march of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles, the path being cut through a thick forest without special difficulty. On the same day the second portion of the main column reached Lakhipur, and the boat convoy reached Pasighat.

27. It is stated that there are rumours on the Assam Frontier of a considerable force of the Chinese being at Rima.

28. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar is elected the President of the next Congress at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad.

29. Lord Selborne, speaking at Oxford, viewed with dismay and disgust the fact that best men at Oxford now preferred Home to Indian Civil Service. He believed it to be a very bad sign that this generation was playing for safety and not honour, for security and not work.

31. The Sessions Judge of Ferozepur pronounce judgment in the Zira Police torture case in the Ferozepur District. Two of the accused, one a Police man and the other a *Lamberdar*, are acquitted and the other two, a Policeman and a *Lamberdar*, convicted of voluntarily causing grievous hurt with a view to extort confession or to induce to restore property. The constable has been sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 25/- while the *Lamberdar* is sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for ten years and to pay a fine of Rs. 500.

## NOVEMBER

1. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal who was to have been released on the 5th, in the usual course, was released on the 1st with a view it is said, to avoid any demonstration being made on his release.

2. The Government prohibit the performance of a play entitled "Sansar" by Mono Mohan Gossain.

Lord Crew made an important statement in the House of Lords with regard to the retrenchment of expenditure in India.

3. Sir T. Gibson-Charmichael took charge of the Governorship of Madras.

4. His Excellency Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael with Lady Carmichael received welcome addresses from the Corporation of Madras, the Madras Landholders Association, the Anglo-Indian Association and the Ganjam Landholders' Association.

5. Replying in the House of Commons to a question by Mr. Wedgwood having reference to the prevalence of the extortion of confessions by torture, Mr. Montagu said that the revision of Section 167 of the Criminal Procedure Code dealing with the remission of prisoners to police custody would be considered. At the same time he pointed out that a safeguard was afforded by the order directing Magistrates to examine the bodies of the accused who confessed. Finally Mr. Montagu pointed out that the use of the word "prevalence" was misleading.

6. The Behar Provincial Conference commenced its sitting under the Presidency of Mr. Mazharul Haque.

7. In reply to a question put by Sir W. Byles, Mr. Montagu said that the cost of the Abor expedition was estimated at £150,000 and the cost of the Mishmi Mission £27,000. The latter was not going at the invitation of the tribe, but there was no reason to anticipate that the tribe would resent or oppose it. Lord Crewe considered that it was not necessary to enquire whether the Abors had ever offered to surrender the murderers if the expedition were abandoned. The Government of India kept him fully informed regarding all matters relating to the expedition and the nature of the punishment of the Abors would depend upon the Abors themselves.

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8. Mr. Duke, the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, installed the Maharaja Rajendra Narain Bhup Bahadur, the eldest son of the late Maharajah of Cooh Behar, in the *Guddoo*.

9. The Hon'ble Sir Narayan Chandavarkar is reappointed as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University with effect from the 27th November, 1911.

10. The King's final Privy Council was held at Buckingham Palace to-day, when the special Commission, to which the Executive functions of the Crown will be delegated during the King's absence, was appointed.

The following Press *communiqué* was issued by the Legislative Department :—The first meeting of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General during the *alcutta* Session will probably be held on the 10th January, 1912, and the Council will sit from day to day until the business in hand is finished.

11. Their Majesties the King and Queen of England leave for India.

Sir T. Carmichael receives three addresses from the Madras Mahajan Sabha, the Provincial Congress Committee and the Provincial Moslem League,

12. The second sessions of the All-India Vedic and Tibbi Conference opened to-day, Nawab Vikar-ul Mulk was in the chair.

13. An All-India Sanitary Conference was opened at Bombay under the Presidency of the Hon. Mr. Butler.

Mr. Malcolm Seton, of the Judicial and Public Department, is appointed to succeed Sir Herbert Risley in the India Council.

14. The Bank of Burma suspends payment.

Lecturing before the East India Association, Sir Roland Wilson said that the advocate of Compulsory Free Education in India assumed that whatever the civilized nations of the West did must be right. The mere fact that this was one of the legislative fashions of to-day was insufficient proof that it was a good fashion even for the west—still less that it was suitable for translation to India. The difficulties of the system encountered in England would in some respects be more acute in India. He begged Indians who appeared to Western experience in this matter to consider carefully the dark as well as the bright side of this experience.









